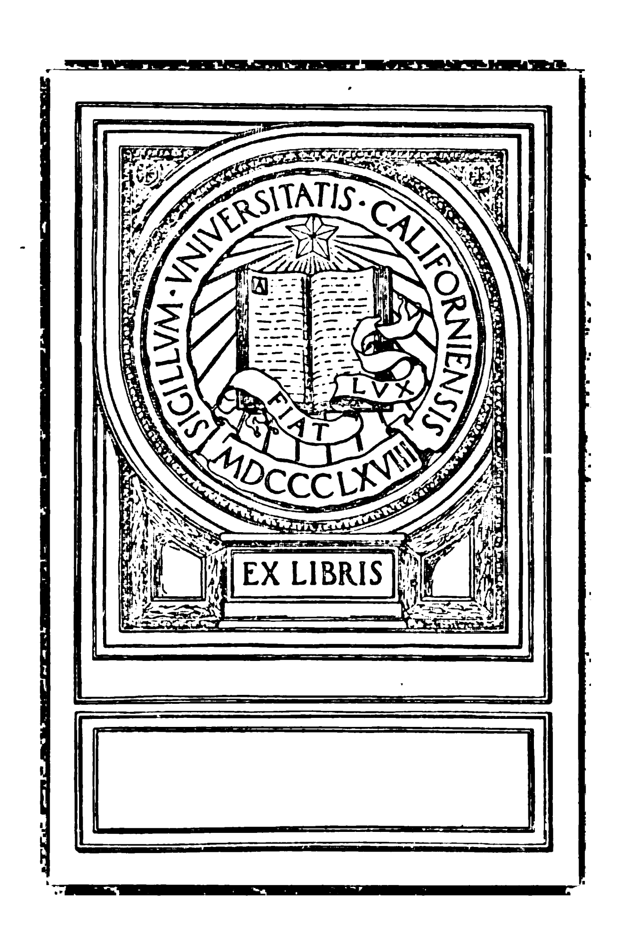
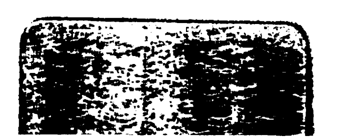

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MAJ. GEN. ARTHUR ST. CLAIR

Ar St Clair

THE ST. CLAIR PAPERS.

THE

LIFE AND PUBLIC SERVICES

OF

ARTHUR ST. CLAIR

SOLDIER OF THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR; PRESIDENT OF
THE CONTINENTAL CONGRESS; AND GOVERNOR
OF THE NORTH-WESTERN TERRITORY

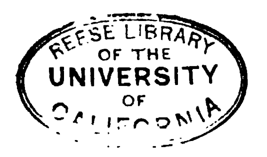
WITH HIS

CORRESPONDENCE AND OTHER PAPERS

ARRANGED AND ANNOTATED

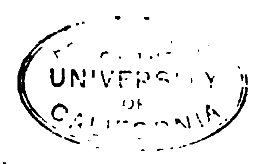
BY

WILLIAM HENRY SMITH



Vol. I

CINCINNATI
ROBERT CLARKE & CO
1882



PREFACE.

It is evident, from the popular interest manifested in the centennial celebrations of the past six years, that the principles involved in the Revolutionary War are no less dear to the American heart to-day than when Lord Cornwallis surrendered at Yorktown, October 19, 1781, and that whatever contributes to a more thorough understanding of that remarkable contest; whatever tends to bring into clearer view the labors and the sacrifices of the principal characters—Washington and his faithful associates—will receive a hearty welcome. The first of these volumes presents new material covering the period of the war and the ensuing years of political uncertainty down to the time when Arthur St. Clair retired from the President's chair of the Continental Congress. In some respects, it is cumulative of the facts contained in the Writings of Washington as to the privations and sufferings, the patriotism and courage of the Continental soldiers; and on that account has a certain value. But the reader will find new evidence bearing on disputed points and a new presentation of facts heretofore misrepresented, notably concerning the enterprises on the Delaware in December, 1776, and the evacuation of Ticonderoga and Mount Independence in the following year, whereby it is hoped something more than the shadow of justice is rendered at last to the memory of one of Washington's most loyal friends. The correspondence betweeen St. Clair and President Reed, and between St. Clair and Washington, is especially interesting, as it presents in bold and striking colors the difficulties that con-

stantly beset the commander-in-chief, arising from short enlistments, want of a treasury, the jealousies of the States, and inefficiency of the central authority.

That a people living in communities with distinct governments, without experience in military affairs, without a common treasury, without arms other than those provided for the protection of their own homes, without organized means of defense, should have the temerity to contest the field with a powerful kingdom, having unlimited financial resources and trained soldiery, was remarkable. But more remarkable was the exhibition of self-control and wisdom, after the demoralization of an eight years' war, which established a national government, acceptable to the thirteen distinct communities—founded a republican government upon the rock of constitutional law. The same wisdom, contemplating an extension of the blessings of free government, even before the Union was sealed, formed and established an Ordinance for the government of the vast territory lying north-west of the river Ohio, containing every principle and privilege essential to the happiness and greatness of a people. From the presidency of the body that created this famous Ordinance, Arthur St. Clair passed to the control of the government under it.

Of the actual work done by Governor St. Clair in laying the foundations of government under the Ordinance of 1787, little is known. The information that has come down to us has been fragmentary and unofficial. The second volume of this work is an attempt to supply this defect. The large amount of wholly new material employed in it has been obtained from various sources—from the papers left by General St. Clair and preserved by his family, from the archives of the State and War Departments, and from private sources.

It will be expected that reference should be made here

to the noble part taken by the State of Ohio in securing and preserving from destruction the valuable papers left by St. Clair. When, in 1869, the Western Reserve Historical Society announced that these papers were in the possession of the heirs of Colonel Robert Graham, deceased, residing in Kansas, an unsuccessful effort was made in the General Assembly to secure an appropriation for their purchase. Subsequently, upon the recommendation of that society, Governor Hayes appointed Mr. Joseph Perkins, of Cleveland, to represent the State in a negotiation for the purchase. Mr. Perkins, unable to make a journey to Kansas to examine the papers, appointed Mr. Alfred T. Goodman, secretary of the society, his agent for that purpose. Mr. Goodman made a careful examination. He reported that the papers were in bad condition, "many of the important manuscripts being mice eaten, and rendered almost worthless from the ravages of time." He fixed the value at two thousand dollars, whereas they were scheduled in the list of the personal property of Colonel Graham at five thousand. Judge R. St. Clair Graham, administrator, subsequently produced the papers at Cincinnati for further examination by the members of the Ohio Historical and Philosophical Society. While they were lying here, other descendants of St. Clair were induced to go before Judge Storer, of the Superior Court of Cincinnati, and apply for an injunction against Graham, to restrain the latter from selling the manuscripts. This was done to set at rest the title. The court appointed the sheriff receiver. The final decision was in favor of the heirs-at-law represented by Mr. Graham. The question of title having been settled, the Ohio Historical and Philosophical Society sent a memorial to the General Assembly, praying for the purchase and preservation of the papers. Governor Hayes recommended the measure in a

special message, and with characteristic public spirit the Legislature, during the session of 1870, made the necessary appropriation. The papers were carefully arranged by Miss Mary C. Harbaugh, assistant librarian. The task was a difficult one, as many of the papers were mutilated, many without beginning or end, and many more without address or signature.

Since then, there has been great uncertainty as to the preservation of the autograph letters. The Commissioners of the Ohio State Library recommended their publication, in order that "they be not left a prey to be carried off piece-meal by seekers after literary curiosities," and, in his last annual message, Governor Foster gave the recommendation his approval. The General Assembly, wisely and with commendable unanimity, directed the publication of the papers, in a joint resolution adopted on the 21st day of February last. The action of the present Commissioners, under the authority above recited, is shown by the following transcript from their records:

The Board of Library Commissioners, having considered the resolution of the General Assembly of February 21, 1881, directing the publication of the St. Clair Papers, and the method for carrying out the instructions of the said resolution, it is hereby

Resolved, That the Librarian be authorized to receive propositions from publishers who are prepared to execute the work within the time prescribed, and in a creditable manner, and to arrange with some one familiar with the papers and the subjects embraced therein, to prepare them for publication.

After consultation with various publishers, and careful consideration of the whole subject, it was deemed advisable to employ the well-known house of Robert Clarke & Co. to publish the work, and to place the papers in the hands of Hon. Wm. Henry Smith, formerly Secretary of State of Ohio, who, it was known, had spent years in studying the career of Arthur St Clair, and in collecting material covering that interesting period of American history.

Board of Library Commissioners.
CHARLES FOSTER, *Governor,*
CHARLES TOWNSEND, *Secretary of State,*
JOS. H. GEIGER, *Librarian.*

An examination of the papers showed that not only

were they badly defaced and fragmentary, but that the letters in the handwriting of St. Clair were original drafts, which frequently differed from the perfected letters as transmitted to his correspondents. To correct these, it became necessary to have recourse to my own private collection, and to originals in possession of manuscript collectors in different parts of the country. While occasionally meeting with disappointments, I have succeeded beyond my most sanguine expectations, though only through infinite labor.

To present to the reader a truthful picture of the theater to which Arthur St. Clair was invited by the last Continental Congress, and include in the work a comprehensive history of the North-western Territory under him, it became necessary to draw liberally from a collection of Harmar papers, originally intended for use in another work, and from a compilation of the official records of the Executive of the North-western Territory from 1795 to the close of 1802, also designed for an independent work. The records in possession of the State come down no later than the year 1795.

I am indebted to General James T. Worthington, of Chillicothe, for the privilege of using the manuscripts of his distinguished father, Governor Worthington, to explain more fully than the papers of St. Clair do the political contest from 1800 to 1802, which ended in the removal of the Governor and the admission of the Eastern District into the Union. Thus both sides are presented to the reader. The political methods by which the downfall of the friend of Washington and the leader of the Federalist party in the West was accomplished, and a new Republican State secured for the support of Mr. Jefferson in his ambitious political schemes, are here laid before the reader for the first time.

It only remains for me to acknowledge my indebtedness to Colonel Charles Whittlesey, Mr. John T. Perry, Mr. C. W. Butterfield, and Mr. Robert Clarke, for valuable suggestions; and to Mr. Joseph G. Siebeneck (of Pittsburgh), Mr. B. H. Hinds (of the Treasury Department), Mr. E. T. Hall (of the State Executive Department), and Colonel D. C. Cox (when a Government official at Washington), for aid in procuring copies of correspondence. The importance of this service can only be fully appreciated by those who have attempted to obtain access to the treasures of a hundred years ago.

DECEMBER 8, 1881.

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THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR.



LIFE AND PUBLIC SERVICES

OF

ARTHUR ST. CLAIR.

CHAPTER I.

1734–1775—Birth and Education—Services in the French War—Marriage—Lord Dunmore's War and the Boundary Troubles between Pennsylvania and Virginia.

The St. Clairs figure prominently in history, song, and story.[1] In Normandy, they controlled lands, castles, and troops of men, and were closely allied to royal blood. In the eleventh century, William de St. Clair, second son of Walderne Compte de St. Clair, and Margaret, daughter to Richard, Duke of Normandy, settled in Scotland, and soon his name appeared on the roll of the followers of Malcom Cænmore, and, thenceforward, for generations, his descendants are found in loyal support of the monarchs of that country. The St. Clairs shared in the triumphs and the humiliations of the House of Stuart, receiving honors on the one hand, and accepting exile and poverty on the other. Reconciled to the union of Scotland with England and the Protestant succession, they continued devotedly attached to royalty, without exception, until the signal gun in the American war of Independence was fired; but whether as Catholic or Protestant, monarchist or republican, always displaying a martial spirit, and al-

[1] See *Song of Harold* ("bard of brave St. Clair"), and Note, in "*The Lay of the Last Minstrel*," Canto VI. And also Captain Wedderburn's Courtship, *English and Scottish Ballads*, Vol. VIII.

ways true to the cause espoused. We have here to do with the republican St. Clair, one of the best and noblest of the race, whose good fortune it was to be the friend and associate of Washington and La Fayette in the struggle for Independence, and the first Chief Magistrate under the Ordinance of 1787.

Arthur St. Clair was born in the town of Thurso, in Caithness, Scotland, in the year 1734. The month or day is not known. He was a descendant of a noble family,[1] and inherited the fine personal appearance and manly traits, remarked in both French and English history, of the St. Clairs. His father, being a younger son, possessed neither lands nor title, and died at an early age, from the effects of a life of idleness and pleasure. In his other parent Arthur St. Clair was more fortunate, as she supplied not only the affection and tender care of a devoted mother, but also the aid and counsel which had been due from the father. At an early age, St. Clair was entered at the University of Edinburgh, and, it having been determined that he should follow a professional life, in due course he was indentured to the celebrated Dr. William Hunter, of London. But it is evident the life of a student of medicine had no charms for him, since upon the death

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[1] The generally accepted opinion that Arthur St. Clair was a grandson of the then Earl of Roslin, is erroneous. They were descendants of a common ancestor. When Arthur St. Clair was Governor of the North-western Territory, he was applied to by William St. Clair, youngest son of the Earl of Roslin, and brother of Lieutenant-Colonel James St. Clair, of the British Army, for assistance in getting into business in the North-western Territory. He was then in Canada (as the Detroit country was called), and had been unfortunate in some business enterprise. When Governor St. Clair organized the Illinois country, he appointed William St. Clair Clerk of the Courts of St. Clair County. William St. Clair invested largely in lands, and located at Cahokia. His family failing to get replies to letters addressed to him, finally applied to Governor St. Clair for information. William St. Clair died at Cahokia while Arthur St. Clair was yet Governor, and it was reported left his landed property to Arthur St. Clair, Jr. General Arthur St. Clair was related to General Thomas Gage, who succeeded General Amherst in the command of the British army in America, and was recalled by his government after the unfortunate affair at Lexington.

of his mother in the winter of 1756–57, little more than a year after he was indentured, he purchased his time with a part of the money he inherited, and through the influence of friends obtained an ensign's commission in the Sixtieth or Royal American regiment of Foot.[1] The commission bears date May 13, 1757, so that St. Clair was about twenty-three years of age when he entered the military service of the King of Great Britain. The succeeding year was passed in acquiring familiarity with the duties of his position. On the 28th of May, 1758, St. Clair arrived, with Amherst, before Louisburg. There were gathered here men soon to become famous, and Ensign St. Clair was offered an opportunity to study the art of war on the most active field. With such men as Wolfe and Moncton, Murray and Lawrence, there was little chance for idleness, while the martial spirit ever displayed by them was calculated to stir a youth to deeds of emulation. So well had Ensign St. Clair borne his part in the affair of Louisburg, he received the commendation of his superior officers, and a recommendation for promotion. A lieutenant's commission was issued to him, bearing date April 17, 1759. It was his good fortune now to be assigned to the command of General Wolfe, who had been selected to reduce Quebec. Since the 13th of September of that memorable year, which decided the fate of the French in America, the story of the first battle on the Plains of Abraham has continued to thrill the hearts of the youth of two nations, and keep green the memory of the opposing heroes—Wolfe and Montcalm, equal in military genius, in courage and patriotic devotion to country. That story need not be repeated here. This only interests us, that our St. Clair took a conspicuous part in that brilliant and

[1] The Royal American regiment was projected by the Duke of Cumberland. It consisted of four battalions of 1,000 men each. The First and Second battalions, which were the most noted, were commanded respectively by Moncton and Lawrence. In 1758, Major General Amherst was appointed Commander-in-Chief of all of the forces in America, and Colonel of the Sixtieth regiment. St. Clair was a subordinate in the second battalion.

fatal affair, and that he bore himself as a brave soldier should in battle. His battalion had been joined with other light troops under command of Colonel Howe,[1] who had been elected to the post of honor in scaling the heights.

These, "who found themselves borne by the current a little below the intrenched path, clambered up the steep hill, staying themselves by the roots and boughs of the maple and spruce and ash trees that covered the precipitous declivity, and, after a little firing, dispersed the picket which guarded the height. The rest ascended safely by the pathway. A battery of four guns on the left was abandoned to Colonel Howe."[2] Then came the fatal struggle on the plains, during which Lieutenant St. Clair seized the colors, which had fallen from the hand of a dying soldier, and bore them until the field was won by the British.[3]

General Murray, with five thousand men, including the Royal Americans, was left in the garrison. He pushed his outposts as far as Lorette, and Sainte-Foye, two or three leagues from Quebec; and a war of skirmishings continued, despite the season's rigor. Through great effort the defenses were completed so as to sustain a siege, in time to check the French, who, under De Lévis, were moving in strong force to recapture the ancient capital of Canada. The garrison was greatly reduced by death, caused by lack of fresh provisions. St. Clair shared in all of the labors and privations of the winter, and in the

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[1] Afterward, Sir William Howe, and Commander-in-Chief of the British army in America.

[2] *Bancroft*, Vol. IV., p. 333. M. Garneau in his "*L'Histoire du Canada*," says the light infantry were headed by Wolfe, but the statement made by Bancroft, that Colonel Howe was the leader, and by his troops covered the ascent of the main body, is confirmed by Hildreth. It is also confirmed by Alex. Johnston, friend and neighbor of St. Clair, in his declining years, who has furnished the Western Reserve Historical Society with "Recollections" of conversations with St. Clair.

[3] MS. See also *Wilkinson's Memoirs*, Chap. 2, p. 84: "He" [St. Clair] "served at the taking of Louisburg under General Amherst, and in the next campaign carried a pair of colors on the Plains of Abraham."

severe battle of the Buttes-à-Neveu, which was brought on by the rash bravery of Murray. The French now entered on a regular siege; the position of the British became desperate, and they were only saved from defeat and the loss of Quebec by the opportune arrival of some ships, which caused De Lévis to raise the siege,[1] and retire to Montreal. Thither he was followed by Murray, who was joined by Amherst with a large force of fresh troops, and the French were besieged in turn. It soon becoming evident to M. de Vaudreuil that his cause was hopeless, he directed De Lévis to arrange with the enemy for terms, and articles of capitulation were signed September 8, 1760. By this act, Montreal, Presque Isle, Detroit, Mackinaw, and all of the other posts in the Western country which had been founded by the Jesuits, and had so long been the pride of the French, passed under the control of the British. The time was not distant when these became of deeper interest and far greater importance to the American colonists; when from their very gates issued a savage foe, the allies of brethren here present, whose cruelties filled with terror the borders stretching to the southward for a thousand miles!

Doubtless, to none in the British army was the cessation of severe campaign work more welcome than to young St. Clair. He had, since his arrival in America, formed a tender attachment, and it is reasonable to suppose that his ardent temperament would lead him to prefer the society of his beloved to associations on the tented field, though never so glorious. It appears that after the siege of Quebec was raised he obtained a furlough and repaired to Boston, where he was married to Miss Phœbe Bayard, daughter of Belthazar Bayard and Mary Bowdoin, his wife, who was a half-sister of Governor James Bowdoin. How an acquaintance was brought about between these young people is not known, but it is presumed that during St. Clair's service and frequent visits to Boston, where he was sent on military business to the governor, he made the acquaintance of the Bowdoins and Bayards, and improved

[1] *Knox's Historical Journal.*

the opportunity to fall in love with the young lady, who was thoroughly educated, of amiable disposition and agreeable manners. Ensign St. Clair, a favorite of popular British commanders, a descendant of an ancient and distinguished Scotch family, tall, graceful, dignified, with chestnut hair, handsome blue-gray eyes, and blonde complexion, master of all of the accomplishments of the drawing-room, including the art of entertaining conversation, could not fail to be an acceptable visitor in the best families of Boston, and suitor for the hand of such a young lady as Miss Phœbe Bayard. It has been suggested by Hon. Robert C. Winthrop,[1] that there may be a clue to St. Clair's marriage with a Bowdoin, in the fact that Major William Ewing (who endowed the Ewing Professorship of Chemistry at Harvard College), was a brother of Mrs. Governor Bowdoin, and served as an Aide-de-Camp to Wolfe at Quebec. He and St. Clair were doubtless friends, and through him a proper introduction at Boston would follow.

By this marriage, St. Clair received the sum of £14,000, being a legacy to his wife from her grandfather, James Bowdoin. This sum, added to what he had saved of his own fortune, made St. Clair a man of wealth, and the brilliant prospect before him influenced him to hasten the time when he should retire from the army. On the 16th of April, 1762, he resigned his commission, and spent some time in Boston. Mr. Alex. Johnston, and other friends of St. Clair in Western Pennsylvania, were of the opinion that he assisted in repelling the Indians from that section in 1763, the year when the articles of peace were signed, and that he commanded, for a time, at Fort Ligonier, in which service he received the title of Captain. A writer in the *National Intelligencer*, in a sketch of the services of St. Clair, declared that General Gage appointed him to take command of the forts in Western Pennsylvania. The only documentary confirmation of this, in St. Clair's own hand, is a letter[2] written to the President of Pennsylvania

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[1] In a letter to Alfred T. Goodman, Esq.

[2] *Pennsylvania Archives*, Vol. X, p. 483: It is said by one writer,

in 1785, in which he says that a part of the grounds at Fort Pitt were granted to him by General Gage.[1] It is certain that he resigned from the British army in 1762, as before stated, and if he served in Western Pennsylvania, it must have been under a different commission. Be this as it may, there is reason to believe that in the year 1764, St. Clair and his young wife removed first to Bedford, and then to the Ligonier Valley, where he had acquired a large tract of land, partly by purchase and partly by grant by the King, for his services in the French war. The fine stretch of valley land, where the village of Ligonier was afterwards built, was a part of that located by St. Clair. The fact that a number of Scotch families,[2] all prominent in the stirring times that followed, had settled here, was an additional inducement for St. Clair to become a pioneer. He entered actively on the improvement of his property,[3]

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that when the French war was closed, St. Clair "had the command of Fort Ligonier assigned him; and also received a grant of one thousand acres of land in that vicinity, which he fancifully chose to lay out in the form of a circle." —*History of Western Pennsylvania*, p. 281. Among the St. Clair papers are letters of Colonel Boquet, of that date, and in a letter of Boquet to Governor Penn, 1763, from camp in Western Pennsylvania, there is a humorous allusion to St. Clair. When St. Clair died, two towns, Ligonier and Greensburg, disputed for the honor of having his body buried in their cemeteries. Colonel Ramsay, an old citizen, who laid out the town of Ligonier on behalf of the former, appealed to Mrs. Robb, a daughter of St. Clair, in the presence of Alex. Johnston, and urged upon her the fact that her father had once been the captain of Old Fort Ligonier. A correspondent of the Pittsburgh *Chronicle*, in a letter recently published, claims that he has seen in the Land Office at Harrisburg, a record stating that St. Clair commanded at Fort Ligonier in 1769.

[1] A letter after the war to Gov. Penn. This does not assert that he was in command of the posts, but that, having a family connection with General Gage, he was requested to confer with that officer for military protection for the frontier.

[2] Here came the Wilsons, the Harbisons, the McFarlands, the McDowells, the Campbells, and the Hannas.—Letter of Alex. Johnston.

[3] St. Clair must have owned in Pennsylvania more land than the records of the Land Office show. In addition to the grants of the King, a Greensburg correspondent of the Pittsburgh *Chronicle*, before

erected a fine residence, and built a grist-mill—the first, and for many years, the only one in that section. The situation here is one of the most romantic in all Pennsylvania, and had attracted the attention of the Scotch General Forbes and companions, one of whom afterwards furnished a description of it, which doubtless induced the families before referred to, to settle there. When that General, in 1758, marched over the Alleghany Mountains for the purpose of taking Fort Du Quesne, after crossing the main range, he passed for a dozen miles through forest glades, until he reached another mountain range running north and south, almost parallel to the Alleghanies. This was called the Laurel Hill. At its western foot his army entered a valley about six miles in width and thirty in length, formed of the Laurel Hill on the eastern side, and the Chestnut Ridge on the western. Midway in this valley Forbes struck a stream called by the Indians Lyalhenning, and now known as Loyalhanna. Near this stream, on his return, he erected a fort, which he called Ligonier, in honor of Lord Ligonier, commander of the British armies. The fort was about half way between Fort Pitt and Fort Bedford, and it was calculated that it would afford needed protection to frontier settlers. The healthfulness and picturesqueness of the situation, the abundance of timber and game of every kind, insured an early settlement.

Hither came St. Clair, and entered actively on civil life. We shall see that his own private affairs were not permitted long to have his exclusive attention. On the 5th of April, 1770, he was appointed Surveyor for the District of Cumberland, which then embraced the western part of the State. A month later, the offices of Justice of the Court of Quarter Sessions and Common Pleas, and Member of the

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quoted, makes the following statement: "In 1783, he was granted, by warrant dated September 24, a tract of 6,219 acres along the Loyalhanna Creek. In all there were 10,881 acres of land, the property of St. Clair, and of these, 8,270 acres lay within the confines of Westmoreland county." The Journals of the Old Continental Congress show that in 1786, Congress granted St. Clair 5,000 acres in one body.

Proprietary, or Governor's Council for Cumberland county were conferred upon him. When Bedford county was erected, in 1771, the Governor made St. Clair a Justice of the Court, Recorder of Deeds, Clerk of the Orphan's Court, and Prothonotary of the Court of Common Pleas for that county.[1] The same year, St. Clair, in connection with Moses McLean, ran a meridian line, nine and a half miles west of the meridian of Pittsburgh. In 1773, Westmoreland was erected from Bedford, when Governor Penn sent St. Clair appointments, corresponding with those held by him for Bedford.

The year 1774 was one of thrilling interest to the inhabitants of Pennsylvania and Virginia, and it proved to be the last in which, as British subjects, they participated in Indian warfare. In that year Lord Dunmore moved against the Ohio Indians, and the killing of Logan's family, and other Indians, was committed by the white inhabitants settled upon the Ohio, near Wheeling and Yellow Creek. There was wide dissatisfaction amongst the tribes that had shown a friendly disposition, and, with a view to prevent a more serious outbreak, Sir William Johnston's deputy Indian agent caused a meeting to be held at Pittsburgh, which St. Clair attended. The conference with the Indians, who embraced deputies from the Six Nations, the Delawares, Shawanese, Munsies, Mohickons, and Twightwees, really extended over a good part of the month of May, beginning on the first. The threatened depredations were checked, but only for a brief season,

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[1] "At a Council held at Philadelphia on the 23d of November, 1771, a special commission for holding a Court of Oyer and Terminer at Bedford, Pa., was appointed to try Lieut. Robert Hamilton, of His Majesty's 18th Regiment of Foot, who stood charged with the murder of Lieut. Tracy, of the same regiment, in the county of Bedford. The Governor issued a special commission, appointing the three eldest justices of the peace in Bedford county to hold said Court. The commission was directed to John Frazer, Bernard Docherty, and Arthur St. Clair, Esquires. The reason for the appointment of this commission was that it would be inconvenient for the Judges of the Supreme Court to take a journey at this season so far as Bedford."—*From the Record of Proceedings of Governor and Executive Council.*

and twenty years were yet to pass before the red man was conquered, and the settlers on the border could lie down at night without dread of the stealthy tread and bloody tomahawk of the savage.

During this year, the controversy which had broken out in 1752, between the proprietors of Pennsylvania and the Governor of Virginia, as to the right of jurisdiction in that part of country bordering on the head-waters of the Ohio, was renewed, and what with this and the Indian depredations the unhappy inhabitants were driven to desperate straits. The lands in the neighborhood of Pittsburgh had been surveyed for the proprietors of Pennsylvania in 1769, and the year following Pennsylvania magistrates were appointed, who continued in the exercise of their duties without molestation from Virginia until the beginning of 1774. At this time, Dr. John Connolly, a native of Pennsylvania, and "a man of much energy and talent, but without principle," appeared on the ground, and having authority from Lord Dunmore, Governor of Virginia, took possession of Fort Pitt, which had been abandoned by the British government, calling it *Fort Dunmore;* and, as Captain Commandant of the Virginia Militia, issued his proclamation, calling on the people to meet him, as a militia, on the 25th of January, 1774. For so doing, St. Clair, then a magistrate of Westmoreland county, issued a warrant against him, and had him committed to jail, at Hannastown, the seat of justice of Westmoreland, which embraced Pittsburgh; from which, however, he was soon released, by giving his word for his appearance at court. Hereupon, a lengthy correspondence took place between the Governors, which, on the part of Lord Dunmore, was arrogant and unbecoming his position. In rehearsing the claims of Virginia, his Lordship insisted that Mr. St. Clair should be punished for his temerity in arresting his agent by dismissal from office, unless he could prevail upon Connolly to apply for his pardon. In his reply, which was in admirable temper, Governor Penn declined to remove St. Clair, who, he said, as a good magistrate, was bound to take legal notice of Mr. Connolly.

"Mr. St. Clair is a gentleman," continued the Governor, "who for a long time had the honor of serving his majesty in the regulars with reputation, and in every station of life has preserved the character of a very honest, worthy man; and though, perhaps, I should not, without first expostulating with you on the subject, have directed him to take that step, yet you must excuse my not complying with your Lordship's requisition of stripping him, on this occasion, of his offices and livelihood, which you will allow me to think not only unreasonable, but somewhat dictatorial."

Counter arrests and much correspondence followed, but the controversy was soon obscured somewhat by the stirring events of Lord Dunmore's War. After this had ended, disturbances were again renewed. Connolly was again arrested; but a counter arrest of three of the Pennsylvania justices caused his release. Now, however, the Boundary Troubles were lost sight of for some years by that storm of war which burst over the whole country. It was to this new and more important theater that St. Clair was invited.

CHAPTER II.

1775–1777—MEETING AT HANNASTOWN TO PROTEST AGAINST AGGRESSIONS OF GREAT BRITAIN—TREATY WITH INDIANS AT PITTSBURGH—ST. CLAIR SUGGESTS EXPEDITION TO DETROIT—APPOINTED COLONEL OF SECOND PENNSYLVANIA—COVERS RETREAT FROM CANADA—SICKNESS AND DEMORALIZATION OF ARMY ON BORDER OF LAKE CHAMPLAIN—ST. CLAIR ORDERED TO REINFORCE WASHINGTON—DESPERATE STRAITS OF THE ARMY—SUFFERING IN THE WINTER—BATTLES OF TRENTON AND PRINCETON—ST. CLAIR SUGGESTS AN INGENIOUS MOVEMENT BY WHICH THE ARMY ELUDES THE BRITISH—BRILLIANT RESULTS.

When the differences between the Colonies and the mother-country finally culminated in preparations for coercion on the one side and resistance on the other, St. Clair was in the prime of life. He is spoken of in the correspondence of contemporaries as a man of imposing appearance, graceful, cultivated, whose agreeable and intelligent conversation, captivating manners, and honorable principles won all hearts. We shall see in what respect and enduring friendship he was held by Washington, La Fayette, Hamilton, Schuyler, Wilson, Reed, and others of the most distinguished of the patriots of the Revolution. The brilliant and versatile Wilkinson referred to it as a piece of great good fortune that he was permitted to be associated with St. Clair, and wrote of him as the "great St. Clair." Later in life, when he had known something of both the smiles and frowns of Fortune, Judge Burnet spoke of him as "unquestionably a man of superior talents, of extensive information, and of great uprightness of purpose, as well as suavity of manners. . . . He had been accustomed from infancy, to mingle in the circles of taste and refinement, and had acquired a polish of manners, and a habitual respect for the feelings of others, which might be cited as a specimen of genuine politeness."[1] He was at this time (1775) in the enjoyment of

[1] *Notes on the North-western Territory*, p. 378.

all that man need wish for to secure happiness. He possessed in a large degree the public confidence. "In this situation," says Wilkinson,[1] "the American Revolution found him, surrounded by a rising family, in the enjoyment of ease and independence, with the fairest prospects of affluent fortune, the foundation of which had been already established by his intelligence, industry, and enterprise. From this peaceful abode; these sweet domestic enjoyments, and the flattering prospects which accompanied them, he was drawn by the claims of a troubled country. A man known to have been a military officer, and distinguished for knowledge and integrity, could not in those times be concealed, even by his favorite mountains, and, therefore, without application or expectation on his part, he received the commission of a colonel, in the month of December, 1775, together with a letter from President Hancock, pressing him to repair immediately to Philadelphia. He obeyed the summons, and took leave not only of his wife and children, but, in effect, of his fortune,[2] to embark

[1] *Memoirs of My Own Times*, p. 84.

James Wilkinson was a native of Maryland. He entered the army at an early age, and was first assigned to a position in connection with General Washington's headquarters. He served on the staff of General St. Clair, and was his brigade major at the battles of Trenton and Princeton, which he so graphically describes in his Memoirs. He accompanied General Gates to the Northern Department, and was appointed Adjutant General of that Department, and was at the battle of Saratoga. It was about this time that Washington remarked that Wilkinson possessed a more promising military genius than almost any he knew. Wilkinson emigrated to Kentucky, at the close of the war, and went into business there. When St. Clair became Governor of the North-western Territory, their acquaintance was renewed, and Wilkinson soon received an appointment in the army. He eventually became Commander-in-Chief, and, after a brilliant career, died in 1825. Wilkinson was well educated, was a fine orator, and was one of the most accomplished men of his day.

[2] "At the commencement of the Revolution, St. Clair owned seven hundred acres of good land, on which the town of Ligonier now stands. This was the only grant St. Clair obtained before the Revolution, but it was a most beautiful property, and promised to become very valuable. The losses of St. Clair in the war were such that he was forced

in the cause of liberty and the United Colonies." "I hold," wrote St. Clair to his intimate friend James Wilson,[1] "I hold that no man has a right to withhold his services when his country needs them. Be the sacrifice ever so great, it must be yielded upon the altar of patriotism."

The Scotch residents of Westmoreland were not indifferent to the perils of the times, and on the 16th of May a meeting was held at Hannastown for the purpose of protesting against the aggressions of the mother-country, which was participated in by St. Clair. "My first connection with the United States," says he, in that pathetic letter to the Congressional Committee, in his old age, "my first connection with the United States began in the year 1775. Congress had appointed commissioners to repair to Fort Pitt to treat with the Indians, and induce them to a neutrality during our contest with Great Britain. These were the late Judge Wilson, of Pennsylvania, General Lewis Morris, of New York, and Dr. Walker, of Virginia. The two first were members of that body and my particular friends. On their way to the rendezvous they called upon me, and requested that I would accompany them and act as their secretary during the negotiations, to which I consented; and, in the course of time, formed the pro-

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to give up his Ligonier estate. It passed from St. Clair to James Galbraith, from him to James Ramsey, and from him to his son, John Ramsey, who founded upon it the town of Ligonier. He attempted to have the town called Ramsey, but old Fort Ligonier gave its name not only to the town, but to the whole valley, of which one township is called St. Clair."—*MS. letter of Alex. Johnston.*

[1] James Wilson, a signer of the Declaration of Independence, and one of the most distinguished men of the Revolutionary period, was, like St. Clair, a native of Scotland. He came to Philadelphia in 1766, when he was twenty-four years of age, and studied and practiced law there. In the Convention which framed the Federal Constitution, he ranked high as a debater, and was Chairman of the Committee which reported the Constitution. In 1789, he was appointed a judge of the United States Supreme Court, which position he held until his death, in 1798. He was devotedly attached to St. Clair, and, after the latter was appointed Governor of the North-western Territory, he tried to prevail on him to return to Pennsylvania and enter political life there.

ject of a volunteer expedition to surprise Detroit, which I thought very practicable in that way, provided the Indians would engage not to oppose it. That project I communicated to the commissioners, who entered into it warmly; and, in consequence of their approbation, I engaged between four and five hundred young men, in a very short time, who were to furnish their own horses, forage, and provisions; they required nothing from the public but ammunition, which could not be procured in that part of the country. The commissioners strongly recommended the measure to Congress; but, after a delay of many weeks, it was disapproved, and the reason assigned was that General Arnold was before Quebec, and the fall of that place was counted on as certain, and Detroit, as a dependency must fall with it, and would be included in the capitulation. The true reason I suppose to have been the scarcity of ammunition."

But Arnold's expedition ended in disaster.[1] If the plan suggested by St. Clair had been carried out, and Detroit surprised and captured, would the possession of that important western post by the colonists have proved a check upon the Indians?

The letter from President Hancock called St. Clair to Philadelphia. He resigned his civil offices, and repaired to that city for orders. On the 22d of January following, he received instructions to raise a regiment to serve in Canada, and in six weeks (such was the popular confidence in St. Clair) the regiment[2] was completed, "not a single man wanting," and on the 12th of March it left Philadelphia, for the north, fully equipped. "I had six companies of it," says St. Clair, "in the vicinity of Quebec, on the

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[1] "Men of different opinions concerning the policy of nations will judge differently with regard to this expedition; but whether they determine the ends of it good or evil, all must allow, that it was a great undertaking, and conducted with much intrepidity."—*Murray's "An Impartial History of the Present War in America,"* Vol. II. p. 569.

[2] This was the Second Pennsylvania, regarded as the crack regiment of that province.

11th of May, just in time to cover the retreat of the army from that place, and the other four companies at Sorel, on the St. Lawrence."

The situation of the American army when St. Clair arrived in Canada was very critical. While Congress was resolving to send reinforcements and hard money[1] to keep the good-will of the Canadians, Arnold was contriving how to escape from Montreal, and General Thomas was attempting to remove his sick and cannon from before Quebec to a place of safety, agreeably to the decision of a council of war held on the 5th of May. The good-will of the Canadians, which had been manifested to the noble Montgomery the year before, had lately been withdrawn, on account of the lawless conduct of the American troops, and supplies could no longer be obtained. Washington had expressly instructed Arnold to see that the Canadians were not despoiled of their goods, and were made to feel that the colonists were their brethren; but they were robbed and cheated on every hand, and, to add to the disgrace, vast quantities of valuable goods were carried away from Montreal by Arnold's express command.

Disaster quickly followed disaster. An important post at the Cedars was surrendered in the most cowardly manner to Captain Forster, of Detroit, whose force consisted of only one hundred and forty men, besides Indians, while reinforcements for the garrison were on the way from Montreal, and General Arnold was prepared to follow with several hundred more.

The departure from Quebec had been so long delayed that General Carleton, greatly strengthened by recent accessions from without, was enabled to take the offensive. Thomas, with the few men he could collect, not exceeding two hundred and fifty, retreated in great disorder to Point Deschambault, forty-eight miles above Quebec. "Many of the sick, with all of the military stores, fell into the hands of the enemy. Unfortunately, to their quantity

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[1] The whole amount of hard money in the Continental Treasury at this period was £1,662 1s. 3d.

were added two tons of powder, just sent down by General Schuyler, and five hundred stand of small arms."[1] After halting at Point Deschambault for a few days, General Thomas retreated to the mouth of the Sorel[2] "in a condition not to be expressed by words; but had the satisfaction of being joined there by four regiments that were waiting for them,"[3] of which the Pennsylvania troops brought by St. Clair constituted a part. Shortly after his arrival, General Thomas was taken ill of the small-pox, and removed to Chambly, where, on the 2d of June, he died.

Colonel St. Clair had left Montreal, where he had been to consult with the Committee of Congress, on the 15th of May, for Sorel. A plan for fortifying Deschambault had been agreed on.[4]

During the illness of General Thomas, and for several days after his death, General Thompson[5] was in command

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[1] *Marshall's Life of Washington*, Vol. II., p. 327, who also adds: "Much to the honor of General Carleton, he pursued the wise and humane policy of treating with gentleness the sick and other prisoners that fell into his hands."

[2] M. Garneau says: "They halted not till they arrived at Sorel." Hildreth makes the same mistake. The authorities for the statement made in the text, are manuscripts in the State Department——Gordon and Marshall, who, writing of events when they were fresh, must be accepted as the highest authorities, Bancroft and Irving. The fact of a second council being held at Deschambault, and that the place was declared to be untenable, is distinctly stated.

[3] *Gordon*—Vol. II., p. 253. "The Americans have lost in him one of their best generals." *Ibid.* General Thomas "had prohibited inoculation among his troops, because it put too many of their scanty number on the sick list; he probably fell a victim to his own prohibition." *Irving's Life of Washington*, Vol. II., p. 251. General John Thomas served in the old French and Indian war and was appointed from Massachusetts.

[4] *Force's American Archives, Fourth Series*, Vol. VI., p. 578.—The letter of the Commissioners to General Schuyler is interesting, as showing the delusion the Americans were under as to the number of British troops in Canada.

[5] Carrington, in his "*Battles of the Revolution*," p. 166, remarks that "Chief Justice Marshall supplies a fact in this connection which reconciles other historical accounts, and shows that during the four days which intervened between the death of General Thomas and the ar-

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of the forces at Sorel, and it was at this time that St. Clair suggested to him the "practicability of retarding, at least, if not preventing entirely, the British transports from passing up the river by taking post at the village of Three Rivers, from which place he had seen in the former war a division of them very much injured and obliged to fall back, and proposed to gain possession of it with six hundred men."[1]

General Thompson agreed to it, and on the fifth day of June St. Clair marched from the camp of Sorel to the village of Nicolet, which is opposite to the lower end of the lake St. Peter, on the south side, whence he intended to cross the St. Lawrence, and the boats that were necessary were ordered to join him there in the night. A few hours after St. Clair's departure, General Sullivan arrived at Sorel, and being informed of what had been done, detached General Thompson, with two or three regiments, including Colonel Irvine's and a detachment of Wayne's, to join the forces at Nicolet. He arrived there that night and took the command. All the next day was spent in working on the redoubts, and on the succeeding night General Thompson crossed the lake without any accident, landing about two hours before day, but at a point several miles beyond the one designated.[2] It was now that General Thompson committed the blunder that lost the day and defeated the object of the expedition.

St. Clair's plan had been to surprise the enemy at Three Rivers, where, it was supposed, from information communicated by the Canadians, there was but a small detachment, from five to eight hundred men, fortify and delay or prevent the British transports from passing up

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rival of General Sullivan, General Thompson was in command, and that he sent St. Clair to Nicolet for the purpose of surprising the British post at Three Rivers." It is singular that historical writers of a later day overlook this fact, and treat of the movement to Three Rivers as having been made directly under orders of General Sullivan. General Sullivan's real responsibility, and an inaccuracy of Colonel Carrington's, are noticed in the text.

[1] *St. Clair's Narrative. Appendix*, pp. 236–38.

[2] *Journal of Colonel Irvine, Hist. Mag.*, Vol. VIII.

the river. General Sullivan had approved of the plan, and having more reliable information than his subordinates, had thought it advisable to increase the force to two thousand men. Even then, out of abundant caution, he instructed Thompson not to attack the encampment at Three Rivers "unless there was great prospect of success, as his defeat might prove the total loss of Canada."[1]

But it is evident that Sullivan was not aware of the extent to which the British troops had been reinforced, and that he had the most buoyant anticipations of the result of his enterprises in Canada. To Washington he wrote: "I venture to assure you, and the Congress, that I can in a few days reduce the army to order, and, with the assistance of a kind Providence, put a new face to our affairs here, which a few days since seemed almost impossible." If success was had at Three Rivers, he would fortify at Point Deschambault, and make that the base of operations against Quebec. The confidence of the Canadians had been restored to the Colonists, and all would go well.

The Canadians were deceiving him, perhaps, with a view of regaining the friendship of the British, who, since their friendly greeting to Montgomery, had been suspicious of them. The American forces had scarcely effected a landing on the hither side of St. Peter, when a Canadian[2] hastened to General Fraser's encampment, at Three Rivers, and apprised him of the movements of the Americans. Meanwhile, the rumor had been adroitly spread among the American troops that the British had a post, distant about three miles, at a white house on the main road to the village, and it soon reached General Thompson. We will let St. Clair finish the story:

"It had been the intention not to pursue the main road, but to strike off from it into another that lay nearly parallel, but at some distance from the river, and the point of separation was between us and the white house. General Thompson, on hearing that the British were in his neigh-

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[1] *Irving's Washington*, Vol. II., p. 252.

[2] *Gordon.* Garneau says by a Captain of Militia. P. 152.

borhood, instantly put the detachment in motion to surprise them; but, when we reached the house, there were no troops there, nor had any been there; the place, however, where the roads separated had been passed, and we were full two miles advanced of it; the guide, a very intelligent man, thought we might gain the intended road by marching across the forest, in less time than must necessarily be spent in going back to the place first proposed, but without any path; it was accordingly attempted, but a considerable time was spent without reaching it, and the General became suspicious that the guide was misleading him, and impatient of the delay, and the sun being near the rising, he ordered the troops back on their track to the main road they had quitted, where they were soon discovered and fired upon from an advanced guard-boat. The colors were then displayed and the drums ordered to beat, and he resolved attempting that by open force which had intended to be done by surprise. The detachment marched but a short distance, before an armed vessel, posted lower down the river, opened her fire and annoyed it a good deal, which induced the officer, who led the front division, to strike off into a road that presented itself, leading obliquely from the river, and that seemed as if it would fall into the same road after crossing what appeared to be a small wood, which would, in the mean time, cover the men from the fire of the vessel. It led us, indeed, into the wood, which was far from being a small one, as had been supposed, and was crossed with the utmost labor and difficulty, being a morass the whole way through it, full three miles over, knee deep nearly at every step, and intersected by a small rivulet, which had to be crossed many times, and took the men to their breasts.[1] It opened at last upon a cultivated plain at no great distance from the village, but beyond it. Here we saw the transports were arrived, and the troops[2] busily debarking, and a considerable body, with

[1] "A worse march, for about a mile and a half, did not offer in all Arnold's Expedition. The men were almost mired."—*Gordon*, Vol. III, p. 257.

[2] The forces of General Nesbit.

some pieces of artillery, coming to meet us. The advance of the two corps were soon engaged, but they were not equal, and ours were obliged to give way, and we were forced to trace back our steps through the same dismal swamp by which we had advanced."

The Americans lost in killed, wounded, and prisoners, about two hundred;[1] among the latter were General Thompson, Colonel Irvine, and several other officers. The British loss was trifling.[2]

The command of the Americans now fell to St. Clair,[3] who led them to the landing place. Here they found the enemy formed in good order on a rising ground above the

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[1] *Gordon*, Vol. III, p. 258.

[2] The account given by Bancroft of the engagement is extraordinary, and unsupported by any other historian, and is certainly inconsistent with the circumstances surrounding the opposing forces. He says: "Wayne began the attack, and forced an advance party to run; his companions then pressed forward in column againt the breastworks, which covered the main body of the enemy. They displayed undisputed gallantry; but being outnumbered more than three to one, were compelled to retire. To secure time for the retreat, Wayne and Allen, with about five officers and twenty men, sheltered by the dense forest, which hid the paucity of their numbers, kept up a fire from the edge of the swamp for an hour longer, when they also were obliged to fly." To make this fit in he adds that Thompson and Irvine were separated from the main force. It is to be regretted that Bancroft did not give his authority for this. Gordon and Marshall and St. Clair say that Thompson directed the attack; which is undoubtedly correct. Colonel Irvine, in his account, does not mention Wayne as having been present. There was a detachment of about one hundred and thirty-eight of his regiment. M. Garneau, in his History of Canada (vol. ii, p. 153), says the British outnumbered the Americans, besides having artillery; and that the latter were encountered near a wood one and a half miles distant from Three Rivers, and after an obstinate struggle with the British vanguard, were thrown back on another antagonistic corps, which outflanked and drove them into a marshy wood to the north of Lake St. Peter." It will be seen that the supposititious attack of Wayne on the *breast works* is absurd.

[3] St. Clair was the senior officer. He had the misfortune to run a snag quite through one of his feet, but he continued to command the troops until they were entered safely in the woods and were beyond pursuit. Colonel Irvine's account (Jour.) corroborates St. Clair's up to the time of his capture. General Thompson's feelings are expressed in a letter to St. Clair written after his exchange, p. 379.

point of the lake, and their boats removed. There seemed nothing left but to lay down their arms, but St. Clair, determining to make an effort to escape, hastily formed his men as with the design to attack, and making a movement to the right, which threw a point of woods between them and the enemy, gave the order to continue in the road until a road should be reached which led to an Acadian village and crossed the Riviere de Loups, beyond which St. Clair thought it improbable they would be pursued. This proved a wise movement. The enemy amused themselves by firing a harmless volley, but did not attempt to follow. In two or three days they again reached Sorel torn and demoralized, to the astonishment and chagrin of poor Sullivan, who had gone so far while Thompson's forces were encountering the enemy at Three Rivers, as to write Washington of his supposed success. Alas! the painful and humiliating task now fell to him of relating the details of the unexpected disaster, and of preparing to save his broken army from capture by the victorious enemy, now numbering near thirteen thousand, and led by Carleton, Burgoyne, and Fraser.

But Sullivan did not immediately come to the conclusion to abandon the impossible enterprise of regaining Canada. After the affair of Three Rivers, he wrote to Washington that he was employed day and night in fortifying and securing his camp, and that he was determined to hold it as long as a person would stick to him.[1]

The camp at Sorel, says St. Clair, with a view to defense, had been ill chosen. "It was placed in low ground lying along the St. Lawrence, from the mouth of the Sorel downwards, and no otherwise fortified than by a four-gun battery in front, on the edge of an extensive beach of movable sand, of which every high wind took up great quantities, and so filled the embrasures of the battery that the cannon had to be dug out very frequently. The left flank was perfectly secured by the Sorel, but on the right flank there was nothing but a sort of abattis formed of very

[1] *Force's American Archives.* [2] *Gordon.*

tall pine saplings, which effectually hid every thing below it, and would have covered completely the approach of an enemy, and nothing more would have been requisite to drive every man out of camp, than to set fire to the abattis with a favorable wind." St. Clair had often remarked to General Sullivan the danger of the situation,[1] and pressed him to change it and occupy the high ground. He did not think it necessary, but after he had seen a strong column of the enemy pass on the other side of the St. Lawrence, called a council of his officers. There was a unanimous expression of opinion in favor of an immediate abandonment of the position. Thereupon, the General directed that the boats be got above the rapids—a difficult task, which could not have been accomplished but for the Generals's own exertions[2]—dismounted his batteries and retreated with his artillery and stores to the Isle-aux-Noix in Lake Champlain, "and so critical was the movement, that before the last of the boats were out of the reach of musketry, the enemy entered the fort."[3]

The retreat was conducted with consummate ability, and the praise which it called forth was some compensation for poor Sullivan. His field officers, numbering twenty-seven, including St. Clair, De Hass, Wayne, and Maxwell, addressed him a letter on the occasion of his withdrawal from the Northern Department, expressing their confidence in him and appreciation of his labors.[4]

Thus ended "an eight months' campaign of checkered fortunes, varying according to the dispositions, favoring or unfavoring of the Canadians,"[5] the Americans having been driven from every post, and having lost in the field, and by sickness and desertion about five thousand men. Besides this, their prestige as soldiers was gone, and their treasury

[1] "After the unlucky affair at Three Rivers, by his counsel to General Sullivan at Sorel, he saved the army we had in Canada.—*Wilkinson's Memoirs*, Vol. I., p. 85.

[2] St. Clair's account. [3] Ibid.

[4] *Force's American Archives*, Fifth Series, Vol. I., p. 127.

[5] *Garneau*, Vol. II., p. 153.

exhausted of "hard money." The outlook was gloomy indeed.

From Isle-aux-Noix the Americans passed to Crown Point, and thence to Ticonderoga.

Take a look at the army at Crown Point:

"At this place I found not an army, but a mob, the shattered remains of twelve or fifteen very fine battalions, ruined by sickness,[1] fatigue, and desertion, and void of every idea of discipline or subordination. . . . We have now three thousand sick, and about the same number well; this leaves near five thousand men to be accounted for. Of these the enemy has cost us perhaps one, sickness another thousand, and the others, God alone knows in what manner they are disposed of. Among the few we have remaining, there is neither order, subordination, nor harmony; the officers as well as men of one colony insulting and quarreling with those of another."[2]

And this same condition of demoralization was to be continued for another year, and transferred to Ticonderoga to wreck the fortunes of brave and patriotic officers, because the master-spirits in Congress, who were conducting the war, feared lest liberty might suffer something if men were permitted with muskets in their hands for over one hundred and eighty days!

A council of officers with General Schuyler at the head, decided that Crown Point was untenable, and thereupon Congress called in question the decision. General Gates, who had meanwhile been placed in command by the same infallible authority, defended the decision with some spirit in a letter to Washington.[3] He said that the most im-

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[1] The sickness was principally from small-pox. "I left them [the sick] and walked around the island, and found the sick of the whole army in the same situation, amounting to thousands, some dead, others dying. Great numbers could not stand, calling on us (the physicians) for help, and we had nothing to give them. It broke my heart, and I wept until I had no more power to weep."—*Dr. Samuel J. Myrick, of Massachusetts, in a letter to John Trumbull.*

[2] *Life of Col. John Trumbull.*

[3] *Force's American Archives*, Fifth Series, Vol. I., p. 650.

portant of the field-officers—"Colonel St. Clair and Colonel De Haas, in particular, men whose long service and distinguished characters deservedly give their opinions a preference"—acquiesced in the opinion of the general officers. He added: "The ramparts are tumbled down, the casements are fallen in, the barracks burnt, and the whole so perfect a ruin that it would take five times the number of our army, for several summers, to put it in defensible repair." Accordingly, the army was moved to Ticonderoga.

Here St. Clair remained during the summer, being kept busy as presiding officer of a court-martial and in routine camp duty. He was a favorite with the entire camp. Colonel Hartley suggested to General Gates that the Pennsylvania troops be brigaded together, and that Colonel St. Clair, "an old and experienced officer, would be exceedingly acceptable, and every one would act with confidence under him," as brigade commander. Colonel Ogden declared that there was no better man, and that Congress ought to appoint him a Brigadier.[1]

On the 28th of July, which fell on Sunday, St. Clair had the honor of reading to the assembled troops the Declaration of Independence, a copy of which had been received from Philadelphia.[2]

On the 9th of August, St. Clair was elected a Brigadier-General by Congress, and, subsequently, by order of the same authority,[3] left the Northern Department and joined General Washington in New Jersey. Here, during that memorable winter of 1776–77, in which the cause of the

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[1] *Force's American Archives*, Fifth Series, Vol. I., pp. 176 and 604.

[2] "Immediately after divine worship this day, the Declaration of Independence was read by Colonel St. Clair; and having said, 'God save the free independent States of America!' the army manifested their joy with three cheers!"—*Ibid*, p. 630.

[3] Official Order to Major-General Schuyler, from Headquarters, Newark, November 26, signed by Harrison. It is proper to remark, however, in this connection, that St. Clair was at Albany when the order of Congress was made known to him. He had taken to that place at request of General Schuyler, his brigade consisting then of the fine regiment of DeHaas, and the First and Second Jersey regiments.

Americans was brought to extremest peril, and through the genius, inspiring courage, and remarkable tact of Washington, under Providence, was rescued, and commanded the respectful attention of Europe, he shared in the labors and privations, in the misfortunes, and in the glorious triumphs of the army. Amid all the gloom he never despaired. Other officers high in public esteem might fall away, but St. Clair remained true to the cause of freedom, and to the Chief who had been chosen to represent it.

A brief retrospect of the expiring autumn and early winter-days of 1776 will give us a clear view of the condition of Washington's army when St. Clair joined it with his brigade. The British commander suddenly ended the uncertainty of his plan of campaign by sending Lord Cornwallis across the Hudson with an overwhelming force to invest and capture Fort Washington. This accomplished, and Fort Lee in possession of the enemy, the way was open through the Jerseys to the American capital. Washington had anticipated the movement and consequent danger, and wrote to Greene, in whose department it was, to dismantle Fort Washington, withdraw the garrison, and remove the stores to a more secure place. And now we behold the fatal effects of divided counsel. Congress had thought it desirable and practicable to defend the Highlands. Greene believed it possible to defend the Fort against the British, and, unfortunately, Washington yielded his better judgment to the importunities of this favorite general. The investment in force took place; the troops were driven from height after height back on to the garrison until it was no longer possible for Magaw to get his troops to man the lines. The sight of the American flag hauled down and the British flag waving in its place, told Washington, who stood a spectator on the opposite side of the river, of the surrender.[1] The loss in well-tried soldiers was two thousand eight hundred and eighteen prisoners, besides the killed and wounded, and

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[1] *Irving's Life of Washington*, Vol. II., p. 454.

in stores of all kinds, including artillery and arms of the best quality, very great. Fatal blunder! which Greene afterwards sought to retrieve on many a field of battle.[1]

Fort Lee was abandoned, but so closely were the Americans pressed by the enemy that all of the artillery, except two twelve-pounders, the tents, baggage and provisions, were lost. The flight continued to the Hackensack River, the passage of which, however, the enemy did not dispute. From this point Washington caused General Lee to be apprised of the situation and ordered him to remove his troops to the west side of the Hudson, and there await further commands. To maintain his position on the Hackensack was impossible, and, leaving three regiments to guard the passes, Washington crossed the Passaic and established his headquarters at Newark. His army was rapidly melting away by the expiration of enlistments. In a few days he would have scarcely two thousand troops, and the enemy, with a well-appointed force, was approaching.

Almost in despair, Washington sent off messengers to the peripatetic Legislature of New Jersey, to the Governor of Pennsylvania, and to Congress, calling earnestly for help. To Lee, on whom he relied for prompt assistance, he sent a peremptory order to march his troops at once to join him. This order was disregarded. Week after week passed, and Lee did not appear. It is now known that that officer thought Washington's star was setting, and that by striking an independent blow he might be appointed Commander-in-Chief. Lee esteemed himself a better soldier than Washington; he was in correspondence with Gates and Colonel Reed, of Washington's staff, and confidently counted on the support of the people and

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[1] This fatal policy of permitting troops to be surrounded in untenable fortifications and captured by the enemy, never received any censure from Congress. It was at a time when not a man could be spared. The loss came near wrecking the fortunes of the colonists. The reader will have opportunity to contrast this silence by Congress and the people with the vituperative and shameful course pursued toward another officer, who refused to be glorified by being captured at the expense of his country.

Congress.[1] He followed slowly in the rear of the enemy, and had planned an attack on the British at Princeton,[2] when, unluckily for himself, but luckily for the United States, he was surprised at a country house and captured.

The capture of Lee placed General Sullivan in command, and that officer now hastened the march of the troops southward, in obedience to the orders of Washington. These troops had been joined *en route* by the brigade of St. Clair,[3] who had come from the Northern Department. Washington and his little force retreated from Newark to Brunswick, on the Raritan, where he hoped to make a stand; thence to Princeton, and thence to Trenton, which place he reached on the 2d of December, in a condition that beggars description. The militia of New Jersey had refused to turn out; the disposition of the Pennsylvanians was so unreliable that soldiers had to be posted at the fords to prevent the militia from returning home. Those that remained faithful were without tents, shoes, or blankets. The total loss to the Americans during this campaign had been four thousand four hundred and thirty in soldiers, including officers, and munitions of war and

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[1] Lee was a great favorite with the populace, and his experience as a soldier in Europe gave him strong backing in Congress.

[2] *Wilkinson's Memoirs,* which contain a graphic description of the capture of Lee. Greene evidently saw through the purpose of Lee, for in a letter to Washington written during the suspense, he says that he heard a report that Lee was at the heels of the enemy. "I should think," he adds, "he had better keep on the flanks than the rear, unless it were possible to concert an attack at the same instant of time in front and rear. . . . I think General Lee must be confined within the lines of some general plan, or else his operations will be independent of yours. His own troops, General St. Clair's, and the militia, must form a respectable army"

[3] Letter from Baltimore announcing arrival of St. Clair at Headquarters. *Force's American Archives,* Fifth Series, Vol. III, p. 1419.

The soldiers of St. Clair were the only ones in the service during this gloomy period, whose terms were about to expire, who could be induced to re-enlist, and "they were permitted to visit their friends and homes, as part of the terms on which they would re-engage."—*Letter of Washington to Congress, Dec.* 24.

stores of every kind, to such an extent that it was doubtful if the loss could ever be repaired.

To his brother, Augustine, Washington wrote: "If every nerve is not strained to recruit the army with all possible expedition, I think the game is nearly up." And he contemplated retreating beyond the Alleghanies. To the President of Congress he wrote, on the 24th of December: "That I should dwell on the subject of our distresses, can not be more disagreeable to Congress than it is painful to myself. The alarming situation to which our affairs are reduced, impels me to the measure." And to Robert Morris he said: "Bad as our prospects are, I should not have the least doubt of success in the end, did not the late treachery and defection of those who stood foremost in the opposition, while fortune smiled upon us, make me fear that many more would follow their example; who, by using their influence with some, and working upon the fears of others, may extend the circle so as to take in whole towns, counties; nay, provinces. Of this we have a recent instance in Jersey; and I wish many parts of Pennsylvania may not be ready to receive the yoke."

"Should it be true, as reported, that the American General once wept, while he fled through the Jerseys, that will not prove the want of personal fortitude. He is neither less, nor more than a man."[1]

Having been strengthened by the troops brought by St. Clair from the North, those of Lee's command, and some militia from Pennsylvania, Washington thought to strike a blow at the enemy, who had gone into winter quarters, by surprising different posts, and in this way revive the drooping spirits of the Americans. He formed the bold plan of crossing the Delaware on the night of Christmas and attacking Colonel Rahl's command at Trenton. The account of this adventure, given by Wilkinson, who was a participant, is the best ever written, and we shall follow it in our brief memoir.

When Wilkinson joined the troops under General Wash-

[1] *Gordon*, Vol. II, p. 359.

ington, he found General St. Clair near headquarters, and resumed the station of Brigade-Major in his family, but, at General Gates's particular request, he obtained permission to accompany him to Newtown, and finally as far as Philadelphia. When he applied to General St. Clair for leave, that officer observed that he should "have no objection, if he did not think it interested his honor, at that time, to remain with the brigade." Not understanding the import of the remark, Wilkinson laid less stress upon it than he ought to have done, and departed with Gates. On the way to Philadelphia, Gates was much depressed, censorious of Washington, and said he should propose a new plan of campaign to Congress. That night he wrote a letter to Washington before retiring, and handed it to Wilkinson to be delivered. Early the next morning the latter started to return to headquarters, which he reached about two o'clock. To his surprise, he discovered that the troops and General Washington had moved. From Colonel Harrison, the General's secretary, who had been left in charge of his papers, he received the necessary directions, and proceeded in quest of the troops, *whose route was easily traced, as there was a little snow on the ground, which was tinged here and there with blood from the feet of the men who wore broken shoes.* He got up with his brigade near McConky's Ferry about dusk, and, inquiring for the Commander-in-Chief, was directed to his quarters, where he found him alone, with his whip in his hand, prepared to mount his horse.

"When I presented the letter of General Gates to him," says Wilkinson, "before receiving it, he exclaimed with solemnity, 'What a time is this to hand me letters!' I answered that I had been charged with it by General Gates. 'By General Gates! Where is he?' 'I left him this morning in Philadelphia.' 'What was he doing there?' 'I understood him that he was on his way to Congress.' He earnestly repeated, 'On his way to Congress!' then broke the seal, and I made my bow and joined General St. Clair on the bank of the river.

"Boats were in readiness, and the troops began to cross

about sunset, but the force of the current, the sharpness of the frost, the darkness of the night, the ice which made during the operation, and a high wind, rendered the passage of the river extremely difficult; and but for the stentorian lungs and extraordinary exertions of Colonel Knox, it could not have been effected in season for the enterprise." It was four o'clock before the troops were formed and put in motion, at which time it began to hail and snow.

The troops moved in two divisions. The first, or right,[1] led by Sullivan, which included the brigade of St. Clair, was directed to follow the river road and enter the town by Water street. The second, or left, led by Washington, who was accompanied by Stirling, Greene, Mercer, and Stephen, moved circuitously by the upper road to the north of Trenton, for the purpose of making an attack from the point of King's (now Greene) street. As this column moved on the longer line, Sullivan's was to halt for a few minutes at a cross-road leading to Howell's Ferry, where he arrived about twilight. The attack of the two columns was to be simultaneous.

While at the cross-road, it was discovered by Captain John Glover, of the Marblehead regiment, that many of the muskets were wet, and not in firing condition. The communication was made to General Sullivan in presence of General St. Clair and the officers of their suites. Sullivan cast a look at St. Clair and observed, "What is to be done?" who instantly replied, "You have nothing for it, but to push on and charge." The march was commenced, Colonel Stark in command of the advanced guard, the troops attempting to clear their muskets as they moved on, which occasioned a good deal of squibbing. Meanwhile, an officer was dispatched to apprise the General of the state of the army, who returned for answer by his aid-de-camp, Colonel Webb, to "advance and charge."

It was now broad day, and the storm beat violently in the faces of the men. Washington, who rode by the side of Captain Forest, near to the front of his column, as he approached the village, inquired of an inhabitant, who was

[1] **Order of march given in Memoir of General Knox. Appendix.**

chopping wood by the roadside, "Which way is the Hessian picket?" "I do n't know," replied the citizen, waiving an answer. "You may speak," said Captain Forest, "for that is General Washington." The astonished man raised his hands to heaven, and exclaimed, "God bless and prosper you, sir; the picket is in that house, and the sentry stands near the tree."[1] Captain Washington received an order to dislodge the picket, and Captain Forest to unlimber the artillery, when the attack was made. Gen. St. Clair responded on the front of Sullivan's column, forced the enemy's pickets and pressed into the town, the others pressing close behind. The enemy made a wild and undirected fire from the windows of their quarters and then attempted to form in the main street, but were prevented by a discharge from the battery of Captain Forest, under the immediate orders of General Washington, at the head of King's street. Pressed in front and on the left, a troop of dragoons, with about five hundred infantry, took to flight across the Assanpink, in the direction of Bordentown, where Count Donop lay. The main body, seeing their Commander, Colonel Rahl, fall, retired by their right up the Assanpink, but were intercepted by Colonel Hand's rifle corps and some Virginia troops, who had been sent by Washington for that purpose, and compelled to lay down their arms.

The loss of the Americans was one man frozen to death, two killed, and four wounded; that of the enemy, Colonel Rahl, six other officers, and about forty privates killed; twenty-three officers and almost one thousand non-commissioned officers and privates prisoners; a thousand stand of arms, six brass field-pieces, and four stands of colors. This enterprise, so happily executed, reflected high honor on General Washington, electrified the country, and inspired friends in Europe with hope. If Washington's entire plan, which included the crossing of a column, under General Ewing, at Trenton Ferry, and another, under General Cadwallader, from Bristol, had been executed, the troops that

[1] *Wilkinson's Memoirs*, Vol. I, p. 129.

escaped would have been captured before they could reach Count Donop. But, as it was, the victory was a very important one, as it stopped the stampede to the enemy, and insured final success to the Revolution.

There was a sequel to this affair, which we shall now proceed to relate. Washington, who had recrossed the Delaware after his success, thinking it possible to capture other posts of the enemy, again braved the perils of the icy river, and stationed his troops at Trenton. But the enemy had been driven into activity, and now approached him with a superior force, under Lord Cornwallis. Washington was caught in a *cul-de-sac*, with half-clad militia, only, to oppose veteran troops. To make a safe retreat was impracticable, and to give battle with his present force was to invite certain defeat and the loss of the cause. In this emergency, he ordered Generals Mifflin and Cadwallader to join him with their forces, amounting to about three thousand six hundred men. "He did it with reluctance, for it seemed like involving them in the common danger; but the exigency of the case admitted of no alternative."[1] They joined him on the 1st of January.

The main body of the Americans took position on the east side of the Assanpink. There was a narrow stone bridge across it, where the water was very deep[2]—the same bridge over which part of Rahl's brigade had escaped in the recent affair. He planted his artillery so as to command the bridge and the fords. His advance-guard was stationed at Five Mile run, under Colonel Hand, of the famous rifle corps, and with him was our friend Captain Forest, with his light battery, where the advance of the enemy received its first check on the 2d of January, on the road from Princeton. Colonel Hand retired leisurely before the enemy, until Shabbakong creek was reached, on the south side of which he made a stand in the wood on both sides of the road. "In this position, he waited for the flank and advance-guard of the

[1] *Irving's Life of Washington*, Vol. II., p. 539. [2] Ibid.

enemy until they came within point-blank shot, and then opened a deadly fire from ambush, which broke and forced them back, in great confusion, on the main body, closely pursued by the riflemen. The boldness of this maneuver, menacing a general attack, induced the enemy to form in order of battle, to bring up his artillery, and open a battery, with which he scoured the wood for half an hour before he entered it. This operation consumed two hours, during which time the rifle corps took breath, and were ready to renew the skirmish. The brigade of General St. Clair, with two pieces of artillery, under Captain Sargent,[1] were assigned to the defense of the fords of the Assanpink, on the right of the line."[2] The enemy reconnoitered these fords, but, finding them guarded, did not attempt them. Time had been gained, as Washington desired, so that the day was far spent when the enemy entered Trenton.

The Americans opened on the columns of the enemy with a well directed fire from the battery stationed above the bridge, and was presently answered by a counter battery. The cannonade continued nearly half an hour, during which the roar of musketry was mingled with that of the artillery. The enemy kept his front well deployed and supported, and finally succeeded in forcing the opposing corps to retire by the bridge across the Assanpink. After this, the enemy took post in front of the Americans, at about one thousand yards distant, with the village of Trenton and the Assanpink lying between. A cannonade ensued between the two armies, with little effect,[3] during which Lord Cornwallis deployed his columns and extended his lines to the westward, on the heights above the town, and there formed his camp for the night, against the advice of Sir William Erskine, but to the great relief of

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[1] Afterward associated with St. Clair in the government of Northwestern Territory, as secretary.

[2] *Wilkinson's Memoirs.*

[3] Washington to the President of Congress.—*Sparks*, Vol. IV., p. 259.

the Americans. "Our situation," wrote Washington to Congress, "was most critical."[1] "If there ever was a crisis in the affairs of the Revolution," says Wilkinson, "this was the moment; thirty minutes would have sufficed to bring the two armies into contact, and thirty more would have decided the combat"[2] in favor of the enemy. Washington had been praying for nightfall and a cessation of arms.

Immediately after dark, a council of war was convened at General St. Clair's quarters, south of the creek, for General Washington had been driven out of his own quarters by the enemy.[3] The anxious Commander-in-Chief made a brief statement to the council of the dangers before them. If they kept their ground a battle was certain in the morning, and defeat might result; a retreat down the river road, the only route apparently open, would be difficult and precarious, and would, by dispiriting the Americans, lose all that had been gained by the victory of Christmas; the destruction of the army might be fatal to the country. What was best to be done?

Hereupon, one of the council made a suggestion so happily solving the problem as to add in its brilliant execution, to the well-deserved renown of Washington. It was to turn the left of the enemy and march to the north. "I have before observed," says Wilkinson, "that General St. Clair had been charged with the guard of the fords of the Assanpink, and in the course of the day, while examining the ground to his right, he had fallen on the road which led to the Quaker bridge. Whether from this circumstance, or what other information, I will not presume to say, it was this officer who, in council, suggested the idea of marching by our right and turning the left of the enemy. The practicability of the route was well understood by Colonel Reed, Adjutant-General, and the Commander-in-Chief, as soon as satisfied on this point, adopted

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[1] *Sparks's Writings of Washington*, Vol. IV., p. 258.

[2] *Memoirs*, Vol. I., p. 138. [3] Ibid, p. 140.

the proposition."[1] It was the inspiration of true genius.

In his own brief narrative, St. Clair says: "The General summoned a council of the general officers at my quarters, and, after stating the difficulties in his way, the probability of defeat, and the consequence that would necessarily result if it happened, desired advice. I had the good fortune to suggest the idea of turning the left of the enemy in the night, gaining a march upon him, and proceeding with all possible expedition to Brunswick. General Mercer immediately fell in with it, and very forcibly pointed out its practicability and the advantages that would necessarily result from it, and General Washington highly approved it, nor was there one dissenting voice in the council."

General Washington saw more in this move than the mere escape from the enemy. He might, by a fortunate stroke withdraw General Howe from Trenton, and give

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[1] *Wilkinson's Memoirs*, Vol. II., p. 140: Bancroft has called in question the fact that, at the council referred to St. Clair suggested the movement which turned the left of the enemy, and enabled the American army to escape to Princeton by the round-about Quaker road. He says: "St. Clair liked it [the movement] so well, that in the failing memory of old age he took it to have been his own." But St. Clair, whose truthfulness and modesty were prominent traits of character, claimed it at the time it occurred, and he is confirmed by a member of his staff, who was a participant in the events narrated. Both were devoted friends and admirers of Washington, and Bancroft can suggest no motive which would invalidate their testimony. In this case, as in the case of Greene and others, he simply refuses to recognize that there was any genius or merit in any mind save that of Washington. To exalt his character beyond the bounds and capabilities of human nature, he subjects himself to criticism, and defeats the end he had in view. He says that Washington claimed the measure as his own in the letter to the President of Congress, written at Pluckemin, 5 Jan'y, 1777, from which we have quoted. This assertion is not warranted by the language of that letter, which is merely a general statement of the events, in which official acts only are referred to. There is no mention of a council in it, and yet Bancroft concedes there was a council held. For what purpose if not for consultation and advice? Hamilton was far wiser as well as more just than Bancroft. In his eulogium on Greene he referred to a similar

some reputation to the American arms.[1] St. Clair directed the details of preparation.[2] The more effectually to mask the movement, the baggage had been sent at an earlier hour to Burlington, the guards were ordered to be doubled, and the fires to be kept up all night. Soon after midnight the troops quietly withdrew by detachments, and, marching by the right, moved upon Princeton. St. Clair's brigade of New Hampshire, Connecticut, and Massachusetts troops, with two six pounders, marched at the head of the column, with which General Washington rode.[3] Captain Isaac Sherman, son of Roger Sherman, of Connecticut, commanded St. Clair's advance guard. In the silence of the night the thinly-clad troops moved along the rough and devious way with uncertain steps[4] but determined

claim to that we are considering, in the following language: "To attribute to him [Greene] a portion of the praise which is due as well to the *formation as to the execution* of the plans that effected these important ends, *can be no derogation from that wisdom and magnanimity which knew how to select and embrace counsels worthy of being pursued.*"—[See *Hamilton's Works*, Vol. II.

"Meanwhile, Washington summoned his officers to council, at the headquarters of St. Clair, his own being now in the hands of the enemy. 'What shall we do? Shall we retreat down the Delaware, on the Jersey side, and cross it over against Philadelphia, or shall we remain where we are, and try the chances of a battle?' Each course had its advocates, when a voice was heard, saying, 'Better than either of these, let us take the new road through the woods, and get in the enemy's rear by a march upon Princeton, and, if possible, on Brunswick even.' From whom did this bold suggestion come? St. Clair claimed it as his; and why should the positive assertion of an honorable man be lightly called in question? But whose ever it was, it was the inspiration of true genius, and was promptly accepted by all.—*George Washington Greene's Life of General Nathaniel Greene*, Vol. I., p. 532.

[1] Washington to the President of Congress, *Sparks*, Vol. IV., p. 250.

[2] *Bryant's Popular History United States*, Chap. 21, p. 532.

[3] *Wilkinson*, as before quoted, p. 144.

[4] "The road was newly cut and rough with stubs too low to be seen by starlight, but high enough to catch and bruise the men's feet as they marched—half shod feet, we must remember—and whose track, a few days before, Wilkinson tells us, he had traced for miles by their blood on the snow. The slow pace of the artillery compelled the ranks to move slowly, and frequently to halt; and as they halted, 'two

courage, regarding such hardship lightly when incurred for the cause of independence.

It was broad day before the British discovered that their enemy had eluded them, and gone they knew not whither. The morning was bright, serene, and extremely cold, with a hoar frost that bespangled every object, when the Americans reached the junction of the Quaker and main roads, about two miles from Princeton. Washington had ordered General Mercer, with a detachment of three hundred and fifty men, to continue along Stony Brook with his brigade until he should reach the main road, where he was to destroy a bridge over which it passed, and take post for the double purpose of intercepting fugitives from Princeton and covering the American rear against Cornwallis from the direction of Trenton. Meanwhile, the three regiments of the enemy, the Seventeenth, Fortieth, and Fifty-fifth, which had spent the night at Princeton, were preparing to join Cornwallis at Trenton. The Seventeenth, under Colonel Mawhood, was already on the march, and had crossed the bridge which Mercer was approaching to destroy, when discovering the head of the American column, and supposing it a light detachment, he recrossed the bridge, purposing to cut it off.

At this moment Mercer's corps emerged into view not five hundred yards from the British line. The discovery was mutual, and the respective corps then endeavored to get possession of the high ground on their right. The Americans reached the house and orchard of William Clark, "but perceiving the British on the opposite side of the height, and a worm fence between them, they pushed through the orchard, and anticipated their antagonists by

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or three men in each platoon would be seen standing, with their arms supported, fast asleep.[1]' Then the order to move on would come; and as the sleepers, rousing themselves, and pressed by the platoons from behind, attempted to move, they would often strike against a stub and fall." —*Life of General Nathaniel Greene.*

(1) *Stone's Howland.*

about forty paces."[1] The first fire was delivered by Mercer, which the enemy returned, and instantly charged with the bayonet. The Americans, who were armed chiefly with rifles, were thrown into confusion and fled in disorder. Major Wilkinson, seeing that the Americans were retiring in confusion by the house of Clark, spoke of it to General St. Clair, who charged him not to mention the circumstance, lest it should affect his own troops. "The time from the discharge of the first musket," says Wilkinson, "until I perceived our troops retreating, did not exceed five minutes, and I well recollect that the smoke from the discharge of the two lines mingled as it rose, and went up in one beautiful cloud." The enemy pursued the retreating Americans as far as the brow of the declivity, when, discovering the whole army instead of a detachment as was supposed, they halted and brought up their artillery. On hearing the first fire, General Washington directed the Pennsylvania militia to support General Mercer, and, in person, led them on with two pieces of artillery. Perceiving the militia in confusion, he galloped past them, waving his hat and encouraging them to reform before the enemy. Nothing daunted by the presence of a superior force, Colonel Mawhood directed a company of infantry to attempt Captain Moulder's battery,[2] which had formed to the right of Clark's house under direction of General Washington, but they were repulsed with considerable loss. The British displayed great intrepidity, but perceiving the inspiring effects of the gallantry of the American Commander-in-Chief, and realizing the hopelessness of the contest, they retreated precipitately up the north side of Stony Brook, leaving their artillery on the ground. Before the fire had ceased at the first onset, Colonel Mawhood, mounted on a brown pony, with a dozen infantry, and a pair of beautiful spaniels playing before him, crossed

[1] *Wilkinson's Memoirs of My Own Times.* Vol. I., p. 142.

[2] This company of artillery, from Philadelphia, was almost as much distinguished in its line as the troops of dragoons, and, on this day, attracted the particular attention of General Washington. *Wilkinson's Memoirs.* Vol. I., p. 143.

the line of direction of the other division so near that had not the Americans been stationary, he must have been captured. On observing the halt of his guard General St. Clair directed Major Wilkinson to gallop forward and order a charge, but it was too late, as Mawhood had passed, yet the fire of the guard knocked down two of the infantry.

The Fifty-fifth British regiment did not reach the vicinity of Clark's in time to participate in the action, and perceiving Mawhood and his Seventeenth in retreat followed closely by Washington, they returned to Princeton, and joined the Fortieth in quarters at the College. The two regiments afterward drew out and formed in line on the brow of a ravine. In this position they were attacked by General St. Clair, and after a sharp resistance were driven back to the College again. They took possession of the buildings and knocked out the windows, apparently for the purpose of defending themselves at all hazards; but being saluted in their quarters with artillery, thought better of it, rushed out in a disorderly manner and made good their escape to Brunswick. St. Clair had no cavalry to send in pursuit; indeed, the entire cavalry in the American army consisted of twenty-two gentlemen of Philadelphia, who had volunteered, and were then with Washington in another direction.

In killed, wounded, and prisoners, the British lost five hundred men; upwards of one hundred were left dead on the field.[1] The loss of the Americans was about thirty, but, alas! it included the brave and able General Mercer,[2]

[1] Washington's account. *Sparks*, Vol. IV., p. 259.

[2] Mercer, like St. Clair, was a Scotchman by birth, and educated as a physician. He served in the French war under Braddock, became acquainted with Washington, and by him was persuaded to settle in Virginia. He was thoroughly educated, and was a man of brilliant parts. The Revolution did not produce a more unselfish patriot, and his loss was deeply felt. Congress voted a monument to his memory.[1]

(1) "On the night of the 1st of January, General Mercer, Colonel C. Biddle, and Doctor Cochran, spent the evening with General St. Clair. Fatigued with the duties of the day, I had lain down in the same apartment, and my attention was attracted by the turn of their conversation, on the recent promotion of Captain William Washington, from a regiment of infantry to a majority of cavalry. General Mercer ex-

who fell mortally wounded in the first attack at Clark's, Colonels Haslet and Porter, Major Morris, and Captain William Shippen.

After St. Clair had dispersed the enemy from Princeton College, and most of the other troops had come up, a new difficulty arose; the enemy were coming on rapidly, their advance being already warmly engaged with the American rear-guard, under Brigadier-General Potter, at Stony Brook, and General Washington was missing. There was great consternation at the moment, which was dispelled by his sudden reappearance. It seems that when he joined in pursuit of Mawhood, his impetuosity carried him further than was prudent. Having returned from his fine fox chase, he was confronted with the necessity of again baffling the superior army under Cornwallis, now in hot pursuit. What was to be done?[1] The design of proceed-

[1] "Thus far, Washington's bold strategy had succeeded. The road to Brunswick was open. Lee was there; other prisoners were there; abundant stores and supplies were there; and there, too, was the military chest, with seventy thousand pounds in hard money. To seize these had formed a part of Washington's original plan; and as he halted with

pressed his disapprobation of the measure; at which the gentlemen appeared surprised, as it was the reward of acknowledged gallantry; and Mercer, in explanation, observed: 'We are not engaged in a war of ambition; if it had been so, I should never have accepted a commission under a man who had not seen a day's service (alluding to Patrick Henry); we serve, not for ourselves, but for our country, and every man should be content to fill the place in which he can be most useful. I know Washington to be a good captain of infantry, but I know not what sort of a major of horse he may make; and I have seen good Captains make indifferent Majors. For my own part, my views in this contest are confined to a single object, that is, the success of the cause, and God can witness how cheerfully I would lay down my life to secure it.' The compact was sealed, and within thirty-six hours he received his mortal wounds from the bayonets of the enemy.

"I have heard the following interesting incident of his life: He served in the campaign of 1755, with General Braddock, and was wounded through the shoulder in the unfortunate action near Fort du Quesne; unable to retreat, he lay down under cover of a large fallen tree, and in the pursuit an Indian leaped upon his covert immediately over him, and, after looking about a few seconds for the direction of the fugitives, he sprang off without observing the wounded man who lay at his feet. So soon as the Indians had killed the wounded, scalped the dead, rifled the baggage, and cleared the field, the unfortunate Mercer, finding himself exceedingly faint and thirsty from loss of blood, crawled to an adjacent brook, and, after drinking plentifully, found himself so much refreshed that he was able to walk, and commenced his return by the road the army had advanced; but, being without subsistence, and more than an hundred miles from any Christian settlement, he expected to die of famine, when he observed a rattle-snake on his path, which he killed and contrived to skin, and, throwing it over his sound shoulder, he subsisted on it, as the claims of nature urged, until he reached Fort Cumberland."—*Wilkinson.*

ing to Brunswick was necessarily abandoned; it was eighteen miles distant, and the troops were very much fatigued, and, as the principal deposit of the enemy's military stores was at that place, they had certainly not been left unguarded; resistance was, therefore, to be expected, which would require some time to overcome, and here was Cornwallis pushing at the rear. Again St. Clair's quick perception and information proved useful to Washington. In passing to the northward, in the beginning of the campaign, St. Clair's route lay through Morristown, at the time when a large party of the enemy were foraging the lower country, and had advanced as far up as Springfield, at the foot of the range of mountains, known by the name of the Short Hills, where General Williamson was opposing them with the militia. St. Clair set off on the instant to join him, but before he reached him the enemy had retired; but he had thereby an opportunity to see some part of those hills which were afterwards of so great use to General Washington, and from which Sir William Howe never could decoy him, and dared not to attempt to drive him. St. Clair described Morristown and its vicinity to General Washington as a place where the army could be cantoned. He quickly decided, and the army had orders to take the route towards that place, and St. Clair was left with a rear-guard to destroy the bridges, the last of which was barely effected when the enemy appeared and fired upon the Americans.[1]

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several of his general officers at the forks in the Kingston road, while his victorious but weary troops were filing off toward Rocky Hill, there was a general cry, 'O that we had five hundred fresh men to beat up their quarters at Brunswick.' 'It would put an end to the war,' said Washington, sadly, in a letter to the President of Congress. But the five hundred fresh men were not there, and in their stead was an army worn down by hunger and fatigue."—*Life of Greene.*

[1] It is stated in the Life of Greene, that that officer had already moved with the advance towards Morristown, before this decision. Wilkinson says the movement was made on the advice of General St. Clair (see *Memoirs*, Vol. I., p. 149), but, whether by advice of Greene or St. Clair, the establishment of winter quarters at Morristown proved very fortunate.

This final stroke was an important one, as it compelled the withdrawal of the British troops to New Brunswick and Amboy, where, in the words of Hamilton, they presented "the extraordinary spectacle of a powerful army, straitened within narrow limits by the phantom of a military force, and never permitted to transgress those limits with impunity."[1]

If those recruits had been for the war, instead of six months, how different would have been the results of the next campaign.

The genius of Washington never shone so resplendent as during this critical period. Cabals were checked; Congress at last risked something of their powers in the hands of this General, in order that Liberty might not perish from the earth; the militia flocked once more to his standard, and all Europe styled him the American Fabius.

And one of his most trusted counselors and able lieutenants throughout this period was Arthur St. Clair.[2] In recognition of his distinguished services, he was, on the 19th

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[1] "The bold, judicious, and unexpected attacks made at Trenton and Princeton by an enemy believed to be vanquished, had an influence on the fate of the war much more extensive in its consequences than, from a mere estimate of the killed and taken, would be supposed. They saved Philadelphia for the present winter; they recovered the State of Jersey; and, which was of still more importance, they revived the drooping spirits of America, and gave a sensible impulse to the recruiting service throughout the United States."—*Marshall*, Vol. II., p. 512.

"The *Surprise of Trenton* was for America what Thermopylæ was for Greece. This surprise is one of the best planned and boldest executed military movements of our century. It was, however, excelled by the Attempt upon Princeton, and both events are sufficient to elevate a General to the temple of immortality, especially when, as in this case, he fights for the good of his country."—*Militärische und Vermischte Schriften von Heinrich, Dietrich von Bülow*, p. 52.

[2] His right to share in the glory of Trenton was generally recognized at the time. On the 30th December, James Wilson, then at Baltimore, where Congress was sitting, wrote to him in the following words: "With peculiar pleasure I congratulate you on the victory at Trenton. I hope the tide is now turning, and will run high in our favor."—See letter p. 379.

of February, commissioned as a Major-General.[1] During the arduous and hazardous days of this winter, Washington formed that attachment for St. Clair which endured, despite misrepresentations and calumny, as long as he lived. Nothing could ever impair his strong faith in the Scotch republican. When Colonel Reed resigned as Adjutant-General in March, Washington detailed St. Clair to fill that important position until it should be determined whether Colonel Timothy Pickering, to whom the place had been offered, would accept. St. Clair discharged the duties of that office until ordered by Congress to proceed to the Northern Department.

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[1] There were five Major-Generals appointed at this time, in the order named: Stirling, Mifflin, St. Clair, Stephen, and Lincoln. These had been faithful lieutenants of Washington during the dark days when panic had seized upon many minds, and cabals were formed to destroy the Commander-in-Chief. Arnold was senior Brigadier, and in line of promotion. He threatened retirement from the army. Washington, who admired his rash bravery, attempted to soothe his irritated feelings, espoused his cause in Congress, and shortly succeeded in obtaining for him a Major-General's commission. It was proposed to cure the seeming injustice by committing another, viz: by adopting a resolution placing Arnold superior to the four Major-Generals promoted from the Continental line. St. Clair protested against this, and pointed out to Congress the absurdity of placing Stirling, Mifflin, himself, and Stephen under Arnold, and leaving Arnold to be commanded by Lincoln, the junior of the five, who was promoted from the militia!

CHAPTER III.

1777—ST. CLAIR, PROMOTED TO BE MAJOR-GENERAL, ORDERED TO AN IMPORTANT COMMAND IN THE NORTHERN DEPARTMENT—EVACUATION OF FORTS TICONDEROGA AND INDEPENDENCE—IT RESULTS IN THE SURRENDER OF BURGOYNE AND THE TRIUMPH OF THE AMERICAN CAUSE.

AN imprudent letter from Schuyler to Congress, in midwinter, eclipsed for a season the fortunes of that able and patriotic officer, and advanced correspondingly those of Gates. On the 25th of March, the latter was directed by President Hancock to repair to Ticonderoga immediately and take command of the army stationed in that department. Gates proceeded at once to Albany, where he halted, and began to call for reinforcements. He was courteously invited to make his home at the Schuyler mansion, but pleading the pressure of business, requiring his constant presence in the village, he declined. Meanwhile Wilkinson, whom he had persuaded to leave Washington's headquarters and join him, was at Ticonderoga, making reports on the situation there and suggestions as to the requirements of the garrison. As this deeply concerns our story, we shall go over the ground thoroughly.

We have seen how, after the retreat from Canada, Crown Point had been abandoned as untenable because of its ruinous state, and the army located at Ticonderoga, which then became the frontier fortress. There was a conflict of opinion as to the wisdom of this change, but after it was done, attention was turned exclusively to the task of making Ticonderoga an effective barrier against the enemy. It was expected that Carleton would follow up the advantages already secured, and push on southward. To prevent this, work was begun on the old French lines at Ticonderoga, and a fleet was formed, over which Arnold was placed in command. In a long letter of the 24th July, 1776, to General Washington, General Schuyler argues the strength of Ticonderoga, and the impossibility of

the enemy to pass the strong camp proposed for the east side of Lake Champlain, and penetrate to Skenesborough. "Can they drive us out of the strong camp on the east side?" he asks. "I think not. *I think it impossible for twenty thousand men to do it, ever so well provided, if the camp consists of less than even a quarter of that number, indifferently furnished, such is the natural strength of the ground.*"[1] The sequel will show the value of this opinion, and that when Schuyler was put to the test he abandoned it, but it had the effect, with others of similar import, to mislead Washington and the general public as to the real strength of the American position. Schuyler, however, did not contemplate a less force than ten thousand men, besides the fleet, to resist any invasion from Canada.

In September, 1776, there were stationed at Ticonderoga and the encampment on the east side, over twelve thousand effective men,[2] and considerable of a navy rode on the waters, manned by five hundred hardy sailors. Within a month, the navy was either captured or destroyed,[3] and Arnold then, in a letter to General Schuyler, urged that eight or ten thousand militia be sent immediately to their assistance.[4] Thus, in October, 1876, it was the opinion of

[1] The Italics are ours, but the weight to be accorded to this opinion will be determined when the fact is stated that the fort which was erected would accommodate scarcely twelve hundred men, and that there was an inadequate supply of water for a beleagured force.

[2] Letter from Mount Independence, Sept. 7.—*Force's American Archives*, Fifth Series, Vol. I., p. 225.

[3] "You must have heard that a few days ago we had a fine fleet and tolerable good army, but General Arnold, our evil genius of the North, has, with a good deal of industry, got us clear of all our fine fleet, only five of the most indifferent of them, one row galley, excepted; and he has managed his point so well with the old man, the General [Gates] that he has got his thanks for his good service. . . . Had we our fleet here, we would give ourselves but little concern about the enemy."—*General Wm. Maxwell to Governor Livingston*, Oct. 20.

[4] "It is the opinion of Generals Gates and St. Clair that eight or ten thousand militia should be immediately sent to our assistance, if they can be spared from below."—*Force's American Archives*, Fifth Series, Vol. II., p. 1080.

the leading officers, that *a force of* TWENTY THOUSAND MEN *was requisite to effectually resist the British.*

It is interesting to note, in this connection, the view Washington held, derived from the uncertain light shed by the correspondence of officers,[1] and the reports of committees. On the 22d of October, he wrote to Schuyler: "I have been informed that Ticonderoga, properly garrisoned and supplied with provisions and ammunition, is almost impregnable, even at a season of the year when an army can lay before it with the greatest convenience; if so, instead of calling up a number of useless hands and mouths (for such I deem militia in general), I would advise a collection of as much provision as could possibly be got together, which, if sufficient for nine thousand effective men, of which your army consisted by General Arnold's letter, I should imagine you could keep Burgoyne and Carleton at bay till the rigor of the season would oblige them to raise the siege, not only for want of conveniences to lay in field, but for the fear the freezing lake should make their return impracticable in case of accident. I would recommend the removal of carriages and draft cattle of all kinds from the country adjacent, that if they should attempt to slip by Ticonderoga by any other route and come down upon the settlements, that plan should be rendered abortive for want of means of conveyance for their baggage and stores. *I am unacquainted with the extent of your works, and, consequently, of the number of men necessary to man them.* If your present numbers [stated by Arnold to

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[1] It may be remarked, with certainty, that the exaggerated view held by Washington was not derivable from any thing communicated by General St. Clair. The sources of information have been indicated in the text and notes above. They were accessible also to the Committee of Secret Correspondence, who wrote to Silas Deane, on the 1st instant, in these cheerful words: "Our Northern army is strong, well intrenched in an advantageous post, at Ticonderoga, which can only be taken from them by storm, as it can not be approached in a regular manner, on account of the situation. We are also formidable on the lakes, in galleys, boats, etc., under command of your friend, Arnold, and that army is better provided than the other, so that we do not seem to apprehend any danger in that quarter at present."

be *nine thousand*] should be insufficient for that purpose, I would, then, by all means, advise your making up the deficiency out of the best-regulated militia that could be got. Some might, likewise, be useful in bringing up supplies and fill the places of men who would render more service with arms in their hands. You will always be kind enough to bear in mind that I am giving my opinion, not issuing my orders."

On the 26th October, upon receipt of Washington's letter, Schuyler was less confident than in the preceding July, when he defied twenty thousand men to carry the posts on the lake. He wrote to Washington, from Saratoga: "I am in great hopes General Carleton will not be able to dislodge our army from Ticonderoga; but, should such an event unfortunately take place, such measures will be taken as I think will certainly prevent them from penetrating into the country on this side of the lake."[1] The militia were called in, and by the 17th of November the troops guarding Ticonderoga and Mount Independence numbered about twelve thousand. This was the force thought to be necessary then, by all of the leading officers, to man the works. Within nine months we shall behold Schuyler and others expressing surprise that these same works could not be successfully defended by twenty-five hundred Continental soldiers!

The enemy, fortunately, retired into winter-quarters. A large part of the American troops were dismissed, twenty-five hundred only being left at Ticonderoga, under command of Colonel Anthony Wayne. These were soon reduced, by sickness, to seventeen hundred.[2] On the 29th of November, 1776, agreeably to the report of the Military Committee,[3] Congress directed that a fort be

[1] *Force's American Archives*, Fifth Series, Vol. II., p. 1257.

[2] December 11th. Letter of General Schuyler to Pierre Van Cortlandt.

[3] Resolved, That it is the opinion of this Committee, that a fort be constructed on Mount Independence that the navigation of the lake near that place should be obstructed by caissons, to be sunk in the water at small distances from one another, and joined together by

constructed on Mount Independence, and the navigation of the lake obstructed. In December, following, we find President Hancock writing to the States of Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Connecticut for four thousand five hundred troops, to take the places of those whose terms were about to expire.[1] They were informed that advices from General Schuyler indicated that there was extreme danger the enemy would attempt to take Ticonderoga when the lake should be frozen so as to be capable of bearing horses. It was already Christmas Eve when the express was dispatched, and as weeks must elapse before the Governors could act, or the obstructions be completed, an extraordinary share of responsibility must have been put upon Providence.

Meanwhile, the condition of the handful of troops who kept watch during the winter months, and who were expected to perfect the fortifications, was most deplorable. They were "scarcely able to bear the fatigue of being a few minutes on parade."[2] "The wretched condition they are now in, for want of almost every necessary convenience of life, except flour and bad beef, is shocking to humanity, and beggars all description. We have neither beds nor bedding for our sick to lay on or under, other than their own clothing; no medicine or regimen

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string pieces, so as, at the same time, to serve for a bridge between the fortifications on the east and west sides; that, to prevent the enemy from drawing their small craft overland beyond Three-Mile Point into Lake George, the passage of that lake be also obstructed, in like manner, by caissons from island to island in the Narrows, if practicable, or by floating batteries; that Fort Stanwix be strengthened, and other fortifications be made at proper places near the Mohawk River; and that the commanding officer of the Northern army execute these works this winter; and that the Commanding Officers of Artillery, Chief Engineer, Quartermaster-General, and Commissary-General provide and perform whatever things in their respective departments are necessary, or may contribute to the accomplishment thereof.—*Journals of Congress.*

[1] Ibid, December 24th.

[2] Richard Varick, to the President of Congress.

suitable for them; the dead and dying laying mingled together in our hospital, or rather house of carnage, is no uncommon sight."[1]

And even when the spring days had come, and the buds of the maple and the birch were swelling, the misery of the poor garrison engaged the attention of the brave Wayne. He sought to move the people of Massachusetts Bay to send relief, by pointing out danger ahead. "The enemy," wrote he to the Council of that State, "will be but too soon informed of the debilitated state of this garrison, which at present does not consist of more than twelve hundred men, sick and well, officers included, four hundred of which are militia from Berkshire and Hampshire in your State, whose time expires in ten days."[2] Two weeks later his vigilance had discovered the enemy in strong force near Gillilands, where he had sent for provender, and in communicating this to General Schuyler, he adds in homely but effective language: "I can't account for the happiness of the Eastern States with respect to this post on any other principle but the generally received notion that no attack will be made here."[3]

In this emergency Schuyler did every thing possible for an officer in his position to do. He appealed to the New England States, to the Albany Council, and to Congress. It was in the midst of all this misery that he wrote the imprudent letter before referred to. He followed it to Congress, and Gates succeeded him in command. By the time Wilkinson arrived [May 13, 1777], Wayne had gone, and another officer was in charge. Every thing was found to be in an unsatisfactory condition. On the 16th, he re-

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[1] Wayne, to the Pennsylvania Council of Safety.

Colonel Joseph Wood, writing, on the same day [December 4th], to the Council, said that, although requisition had been made for thirteen thousand men, only nine hundred pairs of shoes had been supplied, and that one-third, at least, of the poor wretches were bare-footed, and in this condition obliged to do duty. "This is shocking to humanity," he added; "nay, it can not be viewed in any milder light than black murder."

[2] *Massachusetts Archives*, Vol. CXCVI., p. 324.

[3] April 14th.—*Massachusetts Archives*, Vol. CXCVI., p. 419.



ported to General Gates that the presence of a disciplining General was greatly needed; that several of the regiments were in detachments and needed to be incorporated; that Major Stevens was praying for reinforcements of artillerists; that there was a general cry for clothing; that the shirts in store were too mean to be worn, and had been refused by the soldiery; that there was a total want of iron proper for mounting artillery, and a great demand for arms and accouterments; that the muskets which had lately arrived from Albany were so flimsily repaired as not to bear the transportation, and were in worse condition than when they were sent away; that the poor remains of the American fleet were in a most contemptible situation—without order, without regularity, almost void of naval stores, badly manned and miserably officered; and that if paper were supplied, fixed ammunition might be prepared soon.

On the 22d he wrote in similar strain: "I wish to Heaven, either yourself or General St. Clair was here for a few days. Colonel Kosciusko[1] is timidly modest; Baldwin is inclosing the lines on a plan of his own;[2] General —— has arrived. He is a very inefficient officer, though somewhat more determined than ——. We are now about three thousand strong." His next communication is so important as to justify reproducing almost entire:

"TICONDEROGA, May 26, 1777.

"MY DEAR GENERAL:—I now inclose you a general return of this garrison, but can not tell whether it corresponds with the last, as I sent that off in such a hurry as not to reserve a copy. . . . Since General ——'s arrival on Tuesday last, we have brought all the Continental troops, except Long's regiment, to this side of the Lake, and

[1] The gallant Pole, Thaddeus Kosciusko, whose romantic history is familiar to every American. He served with distinction as Colonel of Engineers.

[2] Lieutenant-Colonel J. Baldwin, First Engineer, had charge of the works in the west, or Ticonderoga side, and Lieutenant-Colonel M. Christopher Pelissier on the east, or Mount Independence side. This last site had been selected on the recommendation of Colonel John Trumbull, Deputy Adjutant-General of the Northern Department, by appointment of General Gates.

have posted the militia on the mount, brigaded under Colonel Long, a genteel, amiable man. The troops on this side are formed under Brigadiers —— and P——. The stay of the militia is quite discretionary with the general, as they are turned out in this emergency without any limited term of duration, though they begin already to complain. You will find in these returns a very *treacherous* proportion of officers, and that several are furloughed in the original return; frauds which your or General St. Clair's presence is necessary to correct.

"Colonel Hay is an active officer, of more judgment than any one I know in this garrison. About one hundred and twenty of the men returned on command are under his direction, and are, I believe, advantageously employed; the residue are under Colonel Baldwin, and on board the fleet, where I think economy is much needed; one whole company of carpenters are constantly employed in forming a kind of friezed abatis, on the exterior of the *glacis of the French lines.* The works are constructed on the plan laid down by Colonel Baldwin; the redoubt at those lines goes on finely; it is formed by certain lines beginning at the east end of the curtain on which the three north embrasures are opened, and closing at the south sally-port. I believe my details have made more invalids than real disease, the complaints of many being very trivial; however, as I have no authority to obviate this subterfuge, they will continue to avail themselves of it. The muster-master is much wanted; he can not arrive too soon. The artificers, and a number of workmen, are at present without arms, and as there is in use and in store a great proportion of bad ones, I think there appears an evident necessity of moving the armory to this place immediately.

"My General is acquainted with the various precautions preparatory to successful defense; he knows the subject to be too complex for the comprehension of men of mean abilities, no education, and little experience; what then must be the fate of this garrison under its present command? I give you my honor, at this moment there is no disposition of defense made in case of an attack, or even alarm posts assigned; I shall endeavor to have the latter consideration settled this day. Providence yesterday exposed one point of our weakness, by ordering a gale of wind, which carried away and broke to pieces the boom, bridge, and every appendage thereof. . . .

"A scout has this moment arrived, who was yesterday chased near the Four Brothers, by four of the enemy's boats. He observed lying at that place a schooner, a pettiauger, and six or seven bateaux. I suppose they are taking off the wheat and stock which we have neglected to secure. . . .

"I have the honor to be, etc.,

"JA. WILKINSON.

"HON. MAJOR-GENERAL GATES."

Before the date of this letter the dignity of Congress

had been vindicated, and its wrath appeased, *in re* General Schuyler's alleged disrespectful letter, and that officer, without a word of explanation to General Gates, was restored to the command of the Northern Department. He arrived at Albany on the 3d of June, and on the following day received from General Gates a statement of the condition of affairs at Ticonderoga. That statement was discouraging in the last degree. The garrison was inadequate, and no prospect of speedy reinforcement; instead of six companies of artillerists as required, there were only two; the roads had been so bad as to prevent the transportation of stores; the enemy were approaching, and if a seige were entered on, the garrisons would be poorly provided. He had sent this information by expresses to the committees of the New England States, and also to General Washington. The good people of those States seemed to rest supine, and apparently nothing but a disaster could rouse them. The Committee of Safety of New Hampshire by the 10th May had furnished one-half of the quota of that State, and these were very ill-clothed. There was neither cloth nor arms in the State.[1] And on the 30th of May, Gates notified the Massachusetts Council[2] that the one thousand five hundred militia ordered from Hampshire county were not yet one-third arrived; and a scout to Split Rock showed the enemy in considerable force.

On the 5th, General Schuyler ordered General St. Clair to repair to Ticonderoga and take the command. The latter reached that post on the 12th June[3] where he found a small garrison, badly armed, worse clad, and without magazines.[4]

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[1] *Historical Records of New Hampshire.*

[2] *Massachusetts Archives.*

[3] "On the 12th, St. Clair, the best of the Brigadiers in the North, reached Ticonderoga." *Bancroft*, Vol. IX., p. 361. Of course "Brigadiers" is a misprint for Major-Generals, as Bancroft had already noted the promotion.

[4] We shall give here a description of the situation, in St. Clair's own words, but after quoting this apt and just remark by Bancroft: "Gates,

It will be well for the reader to bear in mind the dates and all of the facts above set forth as to the condition of Ticonderoga and Mount Independence, at this stage, as we shall have occasion hereafter to recur to them, and to pass judgment on able statesmen, and wise and impartial historians with the aid of the light they afford. We shall see to whom the word "unfortunate" (a favorite with those who clothe the products of the imagination rather than truth, in rhetorical phrase), is justly applicable.

When St. Clair received his instructions from Congress, he was informed that it was believed the movement of the enemy toward Ticonderoga was merely a feint, and that their undoubted plan of campaign was for General Burgoyne to join Lord Howe at New York. General Gates wrote to General Poor, "that he had the strongest assurances from Congress that the King's troops were all ordered round to New York," and that the intelligence he had from a spy "corroborated the sentiment of Congress." Washington was greatly perplexed, but inclined to the belief that the movement of the British in force would be by New York. The doubt created by the very recent movements of the enemy was sufficient to put St. Clair on the alert, and he set to work with characteristic energy to complete the defenses on the plan of Congress. The task was an almost hopeless one. Without men and without means, what was it possible for one man to do? He knew that the people were misinformed as to the strength of the

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who had the good luck to be relieved just before inevitable mishaps, charged St. Clair to 'call lustily for aid of all kinds, for no General ever lost by surplus numbers, or over-preparation;' and he then repaired to Philadelphia to secure his re-instatement." "Had every man I had," said St. Clair, "been disposed of in single file on the different works and along the lines of defense, they would have been scarcely within the reach of each other's voices; but Congress had been persuaded that the enemy would make no attempt in that quarter, and such a number of men only as were judged to be sufficient for completing the works that had been projected, were assigned to me. Those two thousand half armed and ill equipped every way, I found arranged into many regiments, with their full complement of officers, and three brigadiers." *Appendix to St. Clair's Narrative.*

fortress of Ticonderoga, and that they expected it to successfully resist any attack of the enemy. He also knew that he was there as a sacrifice. Bravest and best of soldiers, who, conscious of adverse fate in store for him, goes manfully forward in the discharge of his duty! It was on account of a clear recognition of the virtues—more felt than seen—of this man, that I consented to write this memoir:

> "———: where desert does live,
> There will I plant my wonder, and there give
> My best endeavors to build up his glory,
> That truly merits!"

On the 18th of June, to his friend, James Wilson,[1] who was then a member of the Continental Congress, St. Clair described the dangers surrounding him and the inadequate means for successful defense. He said that, instead of the works having been improved and strengthened in the winter, as promised, they were in worse condition than when he had last seen them; they required ten thousand men to defend them, and he had not more than *two thousand two hundred;*[2] that if the militia were called in, their provisions would be exhausted in two weeks; that it was a disagreeable position for a man to be placed in, that of being called on to defend works with a force greatly inadequate, and a retreat apparently impossible; that it was hard, with the little information they had, to form an opinion of the enemy's designs, but it was certain General Burgoyne had returned from England for an active campaign, and if he did not take his troops around to General Howe, as supposed, he would move on Ticonderoga; and that it was his purpose, after a resistance on the west side, to move his men to Mount Independence, and there make a stand.

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[1] *St. Clair MS.*——On the 25th he wrote, in pretty much the same strain, to John Hancock, President of Congress.

[2] The preceding fall, Gates, who then had thirteen thousand effective men, called for eight or ten thousand additional troops. General Burgoyne afterward, on occasion of the inquiry into his conduct by the House of Commons, said that the works at Ticonderoga were so extensive as to require *twelve thousand men* to defend them.

He closed his letter in these words: "My dear friend, if you should not hear from me again, which may probably be the case, remember that I have given you this account of our situation, and do not suffer my reputation to be murdered, after having been sacrificed myself."

St. Clair, nevertheless, pushed the work with all possible dispatch, and in a few days affairs assumed a more formidable, if not more encouraging aspect. The repairs on the old French lines were put into as good shape as practicable; the boom reconstructed, and the abatis and fort on Mount Independence completed. The American defensive works, on the 1st of July, were the following:

On a rough angle of land, covered with rocks and surrounded on three sides by water, on the western shore, a few miles northward from the commencement of the gut by which the waters of Lake George are conveyed to Lake Champlain, was situated the fortress of Ticonderoga. A part of the fourth side was covered by a deep morass, and a part, that to the north-west, by intrenchments known as the old French lines. The Americans had strengthened these lines with additional works, and a block-house. Between the lines and the fort, were also two block-houses, and on the point of the promontory was a strong redoubt of earth and stone—"Grenadiers' Battery"—which commanded the narrow part of the lake, and covered the bridge that communicated with Mount Independence, on the east side. This bridge of communication, was supported by twenty-two sunken piers of large timber, at nearly equal distances, between which were separate floats fifty feet long and twelve feet wide, strongly fastened together by chains and rivets, and also fastened to the sunken piers. Before this bridge was a boom—the boom on the strength and importance of which so much stress was laid by Congress and General Schuyler—made of very large pieces of timber, fastened together by riveted bolts and doubled chains, made of iron one inch and a half square.[1] Upon the flat summit of the high and circular hill on the

[1] Burgoyne's report to the House of Commons. *Appendix* XXX.

east side of the narrows, where East Creek enters, called Mount Independence, was a star fort, made of pickets, and well supplied with artillery, within which were extensive barracks. The foot of the hill, on the side that projects into the lake, was intrenched, and had a strong abatis close to the water. This intrenchment was lined with heavy artillery, pointed down the lake, flanking the water battery above described, and sustained by another battery about half way up the hill. It was to the completion of these works St. Clair's labors were chiefly directed in the brief time he had. "The lake here is quite narrow, and, sweeping in serpentine curves around the two points, it flows northward on the left, and expands gradually into a sheet of water several miles wide."[1] At the entrance of Lake George was situated the hospital, protected by a block-house. At the carrying place, where saw-mills were situated, was a military post, guarded by a block-house upon the eminence above the mills. From this post to the old French lines the distance was about a mile and a half. A post had been established on an eminence, called Mount Hope, north of the main works, and about a half mile in advance of the old French lines.

The fortifications were formidable, and if the Americans had had twelve thousand men instead of two thousand to man them, or if the enterprising Burgoyne had followed the precedents set by both French and British, in other days, and made a direct attack on the lines, the result might have been all that the most ardent patriot hoped for. The sequel will show the points of weakness in the American plan of defense, and the responsibility therefor.

Soon after reaching Ticonderoga, St. Clair was visited by General Schuyler, and, together, they concerted means for rousing the New England States to a just appreciation of the dangers surrounding that post. But it is evident that Schuyler shared with others to the southward the view that the Canadian troops would sail down the St. Lawrence for New York to co-operate with Lord Howe,

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[1] *Lossing's Pictorial Field-Book of the Revolution*, p. 131.

and that the movement toward the Hudson was only a diversion. Or, it might be, that the main body of the British would march from St. John's towards the Connecticut river and make an attempt on the Eastern States, a maneuver which, he said, if successful, would be attended with much honor to General Burgoyne. "I am the more confirmed in this conjecture, as the enemy can not be ignorant how very difficult, if not impossible, it will be for them to penetrate to Albany, unless, in losing Ticonderoga, we should lose not only all our cannon, but most of the army designed for this department."

For the most part, Schuyler's letters to Washington were of an assuring character, as his views of the situation continued to be hopeful. It is true, he did, at a late day, in transmitting a letter of St. Clair's, in which was an account of the enemy being discovered in considerable force on both sides of Gilliland's Creek, venture to ask Washington for reinforcements. "If the enemy's object is not to attack Ticonderoga," said he, "I suspect their movement is intended to cover an attempt on New Hampshire, or the Mohawk river, or to cut off the communications between Fort Edward and Fort George, or, perhaps, all three, the more to distract us and divide our force." Later, when it became apparent the enemy were moving to attack Fort Stanwix, as well as Ticonderoga, he wrote in this cheerful strain to St. Clair: "I shall have great hopes if General Burgoyne continues in the vicinity of your post until we get up, and dares risk an engagement, we shall give a good account of him."[1] So little did he understand the situation. Nevertheless, he was urgent in his appeals to those from whom help might be expected. Congress was not left in doubt. Nothing was done towards relief, and the abandonment of the post, the only measure dictated by prudence, was not thought of by the control-

[1] *St. Clair MS.* The tone of Schuyler's correspondence during the last days of June and the week following the evacuation of Ticonderoga, is inexplicable, in the face of the conclusions of a council of war over which he presided, held at Ticonderoga, on the 20th of June. This action will be treated of in the text further on.

ling powers. If Schuyler thought of it, he had not the moral courage to recommend it in the face of public expectation.[1] As late as the closing days of June, he was looking to Massachusetts, to the President of which he wrote: "Our garrison at Ticonderoga is greatly inadequate to the defense of the extensive works on both sides of the lake, and I have, unhappily, no troops to reinforce them."[2] It was the second of July, before the militia of Hampshire and Berkshire counties were ordered to march for Ticonderoga.[3]

Meanwhile, St. Clair was unable to get any certain news of the enemy. Scouts were constantly sent out, the best of Whitcomb's men, but of these, alas! few ever returned.[4] Such as did, reported the forests every-where filled with Indians. There was a fateful mystery in this that boded ill, but the stout-hearted St. Clair toiled on until—just as the defensive works were nearly completed, and his ragged men and boys began to put on something of the air of sol-

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[1] Schuyler visited Ticonderoga on the 17th June,[1] and remained several days. While there, he asked Wilkinson his opinion of the plan that should be adopted. The reply was that the heavy cannon and the army, except fifteen hundred select men, should be moved at once to Fort George, as, by this plan, they would be enabled to defend the place against a feint, and, in case of a serious attack, the light troops could scamper over the hills and join the main body. General Schuyler "*observed that this was precisely his own opinion, but that without orders from Congress he dare not take on himself the responsibility of a measure which would excite a great outcry.*"—*Memoirs*, p. 174. The statement is confirmed by Schuyler's testimony before the court on the occasion of the trial of St. Clair. See. p 450, post.

[2] *St. Clair MS.——Archives of Massachusetts.*

[3] Letter of Artemas Ward, to Josiah Bartlett.—*Archives of Massachusetts.*

[4] "Every stratagem and enterprise was employed by General St. Clair to ascertain the force and objects of the enemy, but without effect; his movements were covered by his fleet, and his Indian scouts were spread throughout the wilderness which surrounded us. Our reconnoitering parties were either cut up and captured, or routed and driven in."—*Wilkinson's Memoirs*, p. 178. See also testimony, p. 447.

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(1) The author of the *Life of Schuyler* says 20th of June, but then that writer is not very accurate. He either lacked the industry to consult original sources, or the facts did not harmonize with his theory.

diers—there were unmistakable signs of a powerful force in front of him. *If* the enemy would only attack his lines, there would be hot work; and he hoped his men, who were in good spirits, would act creditably. But, would Burgoyne attack the fortifications? Would his vessels come within reach of the floating batteries, or the boom? Let us take a look at the enemy, which was more than the American scouts had succeeded in doing, so that both sides in the game may be made clear before us.

General Burgoyne had returned to Canada from England, bringing with him a plan of campaign for "quelling the rebellion as soon as possible." To accomplish this, Sir Guy Carleton was informed that it was highly necessary to effect a speedy junction of the two armies. He was instructed to retain a force of three thousand men in Canada, and to employ the remainder of his army upon two expeditions, the one under command of Lieutenant-General Burgoyne, who was to force his way to Albany, and the other under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel St. Leger, who was to make a diversion on the Mohawk River.[1] Authority was given to employ "good and sufficient bodies" of Canadians and Indians to aid in the execution of this plan.

General Burgoyne's army numbered seven thousand eight hundred and sixty-three men, including two hundred Canadians and four hundred Indians.[2] He had under him such experienced officers as Major-General Fraser, who commanded the British infantry; Major-General Reidesel, who commanded the German troops, and Major-General Phillips, in command of the artillery. Perhaps no army was ever better equipped for an offensive campaign than Burgoyne's on this occasion. The artillery numbered one hundred and forty-two guns, and included sixteen heavy twenty-four-pounders and ten heavy twelve-pounders.[3] To oppose this formidable array the American

[1] Account of the Expedition from Canada laid before the House of Commons. Appendix XIII.

[2] *Ibid*, pp. 12–17.

[3] *Burgoyne's Narrative*, p. 13.

works were provided with one hundred cannon, of indifferent caliber, and a small force of inexperienced artillerists to serve them.

The British assembled between the 17th and 20th of June at Cumberland Point, on Lake Champlain, and after a day spent in feasting and haranguing their Indian allies, they moved forward to Crown Point, where a hospital and magazines were erected. On the 30th, General Burgoyne ordered the advance corps, "consisting of the British light infantry and grenadiers, the Twenty-fourth regiment, some Canadians and savages, and ten pieces of light artillery, under command of Brigadier-General Fraser, to move up the west shore of the lake to Four-Mile Point, so called from being within that distance of Ticonderoga." The German reserve, under Lieutenant-Colonel Breyman, were moved at the same time to Richardson's farm, on the east shore, opposite to Putnam Creek.[1] The next day the whole army made a movement forward and encamped in two lines, the right wing at the Four-Mile Point, the left wing nearly opposite, on the east shore. At the same time the fleet anchored just without the reach of the American batteries.

On the approach of the right wing of the British army, the Americans set fire to the saw-mills and abandoned their works toward Lake George, and left General Phillips to possess the advantageous post of Mount Hope, without making any resistance, which must have been ineffectual, and could have answered no good purpose.[2] Preceding this movement, the Indians, under Captain Frazer, supported by his company of marksmen, were directed by the British commander to make a circuit to the left of the line of the advanced corps, and endeavor to cut off the retreat of the Americans to their lines, but this design was defeated by the impetuosity of the Indians, who, de-

[1] *Burgoyne's Narrative.* Appendix XXVI.

[2] *Gordon*, Vol. II., p. 480. Irving, who generally speaks of St. Clair in terms of praise, censures him for abandoning Mount Hope. But possession of that hill without troops to support the force there, as Gordon says, could have answered no good purpose.

ceived by the nature of the ground, which was covered by brushwood, were unaware of the close proximity of the defenses, attacked the Americans in front, forced them to retire, with a loss of one officer and a few men killed and one officer wounded,[1] but were checked by a fire from the works, which were less than two hundreds yards distant. Suspecting this movement for an assault, General St. Clair directed the troops to sit down on the *banquette* with their backs to the parapet, as well to cover them from the shot of the enemy as to prevent their throwing away their own fire, and himself kept watch of the enemy, who continued to crawl toward their works, under cover of the brushwood. Seeing a light infantry man of the enemy's force industriously loading and firing, under cover of the bushes, within forty paces of the ditch, Colonel Wilkinson ordered a sergeant to rise and shoot him. The order was obeyed, and a curious result followed: not only was the man knocked over on the side of the enemy, but every American soldier straightway mounted the *banquette*, and without command fired a volley; "the artillery followed the example, as did many of the officers, from the colonel down to subalterns, and, notwithstanding the exertions of the general and his staff, three rounds were discharged before they could stop the firing, and when the smoke dispersed, the enemy were observed at three hundred yards' distance, retreating helter-skelter."[2] Wilkinson discovered his man lying prostrate on his back, and mentioned the circumstance to General St. Clair, who, though exceedingly heated by the conduct of the troops, replied, "with that mild philanthropy which distinguished his character, '*Send out a corporal and a file of men, and let the poor fellow be brought in and buried.*' But as the corporal approached the supposed dead man, he jumped up, clubbed his musket, and exclaimed, 'By Jasus, I killed the man at the sally-port; a fair shot!'"[3] The Irishman

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[1] *Burgoyne's Narrative.* Appendix XXVIII.

[2] *Wilkinson's Memoirs,* Vol. I., p. 182.

[3] *Wilkinson's Memoirs,* Vol. I., p. 183.

was brought in, and though at first stubborn enough, the companionship of a fellow-countryman, supplied with creature-comforts, at night, was sufficient to draw out from him important information as to the strength of the enemy.

On the 3d, Mount Hope was occupied in force by General Fraser's whole corps, supported by artillery, thus cutting off the Americans from all communication with Lake George. On the east side, General Reidesel was encamped in a parallel line with Three-Mile Point, having pushed the reserve forward, near the rivulet which encircles Mount Independence.[1] The Americans kept up a vigorous fire during the day, to which no response was made. St. Clair, knowing the desperate nature of his situation, still lingered, hoping that General Burgoyne might be provoked to make an assault. If that were only done, no matter what the result, an opportunity would be afforded a soldier to give an account of the enemy, and stop public clamor. Within forty-eight hours that hope was dispelled.

The tongue of land swept by the waters of South River and the inlet from Lake George as they unite and form a bay at the southern extremity of Lake Champlain, is a lofty and rugged eminence overlooking all other points, and supposed hitherto by French, English and American engineers to be inaccessible for artillery. It was known as Sugar-Loaf Hill, or Mount Defiance. Its importance in the investment did not escape such experienced soldiers as Burgoyne and Phillips, and Lieutenant Twiss, the commanding engineer, was ordered to reconnoiter. He "reported this hill to have the entire command of the works and buildings, both of Ticonderoga and Mount Independence, at the distance of about one thousand four hundred yards from the former, and one thousand five hundred from the latter; that the ground might be leveled so as to receive cannon, and that the road to convey them, though difficult, might be made practicable in twenty-four hours."[2]

[1] *Burgoyne's Narrative*—Appendix XXVIII.

[2] *Burgoyne's Narrative.* Appendix XXIV.,

This hill also commanded, in reverse, the bridge of communication, exposed to view the exact situation of the vessels, and the Americans could not during the day make any material movement or preparation without being discovered, and even having their numbers counted.[1] General Phillips proceeded at once to the execution of this arduous task.

When General St. Clair discovered that the enemy were in possession of Mount Defiance, he knew that resistance was hopeless. Two courses were open to him, viz: To defend the works until his men were either killed or captured; or to abandon his plan of concentrating on Mount Independence, and attempt an escape with a view of placing himself between the invaders and the inhabitants beyond Fort Edward. The moment of doubt as to the course to be chosen was one of supreme importance to the country, and to St. Clair—of that critical nature most trying to a soldier, when great souls are proved. To remain would be to lose his army, to evacuate would be to sacrifice himself. The struggle was soon over. He chose wisely the general good rather than the "bloody honors which were within his reach." "Well do I remember his reply to me," said Wilkinson, in describing the scene in other days, "when deploring the necessity of our retreat: 'It must be so, my boy. 'Tis not in mortals to command success, but we'll do more, we will deserve it. *I know I could save my character by sacrificing the army; but were I to do so I should forfeit that which the world could not restore, and which it can not take away, the approbation of my own conscience.*'"

A council of general officers was convened, and it was unanimously decided to withdraw from the fortifications.[2] Measures were immediately taken for effecting the evacuation. The officers were instructed to proceed to carry out the orders as soon as the shades of evening would permit the men to move without risk of revealing to the enemy

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[1] *Burgoyne's Narrative.* Appendix XXIV.

[2] *St. Clair Papers*, p. 420.

their purpose. The sick, and as much of the cannon, provisions and stores as possible were embarked on the boats, and ordered to Skenesborough, where St. Clair directed Colonel Long, "an active, diligent, good officer," to take command with his regiment and the invalids, until he should join him with the army, which was to march to that place by the way of Castleton.[1] As many of the cannon were spiked as possible, and just after midnight the garrison of Ticonderoga crossed the bridge to Mount Independence, where it was found little had been done. The rascally French general, De Fermoy, to whom had been intrusted the preparations for removal at Mount Independence, was discovered to be sound asleep. The movements here were necessarily hurried, but all went well until the evil genius of Fermoy moved him to disobey the express orders of the commanding general, and set fire to his quarters on Mount Independence, as he was leaving them about two o'clock on the morning of the 6th.[2] This exposed to the enemy the rear of the American army, and word was at once conveyed to Brigadier-General Fraser, who took possession of the deserted posts, and pursued with his brigade after the retreating Americans. There was much confusion amongst the latter, which, however, was corrected through the personal exertions of St. Clair.

Soon after daylight, General Burgoyne was apprised of the flight. He directed Major-General Reidesel to move to the support of Brigadier Fraser, while he turned his attention to the pursuit by water. It was now to be seen whether the hopes which General Schuyler and Congress

[1] St. Clair's letter to President Hancock from Ft. Edward. p. 426.

[2] Fermoy was placed at Ticonderoga by express orders of Congress. Washington had protested against placing foreign adventurers over American troops, but the policy of Congress was to seek foreign aid, and it was hoped good reports would be sent across the water by the officers they honored. Unfortunately, Congress did not discriminate wisely between merit and impudent incapacity. One of the worst of the adventurers was this very General Fermoy, who brought disaster upon the rear of St. Clair's army after the successful retreat from Ticonderoga.

had placed on the boom stretched between Ticonderoga and Mount Independence, would be realized. If impregnable as confidently believed by Schuyler, it would delay the enemy until Colonel Long could get safely away with the stores, and a junction formed either with the main army or the forces that were approaching from the south. General Burgoyne tells the result of the attack on the boom in a few words: The gun-boats were instantly moved forward, and "the boom and one of the intermediate floats were cut with great dexterity and dispatch, and Commodore Lutwidge, with the officers and seamen in his department, partaking the general animation, a passage was formed in half an hour for the frigates also," "through impediments," adds the ardent General, "which the enemy had been laboring to construct since last autumn."

An impregnable boom cut with such dispatch as to admit of the passage of frigates in half an hour!

Colonel Long moved from Ticonderoga up South River. "Its beautiful waters wound among the mountains, covered with primeval forests. The bateaux, deeply laden, made their way slowly in a lengthened line; sometimes under the shadows of mountains, sometimes in the gleam of moonlight. The rear-guard of armed galleys followed at wary distance. No immediate pursuit, however, was apprehended The floating bridge [boom] was considered an effectual impediment to the enemy's fleet."[1] Scarcely had the disembarkation at Skenesborough commenced, when the guard of armed vessels was attacked by the British gun-boats, which had pushed on with all possible rapidity. Two of the American vessels soon struck, and the other three were blown up. Colonel Long set fire to the fort, mills, storehouses and bateaux, and retired up Wood Creek to Fort Anne, where he arrived about daylight. The loss of property at Skenesborough was very large, and included all of the officers' baggage.

The British pursued to Fort Anne, but there met with

[1] *Irving's Washington.* Vol. III., p. 120.

a vigorous resistance and lost some troops, the Americans capturing a number of prisoners, including Captain Montgomery and a surgeon. Supposing this to be the advance of General Burgoyne's army, Colonel Long set fire to Fort Anne, and retreated to Fort Edward.

The body of St. Clair's army reached Castleton the next evening, thirty miles from Ticonderoga and twelve from Skenesborough, and there halted. The rear-guard, under Colonel Seth Warner,[1] which, with the stragglers and infirm, amounted to near twelve hundred, stopped at Hubbardton, six miles from the main body. Besides his own regiment, Warner had the regiments of Colonels Francis and Hale, and, if he had been as active as the enemy, he would have joined the main body before General Fraser could have come up.[2] The latter, after giving his men a rest, until three o'clock in the morning, pushed on until he overtook the Americans, who were yet in camp, at five o'clock. He attacked with great spirit. Hale and his regiment immediately fled, but Warner and Francis were of different metal, and the brave Green Mountain boys under them had heard the whistle of bullets before. They met the attack with great coolness, and, being prevented from getting possession of the commanding ground to their right, posted themselves behind logs and trees, whence they kept up the fight in true American style. But for the opportune arrival of General Reidesel, with his Brunswickers, General Fraser would have been badly beaten. But it was not until after the noble Francis had been killed, and the strength of the enemy had been

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[1] General Warner, who had been sent to Otter creek on an expedition, had only returned to Ticonderoga on the fifth, bringing with him a reinforcement of Vermont militia.

[2] General St. Clair instructed Colonel Warner in the most positive manner to encamp with the main body at Castleton, and not to stop short of that place. Colonel Warner chose to disregard the order. This sort of license, or independence, was common in the American Armies, and there was no way to correct it. The Continental soldiers, as well as militia, would leave without a permit, return home for a breathing spell, and then again resume their places. This was countenanced by many officers. Were they not all "peers?"

greatly increased by the German reinforcements, that Seth Warner gave the order to retreat. His men took to the woods, and were several days in finding the main body. Upon hearing the firing, St. Clair sent an order by an aid to two militia regiments, posted within four miles of Hubbardton, to hasten to Warner's assistance, but they refused to obey orders, and marched directly to Castleton. By the time the disobedience was reported to headquarters the result of the action was known, and St. Clair, being advised of the fate of Skenesborough, changed his route, and sent word to Warner to join him at Rutland. General Burgoyne reported the loss of the Americans at two hundred killed, including Col. Francis, six hundred wounded, and two hundred and ten taken prisoners. But, as he also reported the Americans engaged as two thousand, when there were in fact only about seven hundred and fifty, we may safely set down his statement as a gross exaggeration. Gordon places the American loss, on authority of a British officer, as three hundred and twenty-four, killed, wounded, and prisoners,[1] and the loss of the enemy at not less than one hundred and eighty-three killed and wounded. They had three officers killed and twelve wounded.[2] The action was desperately fought on both sides, and, in the words of General Burgoyne, its bare relation is sufficient for its praise.

General St. Clair continued his circuitous march, and, at Manchester, was joined by brave Seth Warner and the remainder of his regiment. Here it was found necessary to dismiss the two Massachusetts regiments that had refused to go to Warner's relief at Hubbardton, as their conduct was so licentious and disorderly there was danger their example might affect the Continental troops.[3] The commanding general did not forget the interests of the inhabitants to

[1] But this number includes Colonel Hale and a part of the men under him, who, like poltroons, had fled at the first fire in the early morning. They were afterwards overtaken, and the measure of their satisfaction was completed in an opportunity to surrender in safety.

[2] *Gordon*, Vol. II., p. 484.

[3] St. Clair's letter to President Hancock, July 14th, p. 426.

the eastward, or the importance of his reaching Fort Edward with as large a force as possible. On the 6th, he directed the Vermont militia that were with him to remain at Rutland for the protection of the people until the State Convention should direct otherwise. The following day, he wrote to Joseph Bowker, President of that Convention, a letter explaining the evacuation of Ticonderoga, and calculated, from its cheerful tone, to give encouragement. He asked that the reinforcements coming on by Number Four be directed to meet him at Bennington, whither he was marching for provisions. It was his purpose to march thence for the North River, and endeavor to prevent the enemy from penetrating into the country.[1] From Dorset, on the 9th, he announced that Colonel Warner's regiment would be left in the Grants, and requested that all cattle fit to be killed should be sent on to Fort Edward. He concluded as follows: "Your Convention have given such proofs of their readiness to concur in any measure for the public safety that it would be impertinent to press them now. I will only repeat the request I made before, that the militia from the eastward marching by Number Four may be directed to take the shortest route to join the army."[2]

General St. Clair reached Fort Edward on the 12th, after an arduous march of nearly seven days, and brought to the support of the Continental cause two thousand troops that could be relied on. This force served as a basis for a new army. The militia collected speedily, so that on the 14th he could say to Congress confidently, truthfully, and with justifiable self-gratulation: "I have the most sanguine hopes that the progress of the enemy will be checked; and *I may yet have the satisfaction to experience that,* BY ABANDONING A POST, I HAVE EVENTUALLY SAVED A STATE."

Time has justified this, and proved that the soldier who, in the face of popular clamor and obloquy, elected to do his

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[1]*Stevens' Papers,* Vol. III.

[2]*Ibid. St. Clair Papers,* p. 424.

duty, deserved the wreath of victory. His memory shall endure with the Republic he helped to establish.

The Adamses did not mean it to be so. Both John and Samuel denounced the evacuation of Ticonderoga as a crime. "We shall never be able to defend a post," wrote the former, who was President of the Board of War, "till we shoot a General." Fort Washington had been defended, and three thousand men killed or captured, by which the Americans had been brought to great distress. That was a military blunder, and did not receive a word of censure from the Board of War. The evacuation of Ticonderoga, which saved troops to the Americans at a critical period, was a wise military stroke, and the same board became censorious. Was it because of their own neglect? We shall see. Samuel Adams saw in the event an opportunity for the triumph of faction,[1] and he industriously labored, in his correspondence, to create a feeling against the Northern generals, so deep, that even the Commander-in-Chief, whose confidence in them was known, could not stem it. In this the information as to the real condition of affairs at Ticonderoga, which had been placed before Congress by St. Clair, and was in possession of the Board of War, was carefully suppressed, and the statements in correspondence of the officers, after the evacuation, were grossly misrepresented.[2] The same spirit of faction, prevalent in Massachusetts and Connecticut, not only influenced the militia to refuse to obey orders and to serve under any except such officers as they might select, but moved the stay-at-home patriots to denounce the officers in the Boston papers. A private letter from St. Clair to Governor Bowdoin, hurriedly written after the evacuation, and containing meager particulars, was inadvisedly given to the Boston *Gazette*, and served as a pretext for the most unfair and abusive articles. St. Clair and his

[1] Only six months before, in writing to John Adams, he had asked, referring to General Gates, "How shall we make him the head of that [the Northern] army"

[2] See letter of S. Adams to R. H. Lee, July 12th. *Life of Samuel Adams*, Vol. II., pp. 484, 486.

friend Wilkinson replied with spirit, but not always in the best temper. To Governor Bowdoin, General St. Clair wrote at length, giving cogent reasons for the evacuation.[1]

The wicked character of the calumnies invented and industriously circulated against St. Clair and Schuyler, was only equaled by their absurdity. They were accused of cowardice; and it was alleged that they had held communications with the enemy, and had received their reward inclosed in silver balls fired into St. Clair's camp. "The characters of our Generals who were at Ticonderoga," wrote Colonel John Trumbull, at that day, "particularly St. Clair's, are suffering perhaps irretrievably. The minds of the people are much inflamed."

It is undoubtedly true that, outside of faction, which waxed strong on the apparently successful movements of Burgoyne, among those who had confided in the supposed impregnability of the Northern fortresses, there was a panic and deep anxiety. "The evacuation of Ticonderoga," says Sparks, "spread the greater panic and surprise, as it was unexpected. The actual force and condition of St. Clair's army had been overrated by the public. Hopes were raised high; the eyes of the nation were turned upon Ticonderoga; and when the news of the retreat went abroad, the disappointment was extreme, and the loud voice of complaint and censure against the unfortunate general was reiterated from one end of the continent to the other. *Time proved that he had acted the part of a judicious and skillful officer;* but the excitement of the moment was so great, caused by chagrin on the one hand and alarm on the other, that all eyes were blind, and all ears deaf, to the true reasons of the case, and even to the palliating circumstances.[2]"

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[1] The correspondence will be found in full in this work, pp.

[2] *Life of Gouverneur Morris*, p. 129.

"The dread with which this unexpected blow filled the whole country, was as extravagant as their rage against the commanding officer, who, in the language of the day, had sold, or given away, the most important fortress on the continent." Letter of Governor Trumbull to Baron Vander Capellan, August 31, 1779. *Mass. His. Soc. Collections*, Vol. VI., p. 170.

Contemporary publications do not justify so broad a statement as to the extent of the feeling of alarm. It was pretty much confined to the East, the section immediately interested. But the factionists in Congress attempted to extend the flames to the entire country.

Fortunately for the cause, there was a saving conservatism that intervened and prevented disaster, and, for a time, checked the hand of injustice. Jay, G. Morris, Wilson, and, above all, Washington, counseled patience and forbearance. Morris, on behalf of the New York Council of safety, visited the Northern army, and made himself familiar with the situation. He saw, with St. Clair, the strategic importance of the movement withdrawing from untenable posts, and the success which must now attend the Americans if they rallied to place obstacles in the way of Burgoyne as he moved his army farther from his base.[1] Washington was greatly perplexed, as he had not been supplied with copies of St. Clair's letters to Congress, and had been misled by the correspondence of Schuyler.[2] The real

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[1] Letter to the President of the Council of Safety. *Life of G. Morris*, p. 135.

[2] How General Schuyler had misled General Washington as to the strength of the garrisons under St. Clair is shown by the following extract from a letter he received from the Commander-in-Chief just after the event: "The evacuation of Ticonderoga and Mount Independence is an event of chagrin and surprise not apprehended nor within the compass of my reasoning. I know not upon what principle it was founded, and I should suppose it would be still more difficult to be accounted for *if the garrison amounted to five thousand men, in high spirits, healthy, well supplied with provisions* and ammunition, and Eastern militia were marching to their succor, *as you mentioned in your letter* of the 9th [June] to the Council of Safety of New York."—How different was the actual condition from this rosy picture, we have seen. General Schuyler had sent also to Washington the youthful effusions of Henry Brockholst Livingston,[1] one of his aids, for the time on the staff of St. Clair, in which the most glowing description is given of the spirit of the troops, and promise of victory is held out on the very eve of the evacuation. "I can not but esteem myself fortunate," wrote he, on the 30th of June, "that indisposition prevented my returning with you, as it has given me an opportunity of being present at a battle, in

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(1) Afterward a judge of the Supreme Court of the United States.

object of the British campaign had not been made clear until this movement of Burgoyne's in force. He saw, with his usual quickness, how the enemy might be thwarted, and, with characteristic courage and rapidity, formed a new plan of campaign. He reinforced Schuyler on the Hudson, while keeping in view the importance of preventing Lord Howe from getting possession of the Highlands by a *coup de main*, imparted to the public something of his own hopefulness, and yielded to the clamor of the factionists only so far as to suggest that St. Clair should make a public explanation. "People at a distance," said he, "are apt to form wrong conjectures, and if General St. Clair has good reasons for the step he has taken, I think the sooner he justifies himself the better.[1]"

He saw clearly the great possibilities of the situation. "Though our affairs," said he, "have, for some days past, worn a dark and gloomy aspect, I yet look forward to a fortunate and happy change. I trust General Burgoyne's army will meet, sooner or later, an effectual check; and, as I suggested before, that the success he has had will precipitate his ruin."

Before recording the triumphant result of the campaign in New York, we have to consider where the responsibility properly belongs for the temporary loss of the Northern posts, and for the misunderstanding prevalent among the people as to the real situation at Ticonderoga.

We have seen how, after the retreat from Canada, Gates, deeming his army of nearly thirteen thousand insufficient to cope with the British, called for a reinforcement of eight to ten thousand men; how, when the enemy had gone into winter quarters, and there were yet nearly five thousand troops under Schuyler, Samuel Adams, as chair-

which I promise myself the pleasure of seeing our army flushed with victory.[1]" The bright anticipations of this boy-soldier were set down in the general indictment against St. Clair, as promises of successful resistance of the enemy made by that officer.

[1] Letter to General Schuyler, 18th July, 1777.

(1) *Schuyler Papers.*

man of the Committee on the State of the Northern army, sent out an urgent appeal to the New England States to strengthen Ticonderoga; how meager was the response; how the brave Wayne wept at the sufferings of the garrisons; how, even when summer followed spring the works were incomplete, the garrisons scarcely twenty-five hundred strong, not sufficient to man the works if placed at intervals barely within sound of each other's voices, poorly clothed and imperfectly armed, and how these were called on to do what Gates did not believe could be done nine months before with thirteen thousand men. All of these facts were in possession of Congress when the evacuation took place, and there could be no justification for affecting surprise at the event. It was said that the correspondence of St. Clair gave rise to hopes of a different result. Detached sentences were quoted, and the text misrepresented. The letter of the 20th, to James Wilson, has already been referred to. We shall now call attention to his letter of the 25th of June, a fortnight after he assumed the command, and ten days before the evacuation, addressed to President Hancock. He said:

"I inclose you a return of our troops at this post, by which you will perceive our effective numbers are little more than two thousand, a force greatly inadequate to its defense; which, should the enemy attack it in force, would require at least four times that number. In that two thousand are included a number of artificers who are unarmed, and many of the soldiers are in the same condition, and the whole in very great want of clothing, accouterments and bayonets.

"If the militia were called in, they might possibly enable us to keep possession, but I have not yet ventured on that step on account of our low state of provisions, there not being more than thirty-five days' meat for the troops now here, and because of the uncertainty with regard to the enemy's designs.

"No army was ever in a more critical situation than we now are; and supposing that this move is only a feint to favor the operations of Sir William Howe, which I still

suspect it to be, we may, and probably will be, reduced to the greatest distress, the supplies being derived from such a distance, and the communication so difficult, that it is next to impossible to support it."

Did Congress come to the relief of the Northern army after this plain statement of the weakness of the garrison and the dangers of the situation? No. Faction paralized some, others held to the theory that the British designs were to the southward, and others believed in the impregnability of the works, which had been constructed under the direction of the Board of War.

The works had been constructed upon a plan devised after a committee had inspected the grounds. If they were deficient, to Congress belonged the responsibility. That they were utterly worthless as a defense against an enterprising and experienced enemy was shown when Mount Defiance was occupied, and St. Clair found all of his lines under the guns of the enemy. Whose fault was it that this commanding eminence was left unprovided with fortifications? The relation of a singular circumstance will answer that question.

Adjutant John Trumbull, of Gates's staff, was stationed at Ticonderoga in 1776, when Gates and Arnold and Wayne were there. He came to the conclusion that Mount Defiance completely commanded the American position, and that its distance from the old fort and Mount Independence was by no means so great as generally supposed. He expressed his opinion at the table of General Gates, when the principal officers were present, and was laughed at for his pains. He, however, obtained the General's permission to test his theory by experiment. He selected at the north point of Mount Independence, a twelve-pounder, a long French brass gun, which was loaded with the proof-charge of the best powder and double-shotted. He then desired Major Stevens to elevate the gun so that it should point at Mount Defiance. The gun was fired, and the shot were plainly seen to strike at more than half the height of the hill. A similar experiment was made from the old French fort with a common

six-pound gun, and the shot struck near the summit. Still it was insisted upon that the summit of Sugar-Loaf was inaccessible to an enemy. This Colonel Trumbull disproved. Accompanied by General Arnold, Colonel Wayne and several other active officers, he landed from a barge at the foot of the hill, where it was most precipitous and rocky, and clambered to the summit in a short time. "The ascent *was* difficult and laborious, but not impracticable, and when they looked down upon the outlet of Lake George, it was obvious to all there could be no difficulty in driving up a loaded carriage."[1]

To maintain the several posts then held by the Americans, Colonel Trumbull calculated, would require ten thousand men, which would be found impossible in future campaigns for Government to supply; and, as there was no road on either side of the lake by which an enemy could penetrate into the country south, he must necessarily make use of this water-route, which could be completely commanded by fortifications on Mount Defiance. It was, therefore, as ten thousand men and one hundred pieces of cannon against five hundred men and twenty-five heavy guns. Success in fortification and economy were clearly in favor of erecting works on Mount Defiance, and withdrawing from Ticonderoga and Mount Independence. Colonel Trumbull drew up three copies of the plans and memoir, one to be submitted to General Gates, one to General Schuyler, and one to Congress. A copy of the drawing of the post, as prepared by Colonel Trumbull, accompanies this work.

Neither the Committee on War, under whose directions the works were constructed at Ticonderoga and the defense conducted in the fall and winter of 1776–77, nor either of the Generals in command of the Northern Department, took the only steps which could have saved the posts. Therefore, the responsibility for whatever results followed this neglect is easily placed.[2] St. Clair, who reached Ti-

[1] *Autobiography of John Trumbull*, p. 32.

[2] "The events of the succeeding campaign," concludes Colonel Trumbull's recital of events around the posts in 1776, "demonstrated the

Robert Clarke & Co. Cincinnati.

conderoga only about twenty days before the evacuation, was directly confronted with the problem: How best to save for the country the small force the Board of War had provided for the Northern Department.

One of the ablest leaders and most generous patriots of the Revolutionary period was Philip Schuyler, and it is with great reluctance we refer to the humiliating position in which he placed himself immediately after the evacuation of Ticonderoga, but it is necessary to a complete history of that event. General Schuyler had, at a council of war over which he presided on the 20th of June, expressed the opinion that the force and the works were inadequate to a defense, and that preparations should be made for a retreat in case the enemy invested in force.[1] In a letter to Colonel Varick, *on the first of July*, he said: "The insufficiency of the garrison at Ticonderoga, the imperfect state of the fortifications, and the want of discipline in the troops, give me great cause to apprehend that we shall lose that fortress, but as a reinforcement is coming up from Peekskill,[2] with which I shall move up, I

correctness of my views, for General St. Clair was left to defend Ticonderoga without any essential addition to the garrison, which had been placed there by command of General Gates in the preceding November, *because the Congress could not spare more men or means;* so that, when General Burgoyne presented himself at Three-Mile Point, no opposition could be hazarded to his movements, and instead of assaulting the works (as had been formerly done by General Abercrombie in 1757), he silently turned the left of the position, crossed the outlet of Lake George, and established a battery of heavy guns on the summit of Mount Defiance, the shot from which plunged into the old French fort and lines, and reached all points of Mount Independence; so that, as I had predicted, the whole position became untenable, and was immediately abandoned. General St. Clair became the object of furious denunciations, whereas, he merited thanks for having saved a part of the devoted garrison, who subsequently formed the nucleus of that force by which, in the course of the campaign, General Burgoyne was ultimately baffled, and compelled to surrender his victorious army by the convention of Saratoga."

[1] The full text of the proceedings in council will be found in another place in this work, p. 404.

[2] General Washington had directed General Putnam to send three or four regiments to reinforce the Northern army.

am in hopes that the enemy will be prevented from any further progress."

Yet, when the storm came, he yielded to it, deserting the friend who had had the moral courage to do his duty. "What adds to my distress," he says in a letter to Washington on the 9th of July, "is, that a report prevails that I had given orders for the evacuation of Ticonderoga, whereas not the most distant hint of such an intention can be drawn from any of my letters to General St. Clair, or any other person whatever. What could induce the general officers to a step that has ruined our affairs in this quarter, God only knows." He asked Gouverneur Morris to write to the Council of Safety in his behalf. "I find by a letter from a friend there, that my reputation suffers much, and that people suggest the fort was evacuated by my order, and that I had made such a disposition while I was there as indicated an intention to deliver it to the enemy."[1]

What a contrast to this is afforded by St. Clair's most brave and magnanimous letter in Schuyler's behalf. The latter, smarting under undeserved censure, communicated to St. Clair the contents of a letter from Jay, in which the opinion was expressed that some explanation should be given to the public. Thereupon, St. Clair wrote to Mr. Jay, taking upon himself the entire responsibility of the evacuation of the posts. The opening paragraphs well deserve reproducing here:

"General Schuyler was good enough to read to me part of a letter he received last night from you. I can not recollect that any of my officers ever asked my reasons for leaving Ticonderoga; but as I have found the measure much decried, I have often expressed myself in this manner: 'That as to myself I was perfectly easy; I was conscious of the uprightness and propriety of my conduct, and despised the vague censure of an uninformed populace;' but had no allusions to an order from General Schuyler for my justification, because no such order existed.

[1] *Life of Morris*, Vol. I., p. 138.

"The calumny thrown on General Schuyler, on account of that matter, has given me great uneasiness. I assure you, sir, there never was any thing more cruel and unjust, for he knew nothing of the matter until it was over, more than you did at Kingston. It was done in consequence of a consultation with the other general officers, without the possibility of General Schuyler's concurrence; and had the opinion of that council been contrary to what it was, it would nevertheless have taken place, because I knew it to be impossible to defend the post with our numbers.[1]"

There was no attempting to shirk responsibility here;

[1] Letter to John Jay, from Moses's Creek, July 25, 1777. *St. Clair Papers*, p. 483.

Lossing, in his *Life and Times of Major-General Phillip Schuyler*, (pp. 193, 325), takes exception to Bancroft's presentation of the facts of the case, and especially to the following paragraph on page 361, Volume IX, of his History of the United States. "The only good part was, to prepare for evacuating the post; but from the dread of clamor, shirking the responsibility of giving definite instructions, Schuyler returned to Albany, and busied himself with forwarding to Ticonderoga supplies for a long seige." Mr. Lossing claims that General Schuyler was not the man to shirk responsibilities, and that he gave St. Clair "definite instructions" after pointing out the untenable nature of the works, "leaving him to exercise large discretionary powers." Comment on this confusion of ideas is not necessary, but I have in the text, by indisputable evidence, sustained the opinion of Mr. Bancroft, and before this note is finished, I hope to convince the reader that Mr. Lossing, in attempting to exculpate General Schuyler, has grossly misrepresented and perverted the record. He says that at the council of the 20th June, referred to in the text, General Schuyler pointed out the danger of the enemy taking a position on Mount Defiance, but this was regarded as impracticable by the officers. He does not give his authority for this statement, which seems designed to parry the charge of neglect, nor is it to be found in the record of the council. Later, to explain, in some manner, the contradiction between the declaration made by the council, that a retreat should be prepared for, as the works were untenable, and the excited denials of Schuyler that he had advised the evacuation, and his statement that he did not know why it was done, Lossing says that St. Clair had bright expectations, and that he "wrote confidently to his chief, saying: 'Should the enemy attack us, they will go back faster than they came.'" This is an intentional misquotation from the letter of St. Clair to Schuyler, of June 30th, and has been made to do service in misrepresenting history by

but there was calm confidence in the future, and its victory.

The letter of Mr. Jay to General Schuyler, to which the above refers, is dated Kingston, July 21st, and was de-

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other writers who have neglected to go to original materials for themselves. The full passage in St. Clair's letter is as follows:

"My people are in the best disposition possible, and I have no doubt about giving a good account of the enemy, should they think proper to attack us; and, *if the person I mentioned in my last pursues the opportunity that now presents itself, they will go back faster than they came on. He has above a thousand men.*"

To understand this fully, it is necessary to read the preceding letters of St. Clair, to ascertain the opinion he had of the enemy's forces, and especially the letter to which the above extract refers, written June 28th. In that, he informs General Schuyler that he had sent Colonel Warner to the Grants the day before, "to raise a body of men to oppose the incursions of the savages that are gone to Otter Creek, and have ordered him to attack them, and join me again as soon as possible. I am very happy to find the country was apprised of the march of that party before Colonel Warner got to Skenesborough, as it will probably prevent their success, and may end in their ruin." The retreat of the enemy (supposed to be in small force, as the correspondence shows), was dependent on the enterprise of Colonel Warner, and if that resulted as he and St. Clair had concerted, the blow would compel the enemy to fall back. But Lossing sought to convey the meaning that St. Clair referred solely to an expected triumph over the British, if they should attack the works of Ticonderoga in force; whereas, the correspondence of St. Clair, from the middle of June, when he assumed command, asserts the impracticability of defending the posts with the meager troops and small supplies he had. The situation had been discussed with Schuyler, and the report of the evacuation could not have been "astounding news" to him. During the proceedings of the court martial, General Schuyler was asked what troops he had estimated for the defense of the garrisons of Ticonderoga and Independence. "*Answer.* Ten thousand Continental troops." And yet St. Clair had not three thousand, including militia whose time was about to expire—and Schuyler was astounded!

Now read the following question and answer:

"*Question by General St. Clair:* 'Did you ever give me any orders for evacuating these garrisons?'"

"*Answer.* 'No. The reason why I did not give you any orders for evacuating these garrisons was, because I had written this letter to Congress [read in testimony as showing that the Board of War had been fully apprised of the critical condition of the posts, June 8th], and they did not give me any orders about it; *and, as the Continent con-*

signed to put General Schuyler in possession of all that his enemies were saying to his prejudice, as well as the tone of current comment. The paragraphs to which St. Clair's letter particularly refers are the following:

"It is said, but I know not with what truth, that St. Clair, on being asked by some of his officers why the fort was evacuated, replied, generally, that he knew what he did; that, on his own account, he was very easy about the matter, and that he had it in his power to justify himself. From hence some inferred that he must have alluded to orders from you.

"Another report prevails, that some short time before the fort was left, a number of heavy cannon were, by your order, dismounted and laid aside, and small ones placed in their room. This is urged as circumstantial proof against you."

Subsequently, on the 26th July, Mr. Jay acknowledged the receipt of the letter of St. Clair, and said: "This attack on your reputation will, I hope, do you only a temporary injury. The honest though credulous multitude, when undeceived, will regret their giving way to suspicions which have led them to do injustice.

"I have reason to suspect that the Council of Safety believed that Ticonderoga was left by your direction or advice, or with your knowledge. They appear fully satisfied of the contrary, and, in my opinion, St. Clair's letter will remove all doubts on that head."

While Burgoyne remained at Skenesborough, General Schuyler employed the time in placing obstructions in the route which the enemy must follow on his way to the Hudson. Bridges were broken down, and Wood Creek rendered unnavigable. The time gained was of great im-

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ceived them of great importance, and very strong, I did not think myself at liberty to give any orders for an evacuation of them.'"

If the reader is not satisfied that General Schuyler's own words confirm the charge that he stood in fear of public opinion—that he was guilty of moral cowardice—what will satisfy?

In this connection, I refer to General Wilkinson's letter to St. Clair, as to what Schuyler said to him, printed elsewhere in this volume.

portance. A council of officers having decided that Fort Edward[1] was untenable, a position for a fortified camp was selected by the chief engineer, who, at that time, was Thaddeus Kosciusko. It was about four miles below, at Moses's Creek, where the waters of the Hudson River are separated by an island. During the transfer of the stores and troops, an attack was made on the picket-guard upon the Fort Anne road by a detachment of British troops and Indians. The Americans drove off the enemy, and, in so doing, had thirteen killed and twelve wounded, five of them mortally. No further attempts were immediately made by the enemy, and General Schuyler improved the opportunity to strengthen his position and brigade his troops. The army was organized into two divisions, and occupied the opposite sides of the river; the right under Major-General St. Clair, the left under Major-General Arnold, who had recently been sent North by General Washington. The position was a strong one, and, but for the bad conduct of the Eastern militia, the outlook for the Americans was most promising. The whole force was about forty-four hundred, but it was uncertain, on account of the dissatisfaction of the militia, how long the number would be kept at that figure. General Schuyler made very earnest appeals for reinforcements. Under the circumstances, it was deemed expedient to retire from Moses's Creek and establish a new camp nearer to the base of supplies. Accordingly, on the 30th of July, the army withdrew to Saratoga, and on the 2d of August continued its march to Stillwater. But this proving unsatisfactory, on examination, the army took up a new position on the islands at the confluence of the Mohawk and the Hudson, a more defensible station.

It had been the purpose of General Burgoyne to send his corps of Indians to the Connecticut to force a supply of provisions, to intercept reinforcements, and to alarm the people of New England. But the removal of the

[1] Washington expressed surprise at this,—further evidence that he had never been correctly advised of the condition of the Northern posts.

American forces to the southward led him to change his plan, and to employ the Indians to prevent, if possible, by their terror, the Americans from continuing the operations referred to.[1] To the credit of Burgoyne, be it said, he was carrying out, in the employment of the Indians, the policy of the home government, and that he had no heart in the business. He attempted to restrain them, by placing over them priests, and other Canadians of character, but the result was disappointing to him. He breathed more freely when, further on, his prospects being less promising, his Indian allies deserted him.

Just as Schuyler was located in his new camp, word was brought to him that St. Leger, who had been dispatched by Burgoyne for that purpose, accompanied by Sir John Johnson's Royal Greens, and a body of Indians, under Brant, had laid seige to Fort Stanwix, on the Upper Mohawk. The post was held by Colonels Gansevoort and Willett, with two New York regiments. He was informed that General Herkimer, with a body of the militia of Tryon county, had advanced to the relief of the garrison. When within six miles of the fort, Herkimer fell into an ambush. Though mortally wounded, he supported himself against a stump, and encouraged his men to the fight. The resistance was one of the most gallant on record, and the militia, by the aid of a sally by Willett, succeeded in repulsing the assailants and in reaching the fort, where they were warmly welcomed. Four hundred of the militia, including General Herkimer and many of the leading patriots of Tryon county, lost their lives. The result filled the country with terror. Schuyler saw the necessity of immediately relieving the beleagured post, and dispatched thither Arnold, who volunteered for that service, with three regiments. The Indians, who had suffered a severe loss in the fight with the Tryon militia, on hearing of the approach of the relieving force, deserted in large numbers, an example followed by St. Leger two days before Arnold reached the fort, who left his tents standing, and a greater

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[1] *Burgoyne's Narrative.*

part of his stores, which fell into the hands of the Americans. After this, very few Indians remained with Burgoyne.

Another piece of good fortune about this time came to cheer the hearts of the Americans, and brighten the prospects of the generals of the Northern army. The golden opportunity for Burgoyne was gone forever. Embarrassed with heavy artillery and baggage, small progress had been made from Fort George; and, expected supplies from Canada failing him, he listened to the seductive wiles of the Tories, and thought to capture American supplies at Bennington, and bring back the inhabitants of the Hampshire Grants to their allegiance to his royal master.[1] About the middle of August, Lieutenant-Colonel Baume, with five hundred men, and two pieces of artillery, was dispatched on a secret expedition to the Connecticut. Lieutenant-Colonel Breyman's corps, posted near Batten-Kill, was held in reserve to reinforce Baume if the Americans should be found in force. General Schuyler, hearing of this expedition, appealed to Colonel Stark, who was in retirement,[2] to rally the militia and intercept the British. The noble patriot complied. He sent for Warner's regiment, encamped at Manchester since the battle of Hubbardton, and marched to meet the enemy. Six miles from Bennington, Baume began to intrench, and sent back to hasten Colonel Breyman's movements. The next day was rainy, and both parties contented themselves with skirmishing, and awaited reinforcements. The morning of the 16th opened bright and promising. Colonel Stark's men were impatient for an opportunity to face the enemy. It is related that he was approached, while yet the rain was

[1] "The object of your expedition is to try the affections of the country, to disconcert the councils of the enemy, to mount the Reidesel's dragoons, to complete Peters's corps [Tories], and to obtain large supplies of cattle, horses, and carriages."—*From Burgoyne's Instructions to Lieutenant-Colonel Baume.*

[2] Colonel Stark had not been promoted, as he deserved, and he resigned his Continental commission. He accepted the command of the militia, and served on this occasion on condition that he should be independent.

falling, by a Rev. Mr. Allen, of Colonel Symond's regiment, and addressed in these words: "General, the people of Berkshire have often been summoned to the field without being allowed to fight, and if you do not now give them a chance, they have resolved never to turn out again." "Well," said Stark, "do you want to march now while it is dark and raining?" "No, not just now," replied the parson. "Well," said Stark, "if the Lord shall once more give us sunshine, and I do not give you fighting enough, I'll never ask you to turn out again." And fighting enough the men of Berkshire had before the day was ended.[1]

Stark's disposition of his forces was admirable. Detachments were sent in the rear of the enemy, to the right and the left, to engage the attention and begin the attack. At the first fire, Stark sprang upon his horse and gave the word "Forward!"[2] With great impetuosity the Americans rushed upon the intrenchments, and, after a conflict, remarkable for the courage displayed on both sides, succeeded in driving the Hessians out, and capturing nearly the whole of them. "It lasted," says Stark in his letter from Bennington, August 22, "two hours, the hottest I ever saw in my life—it represented one continued clap of thunder; however, the enemy were obliged to give way, and leave the field pieces and all their baggage behind them. They were all environed within two breast-works with their artillery, but our martial courage

[1] It is related of this Rev. Mr. Allen, in the New York *Journal* of September 22, 1777, and other contemporary papers, that just before the attack was made on the intrenchments, in the character of a true minister of peace, he threw himself between the two armies, assured the enemy that they were outnumbered and could not escape, and pathetically exhorted them from a regard to justice to their country and to their own safety, to surrender, and prevent the effusion of blood. While he was speaking, with his hat in his hand, a number of balls were fired at him, some of which passed through his hat; on which he retired, joined in the attack, and was among the foremost to enter the enemy's entrenchments.

[2] This characteristic speech is put into the Colonel's mouth: "There, my men, there are the red coats. Before night they are ours, or Molly Stark will be a widow."

proved too hard for them." After the first fire, the Indians who accompanied Baume fled howling to the woods. While the Americans were plundering the camp of the enemy, Colonel Breyman appeared, but they were saved by the opportune arrival of Colonel Seth Warner's corps from Bennington. The latter attacked the British reinforcements, and drove them through the woods for several miles, capturing two field pieces and all the baggage. The victory was complete, and, at this stage, of great importance to the American cause.[1] The loss of the enemy in killed and wounded was large, and in prisoners about seven hundred, including thirty-two officers.[2] Among the latter was the brave Colonel Baume, who was mortally wounded. Four brass field pieces, nine hundred dragoon swords, and a thousand stand of arms, with ammunition, were also captured. One hundred of the sons of New England fell on that August afternoon, but in the moment of triumph, these were thought of tenderly as blessed sacrifices in the sacred cause of liberty.

The predictions of Washington and St. Clair that the enemy could not penetrate far into the interior without being ruined, were fast being verified. The industry displayed by the Northern generals was being rewarded, and it only wanted the hearty co-operation of New England to effect the destruction of the enemy. Alas! that cooperation was refused, except upon terms dictated by faction. The Southern members of Congress became alarmed at the threatening attitude of the East, and thought it prudent not to stem the torrent.[3] Samuel Adams im-

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[1] The victories of Bennington and Fort Stanwix are accorded so much space in American history, because of the inspiriting effect they had on the Americans. It was seen that the Germans and the Indians could be defeated, and the terror they had inspired soon disappeared. For many anecdotes of the ridiculous fear prevailing in the minds of the Americans before these events, see *Wilkinson*, Vol. I.

[2] Stark's own report. He gives the number of dead found on the field as two hundred and seven; the number of wounded at that time unknown.

[3] *G. Morris's letter to General Schuyler. Hamilton*, Vol. I., p. 253. In July, Schuyler had been under the necessity of dismissing half of the

proved the opportunity, and succeeded in carrying out his long-cherished plan of placing Gates at the head of the Northern army. Schuyler and St. Clair were ordered to report at headquarters. The latter complied immediately, while the former remained, hoping to be useful to his successor.

General Gates, who had been clothed by Congress with extraordinary powers,[1] relieved General Schuyler on the evening of the 19th of August. He was soon joined by Major-General Lincoln, with a large body of New England militia, and General Morgan, with a choice corps of expert riflemen.[2] On the 8th of September, the American army, about six thousand strong, marched for Stillwater, and on the 12th took possession of a narrow defile formed by a spur of the hills jutting out close to the river. This is the ground known as Bemis's Heights, soon to be the scene of severe contests with the enemy. General Gates's right occupied the brow of the hill, near the river, with which it was connected by a deep intrenchment; his camp, in the form of a segment of a great circle, the convex towards the enemy, extended obliquely to his rear about three-fourths of a mile, to a knoll occupied by his left; his front was covered, from the right to the left of the center, by a sharp ravine running parallel with his line and closely wooded.[3] To the left the ground had been partially cleared, but the felled trees made it very difficult. The extremities were defended by strong batteries, and the interval

militia of Massachusetts, lest the whole should go. Wilkinson says the desertions were so numerous as to threaten the destruction of the army. See correspondence of Schuyler with the Council of Safety of New York and *Wilkinson's Memoirs.* Also consult Governor Trumbull's letter to Baron Vander Capellan, Vol. VI., p. 170, *Mass. His. Society's Collection*, as to the disaffection of the militia.

[1] See Journals of Congress and letter of President Hancock to Gates August 14th.

[2] Among the officers connected with this corps were Lieutenant-Colonel Richard Butler and Major H. Dearborn, of whom more hereafter.

[3] Description by Wilkinson, whose account of the events of the campaign is the most complete.

by a breastwork of logs. General Burgoyne, who had crossed the Hudson on the 15th, advanced on the 17th, and encamped within two miles of the Americans, on strong ground. On the 19th, he moved towards the American left, whereupon, Gates ordered Morgan to advance with his corps and hang on the front and flanks of the enemy. Having driven in the British skirmishers, the riflemen advanced too rashly and soon became engaged with a strong column, and were thrown into confusion. Cilley's and Scammel's regiments were now ordered out to march to the left of Morgan and support him. The action was renewed, and it was found necessary to further strengthen the American troops. About three o'clock the action became general, and lasted until night-fall, with constantly changing fortunes. Late in the afternoon, the British left being reinforced and pressing the Americans sharply, General Larned, with his whole brigade, was ordered out by Gates, and the Americans were thus enabled to maintain their position. Night put an end to the conflict, which had been characterized by great spirit on both sides. The Americans captured the British artillery a dozen times, but were unable to carry off the guns. Out of forty-eight artillerists, thirty-six were killed or wounded. The American loss was less than three hundred, while that of the enemy was over five hundred. As the British slept on the ground, and the Americans withdrew, Burgoyne claimed a victory, but the advantage was really with Gates.

There is a conflict of authority as to General Arnold's action on this day. The Hon. Isaac N. Arnold, in his entertaining book, "The Life of Benedict Arnold," claims that General Arnold, unrestrained and unrestrainable, dashed into the thickest of the fight, encouraging the troops to the conflict by voice and example. He refers to a letter of Arnold to Gates, and correspondence of young Livingston, as his chief authorities. On the other hand, Wilkinson not only denies this in his Memoirs, but in a letter to General St. Clair, written from Bemis's Heights two days after the battle, he says: "*General Arnold was*

not out of camp during the whole action."[1] The strength of this testimony lies in its being contemporary, and from the most active member of General Gates's staff. The statement does not lessen the credit due to Arnold for his conspicuous services during this important campaign.

While this was in progress, Colonel Brown, of General Lincoln's command, surprised the British posts at the outlet of Lake George, capturing three hundred prisoners and several armed vessels and bateaux; and thence, having been reinforced by Colonel Johnson, invested Ticonderoga for four days. Burgoyne's situation was now extremely critical, as his communications were cut and his provisions were rapidly diminishing. The armies were so near that not a night passed without firing, and sometimes concerted attacks upon the British advanced pickets.[2]

On the 3d of October, General Burgoyne thought it advisable to diminish the soldiers' rations, in order to lengthen out the provisions.

On the 7th, hearing nothing further from Sir Henry Clinton, and the time being nearly expired when he could prudently remain in camp, General Burgoyne directed a movement to the left of the Americans, not only to discover whether there were any possible means of forcing a passage, should it be necessary to advance, or of dislodging his enemy for the convenience of a retreat, but also to cover a forage of the army, which was in great distress on account of the scarcity.[3]

The movement being reported to Gates, by Wilkinson, the commanding general immediately arranged a plan of attack. As usual, Morgan was ordered out "to begin the game." He proposed to make a circuit through the woods and get possession of the heights on the right of the enemy, and thence commence his attack so soon as a fire should be

[1] *St. Clair Papers.* In his "Memoirs," Wilkinson says there was not a single general officer present until General Larned was ordered out. "General Arnold not being present in the battle of the 19th September." R. R. Livingston to Washington, 14th January, 1778.

[2] *Burgoyne's Statement.*

[3] *Ibid.* Appendix LXXXIX.

opened against the left by General Poor, who had been charged with that duty. The British force consisted of fifteen hundred regular troops, commanded by General Burgoyne himself, accompanied by Major-Generals Phillips and Reidesel, and Brigadier Fraser. The plan of General Burgoyne was frustrated by a very sudden and rapid attack on his left by General Poor. Major Ackland's grenadiers sustained the attack with great resolution, but the Americans extending the aggressive movement along the front of the Germans, a second line could not be formed to support the grenadiers, and they gave way, Major Ackland being wounded and taken prisoner, and the artillery captured. In attempting to save the left line from being entirely carried, Brigadier-General Fraser was mortally wounded—an irreparable loss to the British, who at this moment retreated, "hard pressed but in good order,"[1] covered by the troops of Phillips and Reidesel. "The troops had scarcely entered the camp," continues General Burgoyne, "when it was stormed with great fury, the Americans rushing to the lines under a severe fire of grape-shot and small arms. The post of the light infantry, under Lord Balcarras, assisted by some of the line which threw themselves, by order, into the intrenchments, was defended with great spirit; and the Americans, led on by General Arnold, were finally repulsed, and the General wounded; but unhappily the intrenchments of the German reserve, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Breyman, who was killed, were carried; and the Americans, by that misfortune, gained an opening on our right and rear. The night put an end to the action."[2]

The Americans, flushed with victory, slept on their arms upon the field of battle. The British, who had lost four hundred men in killed, wounded, and prisoner, withdrew to the hills on the river, and continued offering battle the whole day of the 8th.[3]

Being advised that the Americans were marching to turn

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[1] *Burgoyne's Narrative,* Appendix XC.

[2] *Burgoyne's Narrative,* Appendix, XCI.

[3] *Ibid.*

his right, Burgoyne resolved on a rapid retreat to Saratoga. Before giving the order, however, he had to pay the last sad rites to his friend, the gallant General Fraser, who had requested to be buried at six o'clock in the evening, within a redoubt which had been constructed on a hill. While this ceremony was in progress, the Americans kept up a fire on the party, not being advised of its nature. The brilliant pen of the accomplished Burgoyne has described this scene in vivid and tender language: "The incessant cannonade during the ceremony; the steady attitude and unaltered voice with which the chaplain officiated, though frequently covered with dust which the shot threw upon all sides of him; the mute but expressive mixture of sensibility and indignation upon every countenance—these objects will remain to the last of life upon the mind of every man who was present. The growing darkness added to the scenery, and the whole marked a character of that juncture which would make one of the finest subjects for the pencil of a master that the field ever exhibited. To the canvas and to the faithful page of a more important historian, gallant friend! I consign thy memory."[1]

Burgoyne effected his retreat without loss, but a very heavy rain, and the difficulties of guarding the boats containing all the provisions, occasioned delays which prevented him from reaching Saratoga till the evening of the 9th. Hither he was closely pursued by the victorious Americans, who fortified the passes of the North River, fired into his transports, and cut off his line of retreat to Fort Edward. Here, finding himself surrounded on all sides, deserted by Canadians, Indians, and Loyalists; disappointed in the last hope of any assistance from Sir Henry Clinton; with only three days' provisions in store, and no apparent means of retreat remaining, on the 16th General Burgoyne surrendered himself and army prisoners of war on most honorable terms. Only five thousand seven hun-

[1] For an accurate and feeling account of the sufferings of the British at this stage of the campaign, and of the acts of General Schuyler and other Americans after the surrender, the reader is referred to the Memoirs of the Baroness Reidesel.

dred and fifty-two men remained of the fine army that three months before had appeared in such proud array before Ticonderoga. There was surrendered also a large quantity of artillery, clothing, tents, and military stores of all kinds.

The promise of St. Clair had been fulfilled. The State had been saved, and the country roused to a degree of enthusiasm which no disasters hereafter could wholly allay. General Gates was raised to a pinnacle of military fame eclipsing that of Washington. This came near wrecking all, at a later day. Meanwhile, there were those who admired the courage and sagacity of St. Clair, and who did not fail to send him congratulations on the result at Saratoga. The officers of the army improved the opportunity to express their opinions on events, of which this, from Colonel Baldwin, will suffice: "Give me leave to congratulate you," said he, "on the important conquest over Burgoyne and his army. The capitulation and other particulars you will have by the time this reaches you. I believe the people have by this time, in general, altered their notion with regard to the evacuation of Ticonderoga. The officers that I hear speak of it say that a better plan could not have been adopted, and that nothing but your leaving that place could have given us this success."[1]

St. Clair warmly congratulated Gates on the great success at Saratoga.

A few words more, and we dismiss the subject of Ticonderoga forever. St. Clair left the Northern Department on the 20th August, in obedience to the orders of Congress, to report at headquarters and await an inquiry

[1] *St. Clair Papers.*

"It is not my intention to derogate from the merits or services of General Gates, which were important and conspicuous; on the contrary, it is my opinion that under a change of circumstances the same causes which degraded General Schuyler would have sunk General Gates under popular discontent and Congressional anathemas; and, in such case, all the consequences would have been reversed. But I shall ever believe that St. Clair laid the foundation of our good fortune in the Convention of Saratoga."—*Wilkinson.*

into his management at the North. He promptly demanded a court-martial, but that was not forthcoming as speedily as expected, and, in the interim, he entered actively into the campaign under Washington. Little did the gallant soldier, whose character was open and manly, know of the ingenuity and fertility of secret malice. The examination of private correspondence of the period shows that this was not directed against St. Clair on personal grounds, except in the case of Samuel Adams, who could not forgive him for having dismissed in disgrace two "disorderly and licentious" regiments. His offense was in the friendship of Washington, which was open and faithful. The saving of his little army for the country, in the face of a powerful and active enemy, was only a pretext for the unfriendly action that ensued. Washington's downfall was the object which the original conspirators had in view. The inquiries presently became suspiciously frequent. After Schuyler and St. Clair, Putnam, Sullivan, Greene, and, later, that pure patriot, Robert Morris, fell under the displeasure of the ruling powers. There were those who deprecated such proceedings, but as Jay said, in the case of Schuyler and St. Clair, "few persons possess honesty or spirit enough openly to defend unpopular merit, and by their silence permit calumny to gain strength."[1]

The court-martial was not permitted, and a committee[2] was appointed to collect testimony, but as they could not find to convict they did not report. The intriguants were weaving their web. Suspicion of their fell purpose reached the far South, and Edward Rutledge, on Christmas day, months after the inception of the scheme, in a burst of honest indignation, says: "I have time to tell you, and I fear with reason (as it comes North about), that a damned infamous cabal is forming against our Commander-in-

[1] *Life of John Jay*, Vol. II., p. 17.

[2] This committee consisted of Laurens, of South Carolina; John Adams, Dyer, and Folsom, of New England; Roberdeau, of Pennsylvania—only one of the five uncontrolled by New England.

Chief, and that whenever they shall find themselves strong enough they will strike an important blow."[1]

The activity of St. Clair, at the battle of 'Brandywine, and in the discharge of all the important duties in the field to which Washington assigned him, aroused the malcontents to renewed activity, and a resolution was adopted by Congress, in November, permitting him to attend to "his private affairs." St. Clair denounced this in fitting terms in a letter to Gates. "If they had common honesty," said he, "they would have owned that, after five months spent in searching for an accusation, they had been unable to find one." "A trial, however," he added, "they shall give me; be the event what it will, they can not rob me of that heartfelt satisfaction which is the companion and reward of virtuous actions."[2]

Washington was indignant at the treatment of St. Clair. As early as the 7th October, he suggested to Congress, through President Hancock, that "it would be well if the intended inquiry into the conduct of General St. Clair could be brought to a speedy issue; and, if he is acquitted to the satisfaction of Congress, that, as his general character as an officer is good, he may be again restored to the service."[3] No attention being paid to this, in the following May, in writing to the President, he employed very severe language. "I most sincerely wish," he said, "that Congress would lay the charge, and order the trial of the major-generals in disgrace. St. Clair is exceedingly uneasy and distressed at the delay; and, *with pain, I add, that the proceeding, or, more properly, not proceeding, in this matter, is*

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[1] *Life of John Jay*, Vol. II., page 17.

"The conspiracy against the Commander-in-Chief was not idle; nor were the conspirators less sparing of their machinations and calumnies against General Schuyler than they had been against General Washington; and, by force of these, Gates was again ordered to the command of the Northern army, to reap the harvest sown by the indefatigable efforts of Schuyler, and by the self-sacrifice of his gallant, but unfortunate coadjutor, St. Clair."—*Life of General John Lamb*, p. 170.

[2] *St. Clair Papers.*

[3] *The Writings of Washington*, Vol. V., p. 86.

looked upon as cruel and oppressive."[1] Despite Washington's indignant protests the factionists in Congress continued their unjust course, and they were defeated and driven to action only through the strategy of Gouverneur Morris,[2] who, in April, succeeded in getting a committee appointed under instructions to prefer charges. In September, 1778, a court-martial, of which Major-General Lincoln was president, was organized, and, after a thorough hearing, a unanimous verdict was reached, which was expressed in the following complimentary terms:

"*The Court having duly considered the charges against Major-General St. Clair, and the evidence, are unanimously of opinion, that he is not guilty of either of the charges preferred against him, and do unanimously acquit him of all and every of them with the* HIGHEST HONOR."

Schuyler's acquittal, in similar terms, followed four days later.

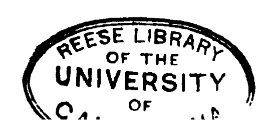
At last, then, this bare justice was rendered these patriotic officers by their peers, but it was the middle of December before Congress formally approved of the finding of the Court.[3]

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[1] *Writings of Washington*, p. 385.

[2] "Putnam will soon be tried. The affair of Schuyler and St. Clair labored under awkward circumstances. Their friends and their enemies appear to me to have been equally blind. I inclose extracts from the minutes made the other night to possess myself of the real state of facts. There are some other entries from time to time. It was erroneous to order a committee simply to collect facts; they should have been directed to state charges. This morning, my colleague being absent, I got a committee appointed for the latter purpose: Sherman, Dana (Mass.), and Drayton (S. C.). This was unanimous, and yet I would have undertaken to argue for it in a style which would absolutely have ruined the measure. You know it would have been easy to say, *justice to those injured gentlemen*, instead of *justice to an injured country* requires it, etc."—*Life of John Jay*, Vol. II., p. 22.

[3] Despite opposition from the factionists, the proceedings of the court-martial, which revealed the shameful neglect and the responsibility of the Board of War, in the matter of the defense and loss of the Northern posts, were ordered to be printed. Thus, at last, the whole case was made public. The reaction was a restoration of St. Clair to popularity equal to that enjoyed by any, save Washington.



Congratulations poured in on St. Clair, but the one that moved him most deeply was this from the noble La Fayette:

"I can not tell you how much my heart was interested in any thing that happened to you, and how I rejoiced, *not that you were acquitted, but that at length your conduct was examined.*"

It was while actively employed under Washington, pending the action of Congress, that the acquaintance between St. Clair and La Fayette ripened into close friendship—a friendship that never grew cold. "Give my love to General St. Clair," wrote the warm-hearted Frenchman to a friend in later years.

CHAPTER IV.

1777-1783—St. Clair joins General Washington, and becomes a Member of his Military Family—Participates in the Battle of Brandywine—Important Services—Shares in the Sufferings of Valley Forge—St. Clair faithful to Washington in the Midst of Cabals—Troubles in the Pennsylvania Line, and labors of President Reed and St. Clair to adjust them—Assault on Stony Point—Post of Honor held by St. Clair's Division, in 1780—A Commissioner to arrange a Cartel for Exchange of Prisoners—Treason of Arnold and Death of André—St. Clair sent to command West Point—Offered the command of Corps of Light Infantry—Revolt of the Pennsylvania Line—Recruiting for the Final Struggle—Marches to Support of Greene in South Carolina—Close of the War—Mutiny of Pennsylvania Recruits—Alarm in Philadelphia—St. Clair sent for—Congress adjourns to Princeton.

Let us take a look at St. Clair's record while with the army, making use of his own too brief narrative where it will answer our purpose. "Although I was, for a considerable time, suspended from command, I never left General Washington nor the army, and, before the battle of Brandywine, I suggested to him a measure similar to that so happily executed at Trenton, and would have been attended with similar effects. It had before occurred to himself (who rarely indeed missed observing any advantage that could be taken of the enemy), and he then showed me General Greene's division in motion to put it into execution, and desired me to attend him to General Armstrong's quarters (about two miles from Chad's Ford, where the body of the army was posted) who, with the Pennsylvania militia, which he commanded, was to have had a share in it; but the Pennsylvania militia were not in readiness, and he was obliged to abandon the project. It was this: while Sir William Howe was ascending the Brandywine, to cross it near Birmingham church, General Knyphausen had been left with a strong corps in front of our army at Chad's Ford, clearly to keep it in check until Sir

William had made good his passage above; to carry or disperse that corps was the object. Greene's division was to descend the river to General Armstrong's quarters, and that movement would be concealed from Knyphausen by the thick woods on the river's bank, and being joined by his division, cross the river there, and fall in the rear of Knyphausen, while the General, with the corps at Chad's Ford, should cross at that place and attack him in front, which would infallibly oblige Sir William to retrace his steps: for the loss of that corps he could not bear, and it was certain he would run every risk to prevent it."

It fell out at Brandywine far otherwise than Washington had hoped for, through false information transmitted by Sullivan to him. That officer had been dispatched with three divisions to intercept Cornwallis, who was trying to reach the American rear, while Knyphausen should threaten the front by way of Chad's Ford; but, being deceived as to the real movements of the enemy for a time, was late in coming up and forming his line of battle. While deploying he was attacked by Cornwallis, his troops thrown into confusion, and a retreat rendered necessary. Thereupon, Greene brought up the reserves, checked the enemy, and covered the retreat. The main part of the army being thus drawn away, Knyphausen seized the opportunity to effect the passage of Chad's Ford, which Wayne was unable alone to successfully resist. The Americans withdrew to Chester, the next day to Philadelphia, and thence to Germantown, where, in a few days, they met with another reverse. The British loss at Brandywine was six hundred, and the American considerable more. In this affair St. Clair had a horse shot under him, and Pulaski, who served as a volunteer, showed such zeal and courage in collecting the scattered troops and covering the retreat, that, upon Washington's recommendation he was appointed to the command of the horse, with the rank of Brigadier-General.[1]

In the skirmishing that followed the battle of Brandywine, St. Clair had his share, but in the action of German-

[1] *Hildreth*, Vol. III., p. 219.—*Journals of Congress.*

town he had no part, as he had received permission to visit his family.[1]

Another object which this absence embraced, was to try and get a hearing before Congress. In writing to President Hancock on the movements of the army, General Washington took occasion to refer him to General St. Clair, "who has been constantly with the army for some time past," for fuller information.[2]

We find him with the army again in November, rendering General Washington such service as he could without the command of a division. The Commander-in-Chief, in a letter to the President of Congress, dated at Whitemarsh, 17th November, referred to him in the following terms:

"As the keeping possession of Red Bank, and thereby still preventing the enemy from weighing the chevaux-de-frise before the frost, obliges their ships to quit the river, has become a matter of the greatest importance, I have determined to send down General St. Clair, General Knox, and Baron de Kalb, to take a view of the ground, and to endeavor to form a judgment of the most probable means of securing it. They will, at the same time, see how far it is possible for our fleet to keep their station since the loss of Fort Mifflin, and also make the proper inquiry into the conduct of the captains of the galleys mentioned in the former part of this letter."

The report of the officers was to the effect that keeping possession of the Jersey shore at or near Red Bank, was of the last importance. In accordance with this, reinforcements were sent under the command of General Greene.[3]

St. Clair shared in the trials and sufferings of the army at Valley Forge,[4] and during the winter, at the request of

[1] *St. Clair's Narrative.*—Appendix.

[2] *Washington's Writings,* Vol. V, p. 71.

[3] *Washington's Writings.* Vol. V., p. 163—note.

[4] "Hungry and cold were the poor fellows who had so long been keeping the field; for provisions were scant, clothing worn out, and so badly off for shoes, that the footsteps of many might be tracked in

Washington, in common with other of the general officers, submitted suggestions for the reform of the Quartermaster and Commissary Departments, which, owing to the inefficiency of General Mifflin, head of the former, and the interference of Congress in the latter,[1] had been thrown into the most deplorable condition. The reforms recommended by the officers were generally adopted, and Major-General Greene being appointed Quartermaster-General, and Colonel Wadsworth Commissary, order was restored to their respective departments, food and clothing were obtained, and the clouds once more disappeared—to return later, blacker than before—for the Americans. That he should succeed in keeping together an army under such circumstances, is evidence of the genius and tact and marvelous personal influence of Washington. Philadelphia being in possession of the enemy, the demoralization of the people was wide-spread, and, but for the timely assistance voted by the French government, it would have left but a few devoted patriots here and there to sustain the cause. Sir Henry Clinton anticipated the arrival of the French fleet,[2] and withdrew from Philadelphia in June, following the usual line through the Jerseys leading to New York.[3]

Washington followed in pursuit, hoping to improve some favorable opportunity to strike a blow. La Fayette, who was most zealously in favor of active operations, was given the post of honor, and instructed to press hard on

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blood. Yet at this very time we are told, 'hogsheads of shoes, stockings, and clothing, were lying at different places on the roads and in the woods, perishing for want of teams, or of money to pay the teamsters.'"—*Irving*, Vol. III., p. 352.

[1] By the removal of the head in the midst of the campaign in opposition to remonstrances from General Washington.

[2] The French fleet under Count D'Estaing arrived off the mouth of the Delaware, on the 8th of July. The assistance rendered this season was disappointing.

[3] His army was about twelve thousand strong, and was not incumbered with any except necessary baggage and provisions. The rest of the baggage, and about three thousand Pennsylvanians who adhered to the royal cause, were sent around to New York by water.

that part of Clinton's army moving on the high grounds. General Charles Lee, who had recently returned to the army, had opposed an aggressive movement, but thinking better of it, by virtue of his rank, extended his command over the troops under La Fayette in the advance. On the 28th of June, Washington sent word to Lee to attack the enemy, who were encamped at Monmouth Court House, and promised to support that attack with the whole army. Upon advancing in accordance with this plan, he met Lee retreating.[1] Sharp words ensued between the two Generals, and the line was reformed by Washington's command. A sharp engagement ensued which lasted until dark, without advantage to either side.[2] The British withdrew to Nevisink, and took up a strong position, from which the American General thought best not to attempt to dislodge them. St. Clair participated in this engagement, and continued with the army without regularly assigned duties, until, restored by the vindication of the court-martial and the action of Congress, he was placed in command of a division composed of the Pennsylvania line.

The winter of 1779 found American affairs at a very low ebb. Washington's headquarters were at Middlebrook in the Jerseys; Putnam was at Danbury, and McDougall in the Highlands. This starving, suffering army was about all that was left of the "United Colonies," having organized form, and it, owing to neglect and arrearages in pay,

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[1] This led to an ill-tempered correspondence on the part of Lee, to his arraignment and trial on charges preferred by Wayne and other officers, and suspension from command. Thus another of the Cabal was eclipsed. Mifflin had been retired, Conway's resignation accepted, and ere long Gates was to meet with defeat and disgrace. Even in these dark days there was a God in Israel, and virtue, though often sorely tried, was triumphant.

[2] The American loss in killed, wounded, and disabled, by heat was two hundred; that of the British three hundred. But this march proved very disastrous to the British, as over fifteen hundred Germans, who had been so pleased with Pennsylvania as to contract marriages or form other attachments there, deserted, and afterwards became good citizens of the commonwealth of the Penns.

which were attempted to be liquidated in worthless money, was on the verge of dissolution. Congress was only the shadow of a legislative body; corrupt, without ability, without means, without power to levy taxes or to control the action of the Colonies. In a word, there was no government, and the lawlessness and injustice inseparable from such a situation were manifest on every hand. This is clearly shown in the St. Clair MSS. One of his correspondents, who had an invalid wife, was unable to go to Philadelphia because of the terror created by banditti who infested the country. Pennsylvania was filled with dissensions. There were the Constitutionists and the anti-Constitutionists, jealous of each other, striving to get control of the State, whose strifes produced a condition of anarchy. A few men like James Wilson, Edward Biddle, and Joseph Reed, are seen to rise superior to their environment, and patriotically struggle for a restoration of law and the forms of government. Reed is chosen President, and henceforth during the war there is vigor in the Executive Council.[1]

The effect of this change on the Pennsylvania troops will be seen from the correspondence of St. Clair, printed in this work. He and other officers in the Pennsylvania line were stoutly opposed to the Constitution of 1776, which they thought defective, and as containing "principles unfavorable to liberty, which must inevitably, sooner or later, end in a tyranny of the worst kind;"[2] but they regarded as impolitic all attempts to change it while the people were engaged in a contest with Great Britain, and, though anti-Constitutionists, their influence was given to the party of the Constitution as the party of law and order in a time of great danger. This influence was sufficient to compel the Assembly to recognize and support the form of government under

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[1] The services of President Reed were so important to the cause at this period as to entitle him to a high place among the patriots of the Revolution, and condemn as ungenerous all attempts to revive the suspicion, one time entertained, of his loyalty to the Commander-in-Chief.

[2] *St. Clair Papers.*

the revolutionary Constitution.[1] We shall see that when the war was over, and St. Clair and Wayne were restored to civil life, they labored to amend the Constitution, but for some time without success.

The letters of St. Clair at this period show a manly, patriotic spirit, a freedom from captiousness and ill-temper rarely met with at a time when there was so much to complain of, so little to keep alive faith in the justice of Providence. In letters of the 5th and 6th of March, to President Reed, describing the sufferings of, and the spirit of defection among the Pennsylvania troops, his devotion to the cause is made clear. "I am sure," he says, "I need not press you on this head, but give me leave to repeat that it is necessary something should be done immediately, or there is too much reason to fear the dissolution of our part of the army. No exertions of mine shall be wanting to prevent so great a calamity; and, though it is a misfortune to have come to the command of it at this trying period, if I can steer happily through it, and render any service to my country, I shall not regret any pains it will cost me." The subordinate officers were, at times, almost mutinous, and the impatience of such splendid soldiers as Butler and Harmar would be injudiciously displayed in correspondence. In the midst of all of the trials, St. Clair remained serene, and, by his kindness and tact, not only kept the Pennsylvania line from dissolution, but its numbers in excess of others of the army. It was from St. Clair's division the soldiers were taken to head the column that assaulted the works at Stony Point.[2]

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[1] The first Assembly refused to appoint a Council, and in that body, in 1778, there was an active minority pledged to a change in the form of government. They refused to take the oath except with the reservation that it was not to prevent the adoption of measures for calling a Convention to change the Constitution. A resolution was adopted to submit the question to the people, but that resolution was the cause of the defeat of the scheme. Before the time fixed for the election, the Assembly, which had met in February, 1779, had received so many remonstrances from the people as to be influenced to rescind the resolution providing for the election by an almost unanimous vote.

[2] Colonel Richard Butler commanded the left column, and Lieuten-

The story of that most brilliant exploit of the War of Independence is familiar to every reader, and need not be repeated here. Immediately upon receipt of the pleasing intelligence of the success of the assault, St. Clair congratulated his friend General Wayne and those who shared in the glory.

St. Clair's correspondence with General Washington will show that his division held the post of honor throughout 1780, and that his services were arduous and valuable. Detachments of the enemy having crossed over from Staten Island on the ice to the Jersey shore, and entered Elizabethtown and Newark on the night of the 25th of January, surprised the small garrison,[1] captured four officers and sixty privates, burnt several buildings, and plundered the inhabitants, General Washington directed General St. Clair to repair to the lines and make a thorough investigation into the causes of the "misfortune and disgrace." He also instructed him to endeavor to find out whether it would be possible to retaliate upon the enemy. On this latter head St. Clair ascertained that the British garrison on Staten Island had been reinforced so that it was two thousand strong, and that so long as there was an easy passage between the Island and the city a successful offensive operation from the Jersey shore was impracticable, as was shown when Lord Stirling attempted a surprise on the 15th. He suggested that the intercourse between the inhabitants of Jersey and the British on the Island should be stopped. The disgraceful surprise at Newark and Eliza-

ant-Colonel Lewis Fleury, a very brave French soldier, whose defense of Fort Mifflin is known to every reader of American history, the right. At the head of each was a forlorn hope of twenty men. Lieutenant James Gibbons, of the Sixth Pennsylvania regiment, commanded that under Colonel Fleury, and entered the work with three men, having lost seventeen. Lieutenant Knox, of the Ninth Pennsylvania, led the other, under Colonel Butler, and was more fortunate in saving his men. Lieutenant-Colonel Meigs, who commanded the Eastern troops in the assault, was destined to come forward more prominently, though not more gallantly, in the future.

[1] These garrisons belonged to the command of Colonel Moses Hazen.

beth was due to negligence in not having a patrol out at the proper time.

Early in March, Major-General St. Clair and Lieutenant-Colonels Edward Carrington and Alexander Hamilton were authorized to meet commissioners on the part of the enemy for the purpose of settling a general cartel for an exchange of prisoners. The British government having failed to obtain additional recruits in Germany, Sir Henry Clinton was instructed to use all available means for effecting an exchange of all of the prisoners. There were those who entertained hopes that, under the pressure of their necessities, the enemy would make a just recognition of the independence of the Colonies in an honorable exchange, but Washington was not one of these. His instructions to the commissioners were to "transact nothing but upon principles of perfect equality, and on a national ground." When the commissioners met at Amboy, it was soon ascertained that the enemy would not treat on mutual ground, and the American commissioners at once put an end to the negotiation.[1] Afterwards, there was an informal conversation as to an exchange on admissable terms, and, after separation, this discussion was continued, in an interesting correspondence, by General St. Clair, on the part of the Americans, and Major-General Phillips, on that of the British. Courtesies, as to individual officers, were extended on both sides, and something accomplished towards a better understanding.

In the movements to check Sir Henry Clinton, after his return to the North from victorious fields in Georgia and South Carolina; and in the discussion of plans for the reduction of New York and Canada, in conjunction with the French allies, St. Clair had his full share. A reference to "Observations" on the situation, submitted to the Commander-in-Chief, will show how thoroughly he understood the situation, and the conservative character of his opinions. When the country was startled by the treason of Arnold, General Washington immediately directed General St. Clair

[1] The report of the commissioners was communicated by Washington to Congress, on the 31st March.—*Sparks*, Vol. VII., p. 1.

to take the command at West Point, and to put the several posts in a state of defense to guard against a possible movement by the enemy. It became his sad duty, as a member of the Court to try Major André, the victim of Arnold's treason, to declare that that meritorious and virtuous officer had incurred the penalty of death.[1]

Undoubtedly it had been Washington's intention to leave St. Clair in command at West Point and the district on the east side of the North River, but Greene asked for it, and it was never the policy of Washington to deny him any thing.[2] A re-arrangement of troops became necessary. Greene was given two divisions, consisting of Jersey, New York, and New England troops, and was requested to march and relieve the Pennsylvania line as expeditiously as possible. "St. Clair waits till he is relieved by a Major-General," wrote Washington, and he "is directed to move the second Pennsylvania brigade and Meig's regiment to

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[1] The Court to try André was composed of Generals Greene, Stirling, St. Clair, La Fayette, Howe, Steuben, Parsons, James Clinton, Knox, Glover, Patterson, Hand, Huntington, Stark, and Lawrence. General Greene was made President. A solemn stillness fell upon these officers as the young and graceful Adjutant-General of the British Army was ushered into their presence. "It is not possible to save him, and yet we would gladly save him," said Steuben, after the verdict. How could it be done? The brave young man, scorning a lie or subterfuge, promptly denied that he had entered the American lines under protection of a flag, and so each member of the Court, under military law, was constrained to pronounce judgment in these words: "He (André) is to be considered a spy, and according to the laws and usages of nations ought to suffer death."

[2] Greene to Washington: "A new disposition of the army going to be made, and an officer appointed to the command of West Point and the district on the east side of the North River, I take the liberty just to intimate my inclination for the appointment. Your Excellency will judge of the propriety, and determine as the honor of the army and the good of the service may require. I hope there is nothing indelicate or improper in the application," and thereupon proceeded to show that the freedom of the country and Washington's rêputation and glory were inseparably connected. Greene was as accomplished as a courtier as a soldier.

the army, as soon as a sufficient corps arrives to replace them."[1]

In the preceding month, however, Washington had paid St. Clair a handsome compliment, in offering to him the command of the Corps of Light Infantry[2] which was being organized. He had formed a plan to attack New York upon Sir Henry Clinton's departure for Rhode Island, a scheme in which La Fayette took a deep interest. "The command of it for the campaign," said Washington, "is promised to the Marquis de La Fayette, for reasons which I dare say will be to you obvious and satisfactory. If we attack New York, the part which this corps will take will make it a most desirable command. Should it be agreeable to you to take it until the return of this gentleman, which is uncertain, it would give me great pleasure. I wish you, however, to consult your delicacy, and determine without the least restraint." The offer, said St. Clair, a quarter of a century later, in his reminiscences, "was most joyfully accepted, nor could he have contrived to have done me a more grateful favor, nor in a more gracious manner. The sudden return of Sir Henry prevented the attempt, and the Marquis soon after returned to his command."

About this time, a serious cause of embarrassment arose in the Pennsylvania line, which threatened to put an end to the long-time friendship between Generals St. Clair and Wayne, and leave the regiments without officers.[3] Major

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[1] *Sparks*, Vol. VII., p. 233. The first brigade of the Pennsylvania line had marched to join the army some days before.

[2] "The Corps of Light Infantry consisted of six battalions, each composed of eight companies selected from the different lines of the army. These battalions were arranged in two brigades, one of which was commanded by General Hand, and the other by General Poor. The Light Infantry was stationed in advance of the main army."—*Sparks*.

[3] "There is a matter now in the Pennsylvania line, which originated by the appointment of Major McPherson to the command of one of the Light Infantry battalions, that I fear will be attended with some serious and disagreeable consequences between General St. Clair and General Wayne. One time the matter got so high that I really apprehended the loss of your whole line."—*General Greene, to President Reed*, August 29, 1780.

McPherson, a meritorious officer, had been appointed to the command of a corps detached from the Pennsylvania line, by General Washington. This gave great offense to the officers in line of promotion, and they had the sympathetic support of Generals Wayne and Irvine, and Colonel Richard Butler. Their resentment extended to St. Clair, who stood loyally by the Commander-in-Chief,[1] although in sympathy with his subordinate officers. To Colonel Butler he wrote in persuasive, but earnest words. He could not reconcile himself to the thought that so many brave, virtuous, and good officers proposed leaving the service of their country, and throwing their well-earned laurels to the ground, and sacrificing their future peace to a punctilio. He declined to ask Major McPherson to resign, and said that the Commander-in-Chief ought not to recede;[2] but he suggested that the officers address a memorial to General Washington, setting forth their grievances, and offering their services until the campaign was over. This suggestion was adopted, harmony was restored, and the Commander-in-Chief presented the matter to Congress. The result was the adoption of new regulations, and the correction of some of the abuses that existed in the army, which prevented the dissolution that threatened.

It is impossible for one at the present day, living in the midst of a vast and wealthy country, surrounded by inexhaustible supplies of the necessaries and luxuries of life, to conceive of the extent of the destitution and suffering of the Revolutionary army in the years 1779, 1780 and

[1] General Wayne, who had aided in fomenting the difficulty, when he found that General Washington remained firm by the principle he had established, felt called on to vindicate himself, and thought the best way to do that was to insinuate that St. Clair was unfriendly to him. This mischievous effort was properly rebuked by Washington, in a letter which will be found elsewhere in this work. Wayne's character was not as frank and manly as one would wish to meet with in so good a soldier. He was envious, ambitious, and given to intrigue. Sparks says: "General Wayne and General Irvine had used all their efforts to quell the storm." We are satisfied this is untrue, so far as Wayne is concerned.

[2] *St. Clair Papers.*

1781. There was no money, and no provision of law for taxation; the imaginary value of the paper issues was destroyed by enormous volumes of counterfeit promises to pay; the crops were poor, and other resources were unavailable; extortion run riot and sucked up the life-blood of the poor, until labor could not command enough paper to buy the bare necessaries of life; those that had been wealthy were plunged into the depths of poverty, while the few corrupt became possessed of houses and lands. Without means, how could the army be fed and sustained in the field? If patriotism had sufficed—if it had been provisions and clothing and powder and ball, no army had been better provided. But alas! this could only endure cold and hunger in camp, and bleed upon the field of battle. "I can assure you with great truth," wrote General Irvine of St. Clair's division in May, 1780, "that many officers have lived some time on bread and water rather than take any scanty allowance from the men." Whole regiments had spent the winter—the coldest for many years—without blankets. Even Washington had about ceased to hope: "I see nothing before us but accumulating distress," wrote he to a friend. "We have been half of our time without provisions, and are likely to continue so. We have no magazines nor money to form them. We have lived upon expedients until we can live no longer."[1] Said Greene, at that time: "The great man is confounded at his situation, but appears to be reserved and silent."[2] Out of this reserve came plans for the future, and appeals which finally brought the leading men in the different States to the front again. New measures for supplies were adopted; new financial legislation, not always wise, was devised; and bills were drawn on agents in Europe. France herself, with deranged finances, and the accumulated wrongs of centuries threatening chaos, was America's salvation.

It is not surprising that out of this poverty and suffering there came revolt. On the night of 1st January, 1781, the Pennsylvania troops, under General Wayne, stationed at

[1] *Ramsay's Life of Washington*, p. 163.

[2] In a letter to President Reed, May 10, 1780.

Morristown, broke into open mutiny, and after a struggle with some of their officers, in which one was killed and several wounded,[1] marched for Princeton under the leadership of a board of sergeants. Wayne furnished them with supplies to keep them from plundering, and with Colonels Stewart and Butler became a voluntary prisoner, hoping to obtain some influence over them. The avowed cause of the mutiny was a difference between the men and the officers as to the term of enlistment. The former held that the enlistment was for three years *or* the war; and the latter that it was for three years *and* the war. The men demanded, in writing, a discharge to all that had served three years; an immediate payment of all sums due; and that in future all who remained in service should be paid in *real money*. This demand they purposed to lay before Congress, with arms in their hands to enforce it.

St. Clair and La Fayette, who were at Philadelphia, hastened to the scene and were admitted within the lines, but were not permitted to have any intercourse with the men, and were soon afterwards commanded to leave by the board of sergeants. To prevent a further spread of the defection, General St. Clair proceeded to Morristown, and gave assurances to the soldiers that remained of future consideration. He directed them to be collected and marched to Persipenny; sent the remaining artillery and ammunition to Luckysunny, and then reported to General Washington,[2] who approved of what had been done.[3]

Immediately after the revolt the British showed great activity, and Sir Henry Clinton sent a considerable force to Staten Island, whence two emissaries were sent to the camp of the malcontents. These, however, were given up through the influence of two of the sergeants, bribed thereto by General Wayne, and were subsequently tried and executed as spies.

Meanwhile, a Congressional Committee, at the head of

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[1] Captain Billings was killed and Captain Talbot mortally wounded.

[2] *St. Clair Papers. Sparks,* Vol. III., p. 197, Correspondence.

[3] *Writings of Washington,* Vol. VII., p. 363.

which was General Sullivan, accompanied by President Reed, proceeded to Trenton and opened negotiations with the sergeants. The situation was truly alarming, as it was uncertain how far the defection extended to other lines. On this account, Washington abandoned his first formed purpose to proceed to Princeton, and, instead, resolved on severe measures. He directed General St. Clair to proceed to the Pennsylvania side opposite Trenton and send for the Congressional Committee to meet him for a conference. If there were no reasonable hopes of a compromise, then get the opinion of the Committee as to what policy should be adopted. If coercive measures were decided on, then make ulterior arrangements for militia with President Reed and Governor Livingston to co-operate with a thousand Continental troops which he should send from the army.[1] This painful course was found not to be necessary, as terms, which included the demands of the mutineers, were conceded by the Congressional Committee and President Reed. These were communicated to General Washington by General Sullivan, who assured him that no concession had been made that the critical situation of affairs did not warrant and justice dictate.[2]

Men and means not being forthcoming from the States, as promised, Washington put forth the most earnest appeals and resorted to measures which showed the desperate straits to which the cause had now fallen. The recruiting was put into new hands. To St. Clair he intrusted the work of filling Pennsylvania's quota. The order was loyally obeyed, although the field was more inviting. The difficulties, delays, and vexations, will be found fully described in the St. Clair papers. When finally enrolled, clothed, and equipped, the troops were sent to Virginia to join the Marquis de La Fayette.

St. Clair still hoped for active work immediately under Washington, and he confidently expected the command of

[1] *St. Clair Papers. Writings of Washington*, Vol. VII. p. 364.

[2] *Sparks's Correspondence Rev.*, Vol. III. p. 198.

the army,[1] but the exigencies of the campaign determined otherwise. How all this came about we shall tell in his own words:

"When the army marched to the southward, I was left in Pennsylvania to organize and forward the troops of that State and bring up the recruits that had been raised there. The command of the American army was kept open for me, the General intending to take upon himself, formally, the command of the allied army, which hitherto he had only done actually. After having sent off the greatest part of that line under General Wayne, and on the point of following them, Congress became alarmed that some attempt on Philadelphia would be made from New York, in order to divert General Washington from his purpose against Lord Cornwallis, and they ordered me to remain with the few troops I had left, to which it was purposed to add a large body of militia, and to form a camp on the Delaware: of this I immediately apprised General Washington, who had written to me, very pressingly, to hasten on the reinforcements from that State; informing me of the need he had of them, and, as he was pleased to say, of my services also. He wrote again, on the receipt of my letter, in a manner still more pressing, and I laid that letter before Congress, who, after considerable delay and much hesitation, revoked their order, and I was allowed to join the army before Yorktown,

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[1] "September 21st, 1781. At 1 p. m. I waited on the President of the State of Pennsylvania at his house in Market street, and met there Mr. Peters and Mr. Cornell, of the Board of War, General St. Clair, General Irvine, and General Irwin, of the militia. This conference lasted a considerable time, and in its consequences took up the rest of the day. I gave it as my opinion that Sir Henry Clinton did not intend for this city; nevertheless, as the inhabitants are alarmed and uneasy, I agreed to the propriety of being prepared, although I lamented the expense such preparation would put us to. I advised the placing a garrison at Mud Island, and putting that place in posture of defense, and mentioned the plan proposed to me by Mr. Paine[1] of collecting immediately one quarter's rent from all the houses in Philadelphia in order to have an immediate supply of money to defray the expenses.—*Diary of Robert Morris*, Vol. XI. p. 473.

[1] Thomas Paine, who had just returned from France.

but did not reach it until the business was nearly over, the capitulation having been signed in five or six days after my arrival. From thence I was sent with six regiments and ten pieces of artillery, to the aid of General Greene in South Carolina, with orders to sweep, in my way, all the British posts in North Carolina; but they did not give me trouble, for, on my taking a direction towards Wilmington, they abandoned that place and every other post they had in that country, and left me at liberty to pursue the march by the best and most direct route; and on the 27th of December, I joined General Greene, near Jacksonburgh."

We get a glimpse of this march through the South in the journal kept by Lieutenant Denny,[1] and Greene records their arrival at camp, at Round O, on the 4th of January, 1782, "weary from their long march, and greatly diminished in numbers."[2] If a tramp of two months through an uninteresting country had diminished the numbers, what was to be expected of service through the summer months on the bank of Ashley River? In September following, Lieutenant Denny makes this cheerful entry in his journal: "Our camp very thin; not more than three reliefs of officers and men for the ordinary duties. Hospitals crowded, and great many sick in camp; deaths so frequent, the funeral ceremony dispensed with. Provisions scarce and very indifferent; the beeves brought from the back counties of North Carolina, by the time they reach the camp, poor indeed, and must be unwholesome. Commissary's yard and slaughter place commonly short distance from camp. Soldier going there in morning, about killing time, met his comrade returning in; asked how was the beef this morning? Other replied that it took two men to hold up the creature until the butcher knocked it down. Says the other, 'And why did n't he knock it down as it lay?'"[3]

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[1] Ebeneezer Denny, afterwards Major in the United States Army, and Aid to St. Clair, in 1791. We shall hear from this meritorious officer frequently hereafter.

[2] *Life of General Nathaniel Greene*, Vol. III.

[3] *Military Journal*, p 251.

St. Clair had been spared this bit of ghastly humor by returning to his family in the summer. The war was virtually over, and he could return home with propriety, conscious of having done his whole duty throughout the arduous struggle for Independence. Before closing this chapter, however, we must refer to correspondence of an interesting character that passed between General Washington and General St. Clair during the progress through Virginia. The latter had written of his plans and the difficulties that beset him, and received from his ever-generous friend a most appreciative letter.

"The difficulties," writes Washington, "of which you speak are such as I feared, but such as I feel confident the resources of your genius will surmount. . . . If your attempt should fail, whatever may be the censures of the people at the moment, I doubt not that your character will eventually obtain that justice which I flatter myself your conduct will ever merit—an instance of which you have already had in the course of the war."

"Nothing," writes St. Clair in answer, "could have been more acceptable to me than the manner in which your Excellency has been pleased to speak of my conduct."

While St. Clair was engaged in closing up the accounts and furloughing the veteran soldiers, in 1783, the new levies, stationed at Lancaster, refusing to accept their discharges without immediate pay, mutinied and marched for Philadelphia, for the avowed purpose of compelling Congress to accede to their demands. The mutineers were reinforced by the recruits in the barracks of Philadelphia, and, as they marched to the hall where Congress was in session, they numbered three hundred. Their demand was made in very peremptory terms, that, "unless their demand was complied with in twenty minutes, they would let in upon them the injured soldiery, the consequences of which they were to abide." Word was immediately sent to General St. Clair, and his presence requested. After hearing a statement of the facts by him, Congress directed him to endeavor to march the mutineers to their barracks, and to announce to them that Congress would enter into no delib-

eration with them; that they must return to Lancaster, and that *there*, and only *there*, they would be paid.[1] After this, Congress appointed a committee to confer with the executive of Pennsylvania, and adjourned. The members passed through the files of the mutineers, without being molested.

The committee, with Alexander Hamilton as chairman, waited on the State Executive Council; but, receiving no promise of protection, on the 24th of June, advised an adjournment of Congress to Princeton. The day after their arrival there, a resolution was passed directing General Howe to march fifteen hundred troops to Philadelphia to disarm the mutineers and bring them to trial. Before this force could reach Philadelphia, St. Clair and the Executive Council had succeeded in quieting the disturbance without bloodshed. The principal leaders were arrested, obedience secured, after which Congress granted a pardon. The resolution directing General Howe to move with the troops, gave offense to General St. Clair, who regarded it as an attempt to supersede him in his command. Thereupon, he addressed a sharp letter to the President of Congress, who very considerately refrained from laying it before that body. Explanations followed, showing that St. Clair had misconstrued the order, and peace prevailed once more.

[1] *The Republic*, Vol. II., p. 562.

CHAPTER V.

1783–1787—Return to Civil Life—Loss of Fortune—Engages in Business—A Member of the Board of Censors—Elected a Delegate to Congress from Philadelphia County—Chosen President of the last Continental Congress—Great Gift to Freedom—History of the Ordinance of 1787—St. Clair Elected Governor of the Northwestern Territory.

When General St. Clair got time to look into his private affairs, he found himself ruined financially. The mill which he had left in Westmoreland for the use and benefit of the inhabitants of that part of the country, was found to be in ruins—an evidence that beneficiaries do not always feel themselves bound morally to make any return for favors voluntarily conferred. St. Clair mentions having lost £20,000 on one piece of real estate alone. The comfortable fortune, and the valuable offices, which were all his in 1775, and eight years of the prime of life were all gone—all given freely, and without a regret, for freedom and a republic.

In 1783, St. Clair was elected a member of the Council of Censors, a body provided for in the Constitution of 1776, and charged with the duty of inquiring whether the Constitution had been preserved inviolate; whether the legislative and executive branches of government had performed their duty as guardians of the people; and whether the taxes had been properly laid, collected, and expended. The Council could call a new constitutional convention only by a two-thirds vote. St. Clair was elected from the county of Philadelphia, and he had for a colleague that eminent citizen, Frederick A. Muhlenburg. The names of other distinguished friends are found on the roll of Censors. From the city of Philadelphia, came Thomas Fitzsimmons; from the county of Chester, Anthony Wayne; from Cumberland, William Irvine; and from York, Thomas Hartley.

St. Clair was an active member of this body, participating in the debates and in the committee work.[1] A large number of the reports of the minority were written by him, and they display a breadth of opinion and a familiarity with law and the principles of government highly creditable. He was made a member of the committee "appointed to report those articles of the Constitution which are materially defective and absolutely require alteration and amendment." This committee adopted an elaborate report, drafted by St. Clair, and attempted to secure the passage of a resolution calling a new constitutional convention, but although their report was supported by a majority of the Censors, it could not command the necessary two-thirds. Thereupon, an address to the people, setting forth the facts, was issued by those in favor of a new convention. There was a strong party feeling displayed throughout the sessions of this Council, but an examination of its labors does not come within the designs of this work.[2]

St. Clair was also elected to the office of Vendue-master of Philadelphia—an honorable, and very lucrative position, through which the public revenues were received at that time. His transactions were with the State Controller.[3] In the confusion resulting from revolution, there was a vast amount of property to be sold, from which the State derived a revenue.

February 20, 1786, St. Clair first attended Congress, as a delegate from Pennsylvania, and, on Friday, February 2, 1787, he was elected its President. This was a recognition of the ability of the man, rather than the patriotism which made him a soldier of the Revolution. As the work of the session of 1787 was scarcely excelled in importance by the

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[1] These names will be found always associated together in the proceedings of the Council of Censors: Arthur St. Clair, Fred. A. Muhlenberg, John Arndt, James Moore, Anthony Wayne, David Espy, Thomas Fitzsimmons, Thomas Hartley, Richard McAllister. Occasionally William Irvine voted with the others.

[2] The reader is referred to "*The Proceedings relative to Calling the Conventions of* 1776 *and* 1790, *and the Council of Censors.*"—Harrisburg, 1825.

[3] This should not be confounded with the position of auctioneer, as known at the present day.

results of the labors of that other body, in session at the same time, which gave to America a Constitution, and established the Union, I shall dwell upon it at some length.

In the history of every country there are supreme events to which may be traced the influence that shaped the destiny of the people for good or for evil: in that of the United States, it is customary to refer to the Declaration of Independence and the adoption of the Constitution in encomiastic phrase, as exhibiting wisdom and genius of the highest order. But, whatever may be said of these, may be applied to the Ordinance of 1787 with equal justice. Aye, more, the spirit of the Ordinance has conferred blessings in addition to those derived from the Constitution upon the citizens of the States erected under its provisions. "Upon the surpassing excellence of this Ordinance," said Judge Timothy Walker, "no language of panegyric would be extravagant. The Romans would have imagined some divine Egeria for its author. It approaches as nearly to absolute perfection as any thing to be found in the legislation of mankind; for, after the experience of fifty years, it would perhaps be impossible to alter without marring it. In short, it is one of those matchless specimens of sagacious forecast which even the reckless spirit of innovation would not venture to assail."[1] As long as human government shall endure, the influence for good of this remarkable charter shall be witnessed. It was the one really great act of legislation by Congress under the old confederation, and it was the happy fortune of Arthur St. Clair to be the President of the body at that time and have the opportunity to give to the measure his hearty support.

Let us take a brief survey of the provisions of the Ordinance:

It provides rules for the descent and conveyance of real and personal property; for the appointment of the Governor, Secretary, Judges, and other officers of the territorial governments; for the adoption of laws for the temporary government; for the erection of counties; for the election

[1] *Historical Discourse*, 23d December, 1837. *Transactions Ohio Hist. and Phil. Soc'y*, Vol. I., Part ii., p. 189.

of a General Assembly after the growth in population to five thousand souls; and for the election of a delegate to Congress, to have the right of debate, but not of voting during the territorial condition. It then says: "For extending the fundamental principles of civil and religious liberty, which form the basis whereon these republics, their laws and constitutions, are erected; to fix and establish those principles as the basis of all laws, constitutions and governments, which hereafter shall be formed in the territory; to provide also for the establishment of States and permanent government therein, and for their admission to a share in the Federal councils on an equal footing with the original States," etc., "It is hereby ordained and declared, by the authority aforesaid, that the following articles shall be considered articles of compact between the original States, and the people and States in the said territory, and forever remain unalterable unless by common consent."

The first of these articles secures religious freedom to the inhabitants; the second prohibits legislative interference with private contracts, secures the benefit of the writ of *habeas corpus*, trial by jury, and of the common law in judicial proceedings; it forbids the infliction of cruel or unusual punishments; the third declares that as religion, morality and knowledge are necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall ever be encouraged, and good faith observed towards the Indians; the fourth provides that the territories shall remain forever a part of the United States, pay their just proportion of the Federal debts and expenses, not interfere with the primary disposal of the soil by the general Government, nor tax non-resident proprietors higher than resident, and makes the navigable waters free forever to all citizens of the United States;[1] the fifth provides for a division of the territory into States, and their

[1] Mr. Grayson, of Virginia, March 16, 1786, moved a resolution relative to the free navigation of the Mississippi, which was incorporated into the Ordinance of 1787. The authorship is traced to Timothy Pickering, in a letter to Rufus King, March 8, 1785. See *Spencer's Hist. U. S.*, Vol. II., p. 207.

admission into the Union with republican governments, when they shall have sixty thousand inhabitants, on an equal footing with the original States; and the sixth declares, "there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude within the territory, otherwise than in the punishment of crimes, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted: Provided always, that any person escaping into the same, from whom labor or service is lawfully claimed in any one of the original States, such fugitive may be lawfully reclaimed and conveyed to the person claiming his or her labor or services as aforesaid."

Such are the beneficent provisions of this remarkable paper, under which States have grown to be great and their inhabitants more prosperous and happy than the world has ever before seen—provisions "unalterable and indestructible except by that final and common ruin which has overtaken all former systems of human polity."[1] Those relating to contracts, to the treatment of Indians, and to slavery, are original, while the others are drafted from the Constitution of Massachusetts of 1780, and the Bills of Rights common to Anglo-Saxon governments. But the whole are gracefully worded, and admirably adapted for the purposes of free government. It was fortunate that the system was to be established first in a new country, where there were no obstructive customs and privileges to be removed before its benefits could be fully realized. It is true there were immigrants who brought with them opinions in conflict with the principles of the Ordinance, and inconsiderately sought their modification, in vain.[2]

[1] *Chase's Preliminary Sketch*, p. 17.

[2] This refers to immigrants from Southern States who located in Southern Indiana and Illinois. The French residents at St. Vincents, and at Kaskaskia and Cahokia, had been permitted to hold slaves by the King of France, and this permission was continued under the Government of Great Britain. Hence, when the Ordinance was passed, in 1787, slavery existed at the places named, and it was not interfered with under the territorial governments. Some slaves were removed to the Louisiana Territory, but others were retained as indentured servants. Immigrants favorable to slavery, and the old inhabitants, united in memorials to Congress, asking a suspension of the Sixth Article.

There were others, however, with broader views of humanity and the ends of government, who, attracted by the principles of civil and religious liberty incorporated in the fundamental law, came by thousands, grateful for the opportunity to be bound by its covenants.[1]

The first of these, signed by John Edgar and others, was reported on May 12, 1796, by Joshua Coit, of Connecticut, to whom it had been referred, adversely. In December, 1802, a meeting of citizens of the Indiana Territory, held at Vincennes, and presided over by William Henry Harrison, resolved to make an effort to secure a suspension of the Sixth Article of the Ordinance. A memorial was drawn up, and in February following, it and a letter from Mr. Harrison were referred to a special committee, of which John Randolph, of Virginia, was Chairman. March 2, 1802, Mr. Randolph reported the following resolution:

"*Resolved*, That it is inexpedient to suspend, for a limited time, the operation of the Sixth Article of Compact between the original States and the people and States west of the river Ohio."

This resolution was accompanied by these wise remarks: "The rapid population of the State of Ohio sufficiently evince, in the opinion of your committee, that the labor of slaves is not necessary to promote the growth and settlement of colonies in that region; that this labor, demonstrably the dearest of any, can only be employed to advantage in the cultivation of products more valuable than any known to that quarter of the United States; that the committee deem it highly dangerous and inexpedient to impair a provision wisely calculated to promote the happiness and prosperity of the north-western country, and to give strength and security to that extensive frontier. In the salutary operation of this sagacious and benevolent restraint, it is believed that the inhabitants of Indiana will, at no distant day, find ample remuneration for a temporary privation of labor and of emigration."

In March, 1804, Cæsar Rodney, of Delaware—afterward Attorney-General of the United States—reported the resolution of a Special Committee in favor of the suspension of the inhibition for ten years. A similar report was made in 1806, by James Garnet, of Virginia; and in 1807, Mr. Parke, delegate from Indiana, reported favorably on a memorial of William Henry Harrison and the Territorial Legislature, praying for a suspension of the Sixth Article of the Ordinance. But no action was ever taken by the House on these favorable reports. Subsequently, General Harrison and his Legislature went before the Senate, and a Special Committee, consisting of Mr. Franklin, of North Carolina, Mr. Kitchell, of New Jersey, and Mr. Tiffin, of Ohio, was appointed. They brought in an adverse report, and that put an end to the efforts to destroy the anti-slavery clause of the Ordinance.

[1] "On the whole, these articles contain what they profess to contain,

Not less interesting than the Ordinance itself is the question of authorship. Who possessed the statesmanship to draft it, and the political tact to secure its unanimous adoption? Claims have been put forth for different eminent citizens. Thomas H. Benton, Governor Edward Coles, and others, attributed the authorship to Jefferson; Mr. Webster, and a long list of writers, to Nathan Dane, of Massachusetts, while a son of Rufus King claimed him to be the originator of the anti-slavery article. New interest has been given to this discussion by a recent contribution to the *North American Review.* It is from the vigorous pen of William Frederick Poole, and contains evidence of that thorough research for which the writer is noted. He fixes the measure of Mr. Dane's responsibility, but, perhaps, gives too little consideration to the influence of others. He gives the chief credit for the formation, and the entire credit for the successful passage of the Ordinance to Dr. Manasseh Cutler, of Massachusetts.

Dr. Cutler was the agent of the Ohio Company, and, in July, 1787, attended Congress, then in session in New York, for the purpose of purchasing for himself and associates, a million and a half acres of land in the Territory north-west of the river Ohio, provided favorable conditions could be secured. These conditions included a form of government that would attract immigrants for its liberality. Several attempts to secure such a government had been made, beginning in 1784, when Jefferson introduced a bill for the purpose of organizing the Territory, but each failed for want of the requisite number of votes. There was lacking a directing and controlling mind, with the influence and strategy needed to carry such a measure through.

Mr. Jefferson, with whom were associated Mr. Chase, of

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the true theory of American liberty. The great principles promulgated are wholly and purely American. They are, indeed, the genuine principles of freedom, unadulterated by that compromise with circumstances, the effects of which are visible in the Constitution and history of the Union."—*Chase's Preliminary Sketch.* p. 18.

Mr. Chase refers to the slavery compromise, of course. He overlooked the fact that the Sixth Article is, after all, a compromise on the subject of slavery similar to one in the Constitution.

Maryland, and Mr. Howell, of Rhode Island, had reported an ordinance for the temporary government of the Territory North and South of the river Ohio, out of which ten States were to be formed. Its notable features were articles of "compact" between the original States and the Territories, and the following: "That, after the year 1800 of the Christian era, there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in any of the said States, otherwise than in the punishment of crimes, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted to have been personally guilty." Subsequently, on motion of Mr. Spaight, of North Carolina, this clause was stricken out, only six States voting for it,[1] and, on the 23d April, 1784, the ordinance was passed as amended. It was a dead letter.[2] Mr. Jefferson, having been appointed Minister to France, retired from Congress.

One year later, Timothy Pickering, of Massachusetts, besought Rufus King to make another effort to secure an ordinance prohibiting slavery in the Territories. Accordingly, on the 16th March, 1785, Mr. King moved that the following resolution be committed:

"*Resolved*, That there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in any of the States described in the resolve of Congress of the 23d April, 1784, otherwise than in the punishment of crimes whereof the party shall have been personally guilty; and that this regulation shall be an article of compact, and remain a fundamental principle of the Constitution between the thirteen original States and each of the States described in the said resolve of the 23d of April, 1785."

The resolution went to the Committee of the Whole, but was never afterwards called up.[3]

In 1786, other committees were appointed for the purpose of reporting an ordinance for the Western Territory.[4] The

[1] The votes of seven States were required to pass any measure.

[2] *Poole on the Ordinance.*

[3] Poole's "*The Ordinance of* 1787 *and Dr. Manasseh Cutler*," p. 14. Eight States voted to commit, and three (Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina) voted in the negative.

[4] This year, a memorial was received from the inhabitants of Kaskas-

last consisted of Mr. Johnson, of Connecticut; Mr. Pinckney, of South Carolina; Mr. Smith, of New York; Mr. Dane, of Massachusetts, and Mr. Henry, of Maryland. They finally reported an ordinance April 26, 1787. The third reading was reached on the 10th May, but no vote was taken, and final action was postponed. The original draft of this ordinance was found and communicated by Mr. Peter Force to the *National Intelligencer*, August 26, 1847, and it contains little in common with the instrument that was finally passed on the 13th of July.[1] There was nothing of the grand principles of freedom, of non-interference in contracts, of protection of private property, of the importance of education, religion, and morality to society, which are the distinguishing features of the Ordinance we are considering. It did not contain the articles of compact, which were to remain unaltered forever, unless by common consent.[2]

This was the situation of affairs when Dr. Cutler arrived at New York, on the 5th of July, to make that bargain with Congress for land on the Ohio. He was a man of affairs, in the prime of life, and highly educated. He had been a Chaplain in the Revolutionary army, and, in common with other officers who had been paid off in Government certificates, was in such circumstances as to be constrained to exchange these evidences of indebtedness for something immediately marketable. The Ohio Company had been formed for that purpose. Dr. Cutler was a grad-

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kia, praying for the organization of a territorial government. On the 24th of August, the Secretary of Congress was directed to inform the memorialists that "Congress have under consideration a plan of temporary government of that district, and that its adoption would be no longer protracted than the importance of the subject and a due regard to their interests might require."—*Journals of Congress.*

[1] Mr. Poole says: "It had no resemblance to the Ordinance which passed on the 13th July." This language implies that there was nothing in common. But the provisions for temporary government; the appointment of officers; the formation of a legislature; the adoption of laws; the qualifications of electors, and the benefits of the act of *habeas corpus*, and of trial by jury, are very similar.

[2] Force's article in *Intelligencer.*

uate of Yale College, was distinguished as a scientist and author, and had been honored with the degrees of A. M., by Harvard, and LL. D., by Yale. He served four years as a member of Congress, and is described as a " person of stately and elegant form and courtly manners, and, at the same time, easy, affable, and communicative. He was much given to relating anecdotes, and making himself agreeable." He was armed with letters of introduction, especially to Southern members, and soon was on intimate terms with the Virginia members—Richard Henry Lee, Colonel Carrington, and Mr. Grayson.

Four days after his arrival, a new committee, consisting of Mr. Carrington and Mr. Lee, of Virginia; Mr. Dane, of Massachusetts; Mr. Kean, of South Carolina, and Mr. Smith, of New York, was appointed to consider an ordinance for the Western Territory. That was on the 9th of July. A new ordinance, the Ordinance of 1787, was drafted, introduced, read, amended, and passed, all within four days. The vote by States was unanimous, but one member, Mr. Yates, of New York, voted in the negative, because it was constitutional with him to oppose every thing of a practical character.

Very properly the question is asked: What was the influence that produced the radical change in Congress, and secured the approval of such liberal principles? Undoubtedly, Dr. Cutler organized the victory. The treasury was exhausted, and Congress was in a humor to consider plans for bringing the Government lands into market. Principles had been discussed, and it was possible to reconcile conflicting views. The time was ripe for action, and Dr. Cutler understood the situation. His first move after making the acquaintance of members, would be to secure a committee favorable to his plans.[1] He could do this only through the President. Accordingly, he went to General

[1] Colonel Carrington, a personal friend of St. Clair's, who had been associated with him during the Revolutionary War, as a member of a Committee to negotiate a Cartel; and, secondly, in the movement of troops through Virginia to reinforce Greene, was made Chairman of the Committee.

St. Clair, where it is reported he had a cool reception. And here I must take issue with Mr. Poole as to the reason for this, as that given by him is not consistent with the character of St. Clair. He says: "He found that General St. Clair wanted to be Governor of the North-western Territory; and Dr. Cutler, representing the interests of the Ohio Company, intended that General Parsons of Connecticut should have the office. But he must have General St. Clair's influence, and found it necessary to pay the price. From the moment he communicated this decision, General St. Clair was warmly engaged in his interests."

This is suspicion merely. The universal testimony of all who knew St. Clair disproves the justice of it. He was frank and manly, and free from any of the cunning or worldliness the statement of Dr. Cutler would imply. It is much more likely that Dr. Cutler approached him first to enlist him in his land scheme, and was balked by the caution and circumspection of the Scotchman; but when he spoke of the blessings of a free government over such a vast extent of territory, he engaged his sympathetic aid. The committee was made to win, and the influence of the President of Congress in shaping legislation, we know from experience and observation, must have been great, and was essential to secure success.

There is a misapprehension of facts here, which has given rise to perplexing and altogether unnecessary confusion, which a more careful inquiry may correct. The anxiety of Dr. Cutler will be found to have a more particular reference to another ordinance which, in a sense, was a sequel to, and dependent wholly upon, the Ordinance formed for the government of the North-western Territory. The two are essentially parts of the same history. They have, in their origin such close relationship, that they must be considered as inseparable. Without the application of the Ohio Company in that summer of 1787, supported by a declaration of the principles of government deemed essential to attract purchasers of the lands, it is doubtful if a form of government so highly favorable in all respects could have been secured in that or any succeeding Congress.

The necessities of the Colonies, the enterprise of the men of the East, and the political convictions of leading characters, all combined to form and give effect to the Ordinance. A year or two later the conditions changed. Party differences became more sharply defined, and sectional jealousies proved more obstructive than ever.

Who should be the head of the new government, did not enter into consideration at any stage of the legislation. Before the passage of the Ordinance, the name of President St. Clair had not been mentioned in connection with the office of Governor. On the 13th of July he did not preside. He had gone the day before to New Jersey to visit a friend, and he did not return until two days after the passage of the Ordinance. Only eight States out of thirteen voted for that instrument: Pennsylvania was one of the five not represented. When St. Clair returned to New York, he was accompanied by General Irvine, one of his colleagues. In a letter[1] of the latter, written 19th July, and addressed to Colonel Richard Butler, he refers to the Ordinance which had passed two days before his return, and adds: "*Who the officers of that government will be I have not heard, nor inquired.*" If the name of General St. Clair had been canvassed, or, if he had had any understanding with the New England people, as is alleged, it would have been known to a friend as intimate as General Irvine.

But, furthermore, we have his own testimony, which is of the best, to sustain us. In a letter to the Hon. William B. Giles, he says that the office of Governor was, in a great measure, forced upon him by his friends, who thought there would be in it means to compensate for his sacrifices to his country, and provide for his large family. But it proved otherwise. He had "neither the taste nor genius for speculation in land; nor did he consider it consistent with the office." He declared the accepting of the Governorship the most imprudent act of his life, for he was then in possession of a lucrative office, and his influence at home was very considerable. But he had the "laudable ambition of becoming the father of a country, and laying

[1] MS. in possession of Isaac Craig. See p. 604.

the foundation for the happiness of millions then unborn."[1] All this, however, was months after the Ordinance had become an accomplished fact, and Dr. Cutler had returned to his home.

Colonel Carrington was Chairman of the Special Committee that reported the Ordinance for the government of the North-western Territory, and also of the Committee on Lands.[2] Mr. Dane was a member of both Committees. A sharp opposition to the terms proposed by the Ohio Company for the lands, developed after Dr. Cutler's return from Philadelphia. Some members thought Congress was asked to make too important concessions and too large donations for special purposes, in order to secure the sale of the rest of the lands. This view is expressed in the letter of General Irvine before referred to. While he had no objection to the mode of sale proposed, as it would sink the National debt, yet, he added: "I confess to you, I am opposed to a pre-emption to any company or set of men, I think, on sound principles; and I hope to prevent this passing with that tail, however beneficial the body might be without. I have no idea in making a sale, to bribe a person to get him to take my commodity with another article of equal or more value."

Dr. Cutler set about the work of overcoming the objections to his scheme. He brought all available influences known to politicians to bear on those who stood out. Colonel Duer, Secretary of the Board of Treasury, devised a new scheme, which would secure the support of prominent men, and would bring into market three and a half millions more of land. The original proposition was enlarged, and Dr. Cutler says he engaged with the Southern members to bring in the New England members to the support of General St. Clair[3] for Governor, if they would make

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[1] Letter to William B. Giles, *St. Clair's Narrative*, p. 249.

[2] The Committee on Lands consisted of Mr. Carrington, Mr. King, Mr. Dane, Mr. Madison, and Mr. Benson.

[3] The references in Dr. Cutler's Diary to St. Clair, in connection with legislation for the Ohio Company, are as follows:

"July 18. Paid my respects, this morning, to the President of Congress, General St. Clair."

"July 23. . . . Spent the evening with Colonel Grayson and

Major Sargent Secretary, and General Parsons one of the Judges. But why this to the Southern members when they were in favor of the contract from the first? This was on the 23d of July, ten days after the Ordinance had passed, and members were just beginning to cast about for officers for the new government. The first measure passed by Congress, 23d July, was not satisfactory, and Dr. Cutler sent a letter to the Board of Treasury explaining wherein it would have to be modified. To bring Congress to terms, he threatened to leave New York and buy lands for his company of some of the States. This had the desired effect, and, on the 27th, Congress completed the Ordinance by accepting the modifications proposed by the wily Doctor. "At half-past three, I was informed that an Ordinance had

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members of Congress from the southward, who were in favor of a contract. Having found it impossible to support General Parsons as a candidate for Governor, after the interest that General St. Clair had secured, and *suspecting* this might be some impediment in the way, for my endeavors to make interest for him were well known, and the arrangement of civil officers being on the carpet, I embraced this opportunity frankly to declare that, for my own part, I ventured to engage for Major Sargent that, if General Parsons could have the appointment of First Judge, and Sargent Secretary, we should be satisfied; and that I heartily wished his Excellency, General St. Clair, might be the Governor; and that I would solicit the Eastern members to favor such an arrangement. This I found rather pleasing to the Southern members, and they were so complaisant as to ask, repeatedly, what office would be agreeable to me in the Western country. I assured them that I wished for no appointment in the civil line.

"July 26. This morning I accompanied Generals St. Clair and Knox on a tour of morning visits and, particularly, to the Foreign Ministers . . . Being now eleven o'clock, General St. Clair was obliged to attend Congress. After we came into the street, General St. Clair assured me, he would make every possible exertion to prevail with Congress, to accept the terms contained in our letter. He appeared much interested and very friendly; but said we must expect opposition. I was now fully convinced that it was good policy to give up Parsons, and openly to appear solicitous that St. Clair might be appointed Governor. Several gentlemen have told me that our matters went on much better since St. Clair and his friends had been informed that we had given up Parsons, and that I had solicited the Eastern members, in favor of his appointment."

passed Congress, on the terms stated in our letter, without the least variation; and that the Board of Treasury was directed to take, order, and close the contract. . . . By this Ordinance, we obtained the grant of near five millions of acres of land, amounting to three millions and a half of dollars. One million and a half of acres for the Ohio Company, and the remainder for a private speculation,[1] in which many of the principal characters in America are concerned. Without connecting this speculation, similar terms and advantages could not have been obtained for the Ohio Company."

We have Dr. Cutler and General St. Clair laboring together for the creation of a government for the North-western Territory, and both afterwards related to it, though in manner widely different—the one sharing in its benefits, the other in the labors of administration in a vast wilderness beset by such difficulties and perils as were calculated to test the stoutest heart—that could only be met successfully by the highest qualities of character, and these St. Clair possessed.

Mr. Poole says there have been traditions and positive evidence, in the form of autograph letters in the family of Dr. Cutler, since his death, that he caused the insertion in the Ordinance of the following clause: "Religion, morality, and knowledge being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged." And he contended stoutly and successfully for the grant of land for the universities and ministry. These provisions were essential to the success of the scheme of the Ohio Company. Dr. Cutler's diary is not explicit on the different points.[2] He may

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[1] The "principal characters in America" failed to complete this part of the contract.

[2] Dr. Cutler says, that the bill for the government of the North-western Territory was submitted to him, "with leave to make remarks and propose amendments," and that he returned it with his observations in the form of several amendments. This bill was undoubtedly the one proposed by Mr. Dane, and which was retired May 10th, as we find this entry in Dr. Cutler's Diary under date, July 19. "Called on members of Congress very early this morning. Was furnished with

have suggested the clause on contracts, as that had been in his "line of thought," but that as to the treatment of the Indians was more likely to have originated with some one who had experience in treating with them, and there was no member who had had so much experience, or who had studied the questions so thoroughly as the President of Congress.

The anti-slavery clause has provoked the widest discussion, as it touched what has proved to be the sensitive nerve of national politics, and determined immediately the character of the communities to be organized in the Territory. Who was the author of the Sixth Article? Dr. Cutler is understood to have said that he drafted it when in New York;[1] but he was in Philadelphia, discussing the flora of New England, or moral philosophy, with the venerable Dr. Franklin, when that article was drafted. Mr. Dane says: "When I drew the ordinance, which passed, a few words excepted, as I originally formed it,[2] I had no idea the States would agree to the Sixth Article, prohibiting slavery, as only Massachusetts of the Eastern States was present, and therefore omitted it in the draft; but, finding the House favorably disposed on the subject, after we had completed the other parts, I moved the article, which was

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the Ordinance establishing a Government in the Western Federal Territory. *It is, in a degree, new modeled.* The amendments I proposed have all been made, except one; and that is better qualified. It was that we should not be subject to Continental taxation, until we were entitled to a full representation in Congress. This could not be fully obtained, for it was considered, in Congress, as offering a premium to emigrants. They have granted us representation, with the right of debating, but not of voting, upon our being first subject to taxation."

[1] Judge Ephraim Cutler, who had incorporated in the Constitution of Ohio, the clause inhibiting slavery, stated in a private letter (November 24, 1849) that his father, Dr. Cutler, remarked to him, on being informed of this, that "he thought it a singular coincidence, as he himself had prepared that part of the Ordinance, while he was in New York, negotiating the purchase of lands for the Ohio Company."—Poole, in *North American Review*, as before quoted.

[2] We have shown that the Ordinance, drafted by Mr. Dane, and afterward discovered by Mr. Peter Force, bore slight resemblance to the Ordinance as passed July 13. Dr. Cutler says it was new modeled.

agreed to without opposition." It is of record that Mr. Dane offered an amendment, which became the Sixth Article, on the 12th of July, when the bill was up for a second reading. But did he draft it with the proviso? Was he, in any proper sense, the author of it? I think not, nor of any of those original and striking provisions which mark the Ordinance as "one of the greatest monuments of civil jurisprudence." In the first place, we have seen that the Ordinance which Mr. Dane did draft, and which was left untouched after the 10th of May, contained no hint that he had ever even dreamed of such principles of government. In the second place, the style of the Ordinance of July 13th is the surest refutation of Mr. Dane's claim of authorship. It bears no resemblance to his composition. Nor does Mr. Dane, in his letter to Mr. King, which is given at length in Spencer's History of the United States, show that he had an intelligent conception of the real nature and importance of the Ordinance; and nowhere does he attempt to explain why the committee that had his ordinance in charge May 10th was discharged, a new committee appointed, and a new Ordinance, of widely different character, drafted and rushed through, all within four days. We shall have to look further.

The explanation will be found, I think, in the prevalence of anti-slavery sentiment among the prominent statesmen of Virginia, at that period. It was not until after 1808, the date of the suppression of the slave trade, when Virginia assumed a new relation to the cotton States, that this sentiment became unfashionable in the Old Dominion. In 1784–1787, the echo of the Declaration of Independence had not yet died away. Jefferson believed slavery to be an evil, and drafted an article prohibiting it in all territory after 1800. This future limitation was undoubtedly put in as an inducement to South Carolina and Georgia to support the Ordinance. The same policy was pursued in 1787, when the proviso for the rendition of fugitive slaves was added to the Sixth Article. And this proviso aids us in determining the influence that secured the adoption of the

anti-slavery clause. It clearly emanated from Virginia.[1] On the committee were Richard Henry Lee and Colonel Carrington, of that State, the latter of whom was chairman of the committee. Before them were the resolution offered by Mr. King in 1786, for which their colleague, Mr. Grayson, had voted, and the report of Mr. Jefferson in 1784. They were familiar with, and doubtless shared in, the opinion as to slavery prevailing in their own State—that, while the institution ought to be destroyed, it would be dangerous and inconvenient to make any sudden change in property rights. Hence the clause for the recovery of fugitives. In support of this the reader is referred to the debates in the Virginia Convention on the adoption of the Federal Constitution in 1788, and particularly to the remarks of Mason, Tyler, Madison, Nichols, and Henry, on pages 452 to 458 inclusive, of Elliott's Debates; and also to the remarks of Mr. Sherman on the rendition clause when under consideration in the Federal Constitutional Convention, in 1787.

Not only does the Sixth article contain language similar[2]

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[1] In making this statement, I do not forget the influence of Massachusetts men in creating a sentiment in favor of the prohibition of slavery. Timothy Pickering, in 1786, devised a plan for the formation of a new State west of the Ohio river—"the total exclusion of slavery from the State to form an essential and irrevocable part of the Constitution."[1] And we have seen how he moved Rufus King to offer a resolution proposing a compact inhibiting slavery from the Western Territory. But, after all, we are compelled to retrace our steps to Mr. Jefferson's article, proposed in 1784.

[2] Compare the Jefferson article with that of the Ordinance as finally adopted:

Jefferson's Article, 1784.	*Ordinance of 1787—Sixth Article.*
"That after the year 1800, of the Christian era, *there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in any of the said States, otherwise than in the punishment of crimes, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted* to have been personally guilty."	"*There shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in the said territory, otherwise than in punishment of crimes whereof the party shall have been duly convicted*; Provided, always, that any person escaping into the same from whom labor or service is lawfully claimed etc. etc."

And yet, with these two articles before him, Mr. Howard Gay, in refuting the claim of authorship of the anti-slavery article set up for Mr. Jefferson, says: "Nor was there any essential similarity in the two ordinances." Then as the language is identical in the essential part of this most important article, what constitutes authorship?

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(1) Howard Gay's "*Bryant's Popular History United States*," Vol. IV., p. 95.

to that employed by Mr. Jefferson in 1784, but the *proviso* is the same in effect as the clause in Article IV. of the Constitution. *Both the proviso and the rendition clause avoid the use of the word slave.* And on the very day the Ordinance was passed the Federal Convention perfected that clause of the Constitution relative to representation and direct taxation, which adds "three-fifths of all other persons"—to-wit: slaves.

Is this to be attributed to accident? Does it not show clearly that these important clauses were decided on after conference between members of the Constitutional Convention and Congress, as related by Mr. Madison to Governor Coles,[1] and should be regarded as compromises? In case of the Constitution, if the slave trade were to be prohibited and slaves taxed, escaping slaves should be delivered up to their owners. In that of the Ordinance, if slavery were prohibited in the North-western Territory, masters should be allowed to reclaim their slaves.

There is one other point to consider in support of this view of the supremacy of Virginia influence, and that is, that Colonel Carrington, in presenting the amendments,

[1] "This brings to my recollection what I was told by Mr. Madison . . . The old Congress held its sessions, in 1787 in New York, while at the same time the Convention which framed the Constitution of the United States held its sessions in Philadelphia. Many individuals were members of both bodies, and thus were enabled to know what was passing in each—both sitting with closed doors and in secret sessions. The distracting question of slavery was agitating and retarding the labors of both, and led to conferences and inter-communications of the members, which resulted in a compromise by which the Northern or anti-slavery portion of the country agreed to incorporate into the Ordinance and Constitution the provision to restore fugitive slaves; and this mutual and concurrent action was the cause of the similarity of the provision contained in both, and had its influence in creating the great unanimity by which the Ordinance passed, and also in making the Constitution more acceptable to the slave-holders." *The History of the Ordinance of* 1787, p. 28,

It may be urged, on the other hand, that as the Constitution was formed after the Ordinance, the clause in the Constitution relating to the rendition of slaves, as well as other provisions, was copied from the Ordinance. But the testimony of Mr. Madison as to the conference should be accepted as conclusive on that point.

which were adopted on the 12th, inserted a clause in the second paragraph to confirm the reservation made for the French and Canadian inhabitants at St. Vincents and Kaskaskia in the deed of cession of Virginia. This was a matter on which the Virginians laid much stress. Other amendments proposed by Mr. Carrington related to the descent of property and the dependence of good government upon the diffusion of knowledge. Hence, Mr. Force remarked in his communication, to which I have referred, that it would appear "that most of the principles 'on which its wisdom and fame rest,' were presented by Mr. Carrington." This does not conflict with those facts Mr. Poole lays most stress on; it rather confirms them. The conferences between Colonel Carrington and Dr. Cutler were useful in harmonizing the views of the South and New England. Surely there was not one, but many authors.[1]

To complete the work so auspiciously begun, and to carry out the provisions of this Ordinance, on Friday, the 5th of October, 1787, Congress proceeded to elect officers for the new Government. Arthur St. Clair was chosen Governor; James M. Varnum, Samuel Holden Parsons, and John Armstrong, Judges; and Winthrop Sargent, Secretary. Mr. Armstrong declining, John Cleves Symmes was afterwards appointed to the vacancy.

There was, as yet, no Congressional legislation for carrying into effect the Ordinance, and General St. Clair improved the earliest opportunity after the assembling of the first Congress under the Federal Constitution, to secure the necessary action. In July, 1789, Mr. Fitzsimmons, of Pennsylvania, reported in the House of Representatives a bill, which had been drafted by St. Clair, for the government of the North-western Territory, which passed the House and the Senate without opposition. This act gave the sanction of the National legislature to all of the important pro-

[1] For a full statement of Mr. Dane's claim the reader is referred to *Spencer's History of the United States* Vol. II., pp. 206-7-8. Mr. Gay, on p. 110, Vol. IV. of his "*Bryant's History of the United States*," says that a printed copy of the Ordinance, with the articles in question in Mr. Dane's handwriting, was found among the archives of the United States.

visions of the Ordinance, including the compact for the inhibition of slavery, which was a formal assertion of the right of the National legislature to regulate that institution in the Territories.

Meanwhile, the Ohio Company had been preparing the way for a government by making a settlement on lands at the confluence of the Ohio and Muskingum rivers, purchased through the agency of Dr. Manasseh Cutler.

CHAPTER VI.

THE NORTH-WESTERN TERRITORY—ARRIVAL OF GOVERNOR ST. CLAIR AT FORT HARMAR—INTERESTING CEREMONIES—ADDRESS TO THE SETTLERS AT CAMPUS MARTIUS—AUSPICIOUS BEGINNING OF THE WORK OF ESTABLISHING CIVIL GOVERNMENT—CLAIM OF THE INDIANS TO THE TERRITORY, AND ITS IMPORTANCE TO THEM—ADOPTING LAWS—DIFFERENCE WITH THE JUDGES—ESTABLISHMENT OF THE FIRST COURT IN THE NORTH-WEST—SOCIAL LIFE ON THE MUSKINGUM—LOUISA ST. CLAIR—TREATY AT FORT HARMAR—INFLUENCE OF JOSEPH BRANT AND HIS BRITISH ALLIES—CONFEDERACY OF INDIAN NATIONS—ARRIVAL AT FORT WASHINGTON—CINCINNATI NAMED, AND WHY—ORGANIZATION OF COUNTIES AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS IN THE ILLINOIS AND WABASH COUNTRIES—TEMPTATION TO RETURN TO POLITICAL LIFE IN PENNSYLVANIA—PROPOSITION TO MAKE ST. CLAIR GOVERNOR OF THAT STATE.

The opening chapter in the history of the North-west begins with the recital of the indomitable perseverance and heroic bravery displayed by the discoverer—John Nicolet. An investigation of the career of this Frenchman shows him, at an early age, leaving his home in Normandy for the New World, landing at Quebec in 1618, and at once seeking a residence among the Algonquins of Ottawa river, sent thither by the Governor of Canada to learn their language. In the midst of many hardships, and surrounded by perils, he applied himself with great zeal to his task. Having become familiar with the Algonquin tongue, he was admitted into the councils of the savages.[1]

The return of Nicolet to civilization, after a number of years immured in the dark forests of Canada, an excellent interpreter, qualified him to act as Government agent among the wild Western tribes in promoting peace, to the end that all who had been visited by the fur-trader might re-

[1] Nicolet has at last found an American biographer competent to do him justice, in Mr. C. W. Butterfield, the accomplished author of "Crawford's Campaign against Sandusky," "The Washington-Crawford Letters," and other valuable contributions to Western History. Mr. Butterfield has just published, "The History of the Discovery of the Northwest by John Nicolet, in 1634, with a Sketch of His Life."

main firm allies of the French. Nay, further: it resulted in his being dispatched to nations far beyond the Ottawa, known only by hearsay, with whom it was believed might be opened a profitable trade in furs. So he started on his perilous voyage. He visited the Hurons, upon the Georgian Bay. With seven of that nation, he struck boldly into wilds to the northward and westward never before visited by civilized man. He paddled his birch canoe along the eastern coast of Lake Huron and up the St. Mary's Strait to the falls. He floated back to the Straits of Mackinaw, and courageously turned his face toward the West. At the Sault Ste. Marie he had—the first of white men—set foot upon the soil of the North-west.

Nicolet coasted along the northern shore of Lake Michigan, ascended Green Bay, and finally entered the mouth of Fox river. It was not until he and his swarthy Hurons had urged their frail canoes six days up that stream, that his western exploration was ended. He had, meanwhile, on his way hither, visited a number of tribes, some that had never before been heard of by the French upon the St. Lawrence. With them all he smoked the pipe of peace: with the ancestors of the present Chippewas, at the falls; with the Menomonees, the Winnebagoes, the Mascoutins, in what is now the State of Wisconsin; with the Ottawas, upon the Manitoulin Islands, and the Nez Percés, upon the east coast of Lake Huron. He made his outward voyage in the summer and fall of 1634, and returned the next year to the St. Lawrence. He did not reach the Wisconsin river, but heard of a "great water" to the westward, which he mistook for the sea. It was, in fact, that stream, and the Mississippi, into which it pours its flood.

On the morning of Wednesday, July 9th, 1788, there was unwonted activity in the garrison at Fort Harmar. The day was to be a memorable one, and care was taken that nothing should be omitted that could possibly add to the impressiveness of the occasion. The soldiers' muskets had been freshly burnished, and the officers wore their newest uniforms. At an early hour the distinguished citizens dwelling in and around *Campus Martius*, having donned their

best attire, waited on the commandant, to be assigned their proper places.[1] Old soldiers—brothers of the Revolution—were to meet again, and unite in the establishment of the principles for which they contended on the martial field, in a vast new country. The day, like the common expectation, was bright and beautiful, and the waters of the Muskingum and Ohio, as they united and flowed peacefully towards the western confines of the new land, seemed to reflect the outlines of the hills and wooded shores more perfectly than ever before.[2]

And now the signal gun is heard announcing the approach of the hero. General Harmar, with officers and citizens, proceed to the landing, where they welcome Governor Arthur St. Clair, as he, accompanied by Major Doughty, of the artillery, steps from the twelve-oared barge upon the shore. The military honors are not omitted by his old companion-in-arms, and fourteen guns are discharged with

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[1] The settlement had been in existence all of three moons. It was on the 7th of April, 1788, (occasion ever to be remembered by the good people of Ohio) that that noble Revolutionary soldier, General Rufus Putnam, and forty-seven others of the hardy sons of New England, disembarked from the "Mayflower," at the mouth of the Muskingum river. Within these three months, forest trees had been felled, houses built, a stockade erected, a city designed, lands laid off, seeds planted, and grounds tilled—an exhibition of determination and intelligent skill never excelled in the history of the world. Before the expiration of the three months quite a number of families joined the settlement. Hence the orator on the 4th of July could, with propriety, address his fair countrywomen.

[2] How tame does this attempt to depict the scene, after a lapse of nearly a century, appear beside the bright anticipations of one of the participators in the event of that July day. On the 4th of July, 1788, the garrison and the citizens of Marietta celebrated Independence, and Judge Varnum was the orator. He said: "We mutually lament that the absence of his Excellency will not permit us, upon this joyous occasion, to make those grateful assurances of sincere attachments, which bind us to him by the noblest motives that can animate an enlightened people. May he soon arrive. Thou gently flowing Ohio, whose surface, as conscious of thy unequaled majesty, reflecteth no images but the grandeur of the impending heaven, bear him, oh, bear him safely to this anxious spot! And thou beautiful, transparent Muskingum, swell at the moment of his approach, and reflect no objects but of pleasure and delight!"

due precision at the Fort, where he is to remain until the formal opening of the civil government.[1]

Tuesday, July 15th, is red-letter day in the annals of the North-western Territory, for it was on that day that civil government was first established west of the river Ohio. Governor St. Clair, attended by Judges Parsons and Varnum, and Secretary Sargent, made his public entry at the bower, in the City of Marietta, where he was received by General Rufus Putnam, and all of the citizens, "with the most sincere and unreserved congratulations."[2]

"His Excellency was seated, and after a short interval of profound silence, arose and addressed himself to the assembly in a concise but dignified speech."[3] He expressed his great pleasure at meeting them upon so important an occasion, and informed them that he had brought with him a most excellent constitution for the government of the Territory, to which he invited their attention. Thereupon Secretary Sargent read the Ordinance, and also the commissions of the officers, after which the Governor spoke at some length in a very happy manner on the importance of good government; of his desire to administer the trust confided to him in such manner as to merit their approbation; of the relations of the Territorial to the General Government; of the auspicious opening of the new country, and of the necessity for the community to cultivate friendly relations with the savages. "The present situation of territory," he concluded, "calls for attention in various places, and will necessarily induce a frequent absence, both of the judges and myself, from this delightful spot; but at all times and places, as it is my indispensable duty, so it is very much my desire to do every thing within the compass of my power for the peace, good order, and perfect establishment of the settlement; and as

[1] There will be found included in the correspondence of this work an affectionate letter from General Harmar to St. Clair, from Fort Harmar, Nov. 25, 1787, expressing his pleasure at hearing of his appointment as Governor.

[2] Contemporary account published at Newport, R. I.

[3] Ibid.

I look for not only a cheerful acquiescence in and submission to necessary measures, but a cordial co-operation, so I flatter myself my well-meant endeavors will be accepted in the spirit in which they are rendered, and thus our satisfaction will be mutual and complete."[1]

At the conclusion the Governor was very heartily applauded,[2] and on the following day he was presented, in the name of the people, with a highly complimentary answer.

This was the happy beginning of five large States, which have controlled to a greater degree than any other section the destinies of the Republic, and by the virtues of their citizens, the wisdom of their laws, and their faithful observance of the compact which says "they shall forever remain a part" of the Union, have vindicated the wisdom of the old Continental Congress in creating the Ordinance of 1787.

If the skies were bright above the favored spot chosen by the land company of Massachusetts, there was a cloud in the West of ominous blackness. Trace a line from South-eastern Ohio diagonally to Lake Superior, and you pass over what was then a wilderness, wooded hills, in the bowels of which was untold wealth, plains with prairie grass so tall as to cover a horse, and a soil unsurpassed by any in·

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[1] *St. Clair Papers.* Vol. II. p. 53.

[2] "During the address of His Excellency, a profound veneration for the elevated station and exalted benevolence of the speaker; the magnitude of the subject; the high importance of the occasion; the immense consequences resulting; the glory, the grandeur of a new world unfolding; heaven and earth approving, called forth all the manly emotions of the heart. At the close, peals of applause rent the surrounding air, while joyful echo reverberated the sound. Every citizen felt to the extent of humanity, and affection herself impressed upon the mind, in characters never to be obliterated: long live our Governor!"—*Contemporary Account.* Pamphlet.

The same veracious and rhetorical chronicler assures us that every attention was paid to the Governor. On the following Sunday, Divine service was held by Rev. Dr. Brick, which was attended by every body. The text was from Exodus: "Now, therefore, if you will obey my voice indeed, and keep my covenant, then ye shall be a peculiar treasure unto me above all people; for all the earth is mine. And ye shall be unto me a kingdom of priests, and an holy nation." Governor St. Clair expressed great satisfaction, especially with the singing. "Indeed it was enchanting!"

the world, rich river bottoms and virgin forests, uninhabited save by Indians. To the eastward the British still held the posts along the chain of lakes, and by pernicious counsel increased the wrath in the breast of the red man. Draw a similar line from the Upper Ohio to the Mississippi, and save here and there a devoted Moravian missionary, there was not a white inhabitant over whom the territorial ægis could be extended. At *Au Post* (Vincennes), Kaskaskia, and Cahokia were French inhabitants and military posts which had been transferred to the British by the peace of 1763, and afterwards conquered for Virginia and the Continental Congress by the intrepid George Rogers Clarke. At lesser points were a few adventurers, traders chiefly, but every-where else, over a vast country, the Indian was lord of all he surveyed. Here had been the home of his fathers—he knew of no other; here his children had acquired that confidence that comes of undisputed possession; food was found in the forests, on the prairies, in the waters, or in the cultivated fields of the Scioto, the Mad River, the Miami, the Auglaize, the Wabash, or the Illinois; there was such abundance as could be found no where else in the world. Should he yield this without a struggle to the Long Knife—the intruder—and find his grave in the waters of the Mississippi?

Won by the devotion and eloquence of the Jesuit Fathers, the Indians had permitted the French to erect posts on the lakes, on the rivers and in the interior without objection. Nay, more, they welcomed the French because they brought them arms, instructed them in useful arts, and received their furs in barter. The British pursued pretty much the same policy, but pushed the traffic for furs with more vigor. Neither the French nor the British ever put forth a claim to the soil of the West,[1] or sought to do more than to conduct a profitable trade with the Indians from the posts. In holding these posts despite the treaty of 1783, the British hoped for new complications; such change in the favors of

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[1] The British required the Indians to deed to them the land on which the forts were erected and adjacent to them; but put forth no claim to the lands in general.

fortune as would preserve to them the profitable fur trade of the West. Hence the commanders of the posts continued on friendly terms with the Indians, and encouraged them in the opinion that white settlements west of the Ohio threatened the extermination of the red people.

The young men of the Indian tribes conducted a predatory warfare against the intruders, as they regarded the whites. All along the borders, the venturesome pioneers were either killed or driven away, those surviving only remembering the momentary gleam of the tomahawk or scalping-knife, from beneath some leafy covert, as the first or only notice of the avenging foe. The red-men, while denying the right of the Six Nations to cede their lands to Congress west of Pennsylvania, and that they were bound as a whole by the action of a few chiefs at Fort McIntosh, in 1785, and Fort Finney, in 1786, yet sought a partial justification for their bloody deeds in that clause of the several treaties, which declared that any citizen of the United States who obtruded on the Indian reservations, should forfeit the protection of the United States, and be liable to punishment by the Indians. There was a partial suspension of these depredations in the first half of the year 1788, and the friendly attitude of the Indians who came to Fort Harmar led the inhabitants on the Muskingum to hope that they would cease altogether. There was a determination to do nothing that would awaken the animosity of the savages. We shall see that this hope was doomed to disappointment, and that, after the confirmation of the hated treaties the following year, the chiefs put no restraint upon their warriors.

By the treaty of Fort McIntosh, the Wyandot, Delaware, and kindred nations, had acknowledged the sovereignty of the United States as superceding that of Great Britain, and had sold lands lying east, south, and west of a line drawn from the mouth of the river Cuyahoga to the portage between that and the Tuscarawas branch of the Muskingum, and to the forks of Tuscarawas above Fort Lawrence; thence to Loramies on the Big Miami; thence to the Maumee, and thence, with the south-east line of that river,

to the lake. In the following year a treaty was concluded with the Shawanese nation, at Fort Finney, by which title was obtained to a section extending from the fork of the Great Miami to the Wabash, on a line with the river De la Panse.

Laws for the survey and sale of such of these lands as were not reserved for the Virginia militia and Continental troops were passed, and intruders warned off.[1] To protect the surveyors and carry out the orders of the Board of Treasury, was the duty of Colonel Harmar's command on the Ohio. The land was divided into townships, six miles square, by lines running north and south, and intersected by east and west lines. These townships were again sub-divided, each section containing a square mile, or six hundred and forty acres. The ranges were numbered from south to north, beginning on the Ohio river, and were distinguished by progressive numbers from east to west.

In addition to the general claims of the western Indian tribes, above referred to, the situation was complicated by the extraordinary claims of the Illinois and Wabash Land Companies, and of the French settlers at Post Vincennes. The latter, by virtue of Indian grants and court concessions, claimed a territory of about fifteen thousand square miles;[2] while the Land Companies claimed even a greater extent of territory. The French, on the Mississippi river, had not yet had their titles confirmed, as provided for in the grant made by Virginia to the United States. American adventurers had also taken possession of lands and formed a settlement in the vicinity of the confluence of the Kaskaskia and Mississippi, giving it the name of New Design.[3]

These various movements and claims excited the jealousy

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[1] See Land Laws of the United States for the North-western Territory. The missionary towns of Gnadenhütten, Schoenbrun, and Salem, on the Muskingum, were given to the Moravian Indians surviving the massacre; and three townships, on Lake Erie, were reserved for the use of refugees from Canada and Nova Scotia.

[2] *Dillon's Hist. Indiana*, p. 183.

[3] Formed in 1782.

of the Indians, which was not allayed by the various treaties.

This was the situation confronting Governor St. Clair, when, after the impressive opening scenes at Marietta on the 15th of July, he set to work with the judges to form a code of laws for the new government, as provided for in the Ordinance. These officers did not strictly confine themselves within the limits of their legislative authority, which was to make selections from the statutes of the original thirteen States. When they could not find laws suited to the condition of the Territory, they supplied the want by enactments of their own. This practice was acquiesced in by Governor St. Clair with great reluctance,[1] and it will be seen, from his correspondence and speeches included in this work, that his conservatism and firmness saved the people from a good deal of unwise legislation. The laws which were not adapted from the statutes of the States were not approved by Congress, on the ground that the officers were not authorized to *enact* laws. Nevertheless, they (with two exceptions) continued in force in the Territory, because necessary to good government, until the second grade of government was established, in 1795, when the Governor and Council formally enacted a code of laws.[2]

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[1] *St. Clair Papers.* Address to first Territorial Legislature.

[2] This legislative authority extended from 1788 to 1795, at which time, the second stage of government having been reached, a General Assembly was constituted. "That the Governor and Judges, in the enactment of these laws, exceeded their authority, without the slight disposition to abuse it, may be inferred from the fact that, except two which had previously been repealed, they were all confirmed by the first Territorial Legislature."—*Chase's Preliminary Sketch*, p. 20.

The vacancies caused by the deaths of Judges Varnum (January 10, 1789) and Parsons (1790), were filled by the appointment of George Turner and Rufus Putnam, respectively. Judge Putnam served until 1796, when he resigned to accept the office of Surveyor-General. Joseph Gillman, of Point Harmar, was appointed to the vacancy. Judge Turner removed from the Territory, and resigned in 1796. In his place Return Jonathan Meigs was appointed, in February, 1798. There were no further changes until Ohio was erected as a State.—Consult *Burnet's Notes*, p. 40.

The first law created provided for the organization of the militia. The draft was prepared by Judges Varnum and Parsons, and presented to the Governor for his approval. His criticisms on their work will be found among the St. Clair papers, and are sufficiently caustic to be acceptable to a modern reviewer.

The Judges had speculative views, and, unheeding a letter from the Governor inviting their attention to important points of legislation, prepared and presented to him an extraordinary "projet" for dividing real estate held in common.[1] The Governor declined to give his assent in a dignified and able paper. He showed that great injustice might result to non-resident property holders through such a law, and that in that respect it was in violation of the spirit of the Ordinance. This veto, following so closely after the criticisms on their essay at military legislation, disturbed the equanimity of the Judges, and they took advantage of a letter from the Governor, of the 1st of August, in which he asked them to give him the precise meaning they affixed to the word "Laws," as employed in the Ordinance, to declare the right and power of a majority of the Judges to enact laws without the consent of the Governor, and quoted this sentence from the Ordinance as their authority: "The governor and judges, or a majority of them, shall adopt, and publish in the district, such laws of the original States, criminal or civil, as may be necessary," etc. They claimed that "a majority of them" applied to the Governor *and* Judges sitting as a legislative body.

The Governor replied in a letter that displayed keen analytical powers and familiarity with law and the principles of government. "I conceive, gentlemen," said he, "Congress thought there would be an impropriety in leaving the adoption of laws, by which the people of the Dis-

[1] Atwater, in his *History of the State of Ohio*, falls into an error in saying that the Judges presented their scheme on real estate to the Governor before the passage of the militia law. It was immediately after. Atwater adds, with perfect justice: "This bill was so loosely drawn up that had it became a law, the non-resident owners of land, would have been swindled out of all their lands by the resident proprietors. This projet was rejected by the Governor."—p. 129.

trict were, for a time, to be governed, solely *to the persons who were to expound them;* much greater, however, would that impropriety be if the clause of the Ordinance goes not only to adoption, but to the formation of laws. The Judges would, in that case, be complete legislators, which is the very definition of tyranny; and though that arrangement might, in your hands, produce no evils, no man can tell how long this stage of the government will last, or who may be your successors; nor could it fail to produce much uneasiness in the minds of the people over whom so (possibly) oppressive an authority was established.[1] He said that he agreed with the Judges that the "clause in question, and every other clause in the Ordinance, should receive a liberal construction wherever they are in the least doubtful; and as it, in some measure partakes of the nature of a charter, is to be expounded favorably to the grantees; but it is one thing to construe a grant liberally, and another to add to the grant by construction that was never in the contemplation of the grantor; and this is precisely what I think would follow, should your opinion upon the clause" prevail.[2]

The legislative duties kept Governor St. Clair busy until the close of the year. Beside the militia law already referred to, nine other laws were framed and published, the most important of which were; For the establishment of inferior courts, including probate; for fixing the terms of the general court; for the punishment of crimes;[3] prescribing oaths of office; regulating marriages; prescribing the duties of ministerial officers; for appointing coroners, and for the limitation of actions. In the law for the punishment of crimes, is a section for the prevention of profanity, and for a sacred observance of the Christian Sabbath. The county of Washington, having within its limits about

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[1] *St. Clair Papers.* See Vol. II. Correspondence for 1788.

[2] Ibid. St. Clair, having been President of the Congress that passed the Ordinance spoke for the grantor.

[3] As there were no jails, minor offenses were punished by fines, whipping and confinement in the stocks. These emblems of terror remained in Ohio, until 1812.

half of the present State of Ohio, was erected on the 26th of July. Officers for the militia were appointed. The Governor also appointed three distinguished gentlemen, of whom we shall hear a good deal, Justices of the Peace, viz., Rufus Putnam, Benjamin Tupper, and Winthrop Sargent; and, on the 30th of August, established a Court of Quarter Sessions, of which he appointed another distinguished citizen and soldier, Return Jonathan Meigs, Clerk. General Putnam was also made Judge of Probate, with Colonel Meigs as Clerk.[1]

Laws having been framed, civil officers appointed thereunder, a county erected, and the population having increased on the Ohio to one hundred and thirty-two souls, there remained, to complete the government, only the formal inauguration of the judiciary: with just laws, bench and forum, the liberties of the people would be made secure. Tuesday, the 2d day of September, 1788, was the day set apart for this ceremony. The account of an eyewitness enables us to enter into the spirit of the occasion, and to feel, after an interval of nearly one hundred years, something like a just appreciation of the greatness of the work of those Revolutionary heroes. It is the duty, as it should be the pleasure, of all who enjoy the blessings conferred by the most liberal government, and equal and beneficent laws, to study the sources of these, and the character of the men who framed and established them. They builded for posterity. Then ever green be their memories.

On that memorable first Tuesday of September, the citizens, Governor St. Clair and other Territorial Officers, and military from Fort Harmar being assembled at the Point, a procession was formed, and, as became the occasion, with Colonel Ebenezer Sproat, Sheriff, with drawn sword and wand of office at the head, marched up a path that had been cut through the forest, to the hall in the north-west block-house of Campus Martius, where the whole counter-

[1] Other officers appointed were as follows: Additional Justices of the Peace, with power to hold the Court of Quarter Sessions, Archibald Crary, Isaac Pierce, and Thomas Lord; Clerk of the Supreme Court, William Collis; Sheriff and Colonel of Militia, Ebenezer Sproat.

marched, and the Judges, Putnam and Tupper, took their seats on the high bench. Prayer was fittingly offerred by our friend, the Reverend Manasseh Cutler, who was on a visit to the new colony, after which the commissions of the Judges, Clerk, and Sheriff were read, and the opening proclaimed in deep tones by Colonel Sproat, in these words: "O, yes! a court is opened for the administration of even-handed justice, to the poor and the rich, to the guilty and the innocent, without respect of persons; none to be punished without trial by their peers, and then in pursuance of the laws and evidence in the case."[1] Paul Fearing, Esq. (of whom more hereafter), was admitted as an attorney, and was the first lawyer in the territory. This was the opening of the Court of Common Pleas.[2] The Indian Chiefs, who had been invited by Governor St. Clair to attend a convention, were curious witnesses of this impressive scene.

The letters of General Rufus Putnam, printed in the *Massachusetts Spy*, this year, give us a very good picture of pass-

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[1] From a manuscript that some years afterward found its way to the columns of the Marietta *Intelligencer*. See the *American Pioneer*, Vol. I., p. 165.

[2] On the Tuesday following, September 9th, the first Court of Quarter Sessions was opened in the south-east block-house, occupied by Colonel E. Battelle. Colonel Meigs, Clerk, read the general commission issued by the Governor, after which Colonel Sproat's deep bass voice commanded the solemn attention of all. General Rufus Putnam and General Benjamin Tupper were the Justices of the quorum, and Isaac Pierce, Thomas Lord, and Colonel Return Jonathan Meigs, Assistant Justices; Colonel Meigs was also Clerk. Paul Fearing was admitted an Attorney, and appointed Court-Counsellor for the United States in the county of Washington. The Grand Jury was constituted as follows: William Stacy, Foreman; Nathaniel Cushing, Nathaniel Goodale, Charles Knowles, Anselm Tupper, Jonathan Stone, Oliver Rice, Ezra Lunt, John Matthews, George Ingersol, Jonathan Devol, Samuel Stebbins, Jethro Putnam, and Jabez True. "The charge was given with much dignity and propriety by Judge Putnam. At 1 o'clock the Grand Jury retired, and the Court adjourned for thirty minutes. At half-past 1 the Court again opened, when the jurors entered and presented a written address to the Court, which, after being read, was ordered to be filed. Judge Putnam replied to the address. There being no suits before Court, it was adjourned without day."—*Hildreth*, p. 233.

ing events on the Muskingum. The affairs of the Ohio Company had not progressed far enough to admit of the sale of tracts of land to settlers, and the General and his associates saw, with deep chagrin, the emigrants floating down the Ohio to the settlements of Kentucky. "Upwards of seven thousand," he wrote, "have gone down since we began our settlement," and he was confident many of them would have staid on the Muskingum if they could have got lands. Accordingly, notice was issued in August of a meeting of the Company, and when held, in the December following, measures were taken to give to settlers lots for improvement, and for the survey of the lands which fell to the share of members. Meanwhile, a number of comfortable log houses with shingle roofs, had been erected in the town, and the stockade and block-houses of Campus Martius completed. The south-west block-house was appropriated for the use of Governor St. Clair and family[1] who had also presented to him, by the Ohio Company, fifteen acres of ground in the town.

In the midst of all this toil there was not wanting pleasant social intercourse and diversions to relieve the pioneer life of much of its roughness. From the journal of Colonel John May, and other contemporary writings, we get a pleasing view of this life in the wilderness. The great abundance and variety of game and fish, and the rapid growth of vegetables and fruits in the rich soil, was the cause of much wonderment, as well as of much satisfaction. After the completion of the north-west block-house, the Directors of the Ohio Company gave a dinner (August 20) to Governor St. Clair and the officers of Fort Harmar. The twelve-oared barge, that had done such signal duty before, brought the company, which included a number of ladies, from the Fort up the Muskingum to the landing opposite the new garrison. At this dinner were produced some peaches grown from pits planted by Major Doughty when he erected Fort Harmar in 1785, very fine and luscious. On the Sunday following (August 24) all of the inhabitants had the privilege of listening to a sermon

[1] Mrs. St. Clair and children were still in Pennsylvania.

preached by the accomplished divine, Manasseh Cutler. And three days later there is another memorable social event, which we glean from the journal of a friend whom we met in the South in the closing days of the Revolution—afterwards more intimately associated with St. Clair—Lieutenant Ebenezer Denny. Under the date of August 27, we read:

"Judge Symmes, with several boats and families, arrived, on their way to his new purchase at the Miami. Has a daughter (Polly) along. They lodge with the General and Mrs. Harmar. Stay three days and depart. If not greatly mistaken, Miss Symmes will make a fine woman. An amiable disposition and highly cultivated mind about to be buried in the wilderness."

A gleam of sunshine in the forest.

The correspondence of Governor St. Clair, during these days, is chiefly devoted to business affairs, and to these we shall now turn our attention.

The instructions of Congress to the Governor relative to the Indians, required him to hold a general treaty with the tribes inhabiting the country north-west of the river Ohio, and about the lakes, at such times and places as he should appoint, for the purpose of ascertaining the causes of uneasiness among them, hearing their complaints, regulating trade, and amicably settling all affairs concerning lands and boundaries between them and the United States. This business detained him during the winter for some time at Pittsburg, where he concerted measures with General Richard Butler, for bringing in the chiefs of the Six Nations, and of the western tribes, to the proposed Convention.[1] After a correspondence with the Indians, it was agreed, in deference to their wishes, to have the conference held in what they were pleased to call their own country, beyond the guns of any fort, to meet at the falls of the Muskingum,[2] and, accordingly, in the latter part of

[1] *St. Clair Papers.*

[2] Situated about seventy miles from the mouth, and afterwards, on account of the killing of a colored servant of Major Duncan, in July, by the Indians, known as "Duncan's Falls." The site selected

June, General Harmar was instructed to send a detachment to that place to prepare a council-house and buildings for storing the goods to be distributed among the Indians. The instructions were carried out, and such Indians as arrived were sent thither. Unfortunately, some renegade Chippewa and Tawa Indians were among them, and on the night of the 12th July attacked the sentries and attempted to steal the goods they were guarding. Two soldiers were killed and two wounded, but other soldiers coming to their assistance, the attempt was frustrated. One Indian was killed and one wounded. The friendly Delawares, who arrived soon after, declared the dead Indian to be a Tawa, and they aided in the capture of a half-dozen of the rascals, who were taken to Fort Harmar in irons.[1] It was afterward ascertained that the Chippewas and Ottawas were opposed to a treaty and in favor of a war, unless the whites would agree to the Ohio as a boundary line. We shall see whose influence it was that brought them to this determination. Immediately after learning of the untoward affair, General St. Clair ordered the provisions back to Fort Harmar and sent messengers with a request that they would forward an accompanying speech to the Nations assembled at the Tawa, or the Detroit River. He also changed the place for the conference to the Fort. This change did not, as some writers have held, have any influence on the result.[2]

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for the Council was that upon which the town of Taylorsville was afterwards built.

[1] *St. Clair Correspondence.* Through the carelessness of the guard, two of these prisoners escaped, and one of them was afterwards, at the earnest solicitation of Captain Pipe, set free, for the purpose of accompanying that Chief to the Conference of Indian Nations, on the Detroit river. Captain Pipe said he desired to have the truth set before the Indians.

[2] *St. Clair Correspondence.* Hildreth mentions that a son of Joseph Brant, with two hundred warriors, was at the Falls in November, and sent a request to Governor St. Clair that the treaty might be held at that place. Upon this being refused, "it is supposed, persuaded the Shawanese not to visit Fort Harmar." St. Clair's letters mention that Joseph Brant himself was on his way to the Muskingum, and, on

The great Mohawk chief, Captain Joseph Brant, or Thayandanegea, after the peace with Great Britain had moved with the Mohawks into Canada, but that Nation had not withdrawn from the confederacy of the Six Nations, nor had Brant resigned his headship of the whole. He was ambitious, and had grand schemes in view. He espoused the cause of the western tribes in their controversy with the United States upon the question of boundary, and, as early as 1785, attempted to form a confederacy of all the North-western nations and tribes.[1] If five of the Six Nations had sold themselves to the devil—otherwise the Yankees—as he declared, he did not intend the fierce Miamis, Shawanese and Kickapoos should do so. In this benevolent purpose he was encouraged by representatives of the British Government at the western posts. In March, 1787, Sir John Johnson wrote to Brant, congratulating him on the success of the meetings he had been holding in the Indian country near Detroit, which he hoped would have the effect he wished in preventing the Americans from encroaching on the lands west of the river Ohio. "Do not suffer an idea to hold place in your mind," wrote Sir John, "that it will be for your interests to sit still and see the Americans attempt the posts. It is for your sakes, chiefly, if not entirely, that we hold them. If you become indifferent about them, they may, perhaps, be given up; what security would you then have? You would be left at the mercy of a people whose blood calls aloud for revenge; whereas, by supporting them, you encourage us to hold them, and encourage the new settlements, already considerable, and every day increasing by numbers coming in, who find they can't live in the States."[2]

Of the same purport was a letter from Lord Dorchester,

receiving St. Clair's message, turned back, and, meeting with the Shawanese, induced them to remain away from the conference. It is not clear whether it was the father or the son en route to the Muskingum. The adverse influence was traceable to Joseph Brant, the head chief.

[1] See Stone's *The Life of Joseph Brant*, Vol. II., p. 264.

[2] *Life of Brant*, Vol. II., p. 268.

through Major Matthews, who expressed a wish to see Colonel Brant to confer with him for the mutual advantage of that cause which had always been common. He said that, while his Lordship could not begin a war with the Americans, "they must see that it was his Lordship's intention to defend the posts; and, while these were preserved, the Indians must find greater security therefrom, and the Americans greater difficulty in taking possession of their lands."[1]

Brant's activity in the direction indicated, continued throughout 1788, although his correspondence with Governor St. Clair through General Butler, and with General Knox, gave the government ground to hope that that important chief might be brought to support a peace. The tone of his letters of this period was different from that of his correspondence of former years. Mr. Stone expresses the opinion that this change was due to the anticipated success "which was to crown the Indian diplomacy of General St. Clair."[2] But it may have been due to craft, or to a wish to pave the way for a change if the United States paid high enough for his services.

I am inclined to attribute it to the former motive. His correspondence with representatives of the United States was tardy, and every means was resorted to to effect delay until he could have time to form his dreamed-of conspiracy in the North-west, at the head of which he hoped to be placed. The reply to St. Clair's invitation of the 23d December, 1787, to the Five Nations to join in a conference, was not sent to General Butler until July of the following year. The excuse that Brant offered was, that the "land jobbers," of New York and Massachusetts had been in western New York to purchase some land, and that it had been a tedious business. He added: "We are preparing to meet your council, and shall be able to write you from the Miamis river what time you may expect to see us; meantime, we hope you to exercise patience, and not think the time long, as it is a business of importance, which we mean to consider seriously, and hope to settle to mutual

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[1] *Life of Brant*, Vol. II., p. 273.

[2] *Ibid*, p. 279.

satisfaction. I am happy at the idea of meeting you personally, to bring about this long-wished-for business."[1]

Meanwhile, General Butler informed General St. Clair that Colonel Brant was preparing for a conference of the western Indians at Detroit; and that early in July eighty chiefs were already there awaiting the arrival of Brant, whose influence had turned them from the Muskingum to the former place. It is not known what was done at the council on the Detroit river, but, doubtless, there was a division of sentiment, and a failure in forming a confederacy under Brant. This chief represents himself, in his correspondence, as acting with the Hurons, Delawares, Chippewas, Ottowas, and Pottawatamies, in favor of forming a treaty with the Americans, and having a boundary-line fixed, rather than a war, even at the sacrifice of a small part of their country. "On the other hand," he said, "the Shawanese, Miamis, and Kickapoos, who are now so much addicted to horse-stealing that it will be a difficult task to break them of it, as that kind of business is their best harvest, will, of course, declare for war and not giving up any of their country, which, I am afraid, will be the means of our separating."[2]

It is apparent that if a war-confederacy could not be formed between the western tribes and the Six Nations, a general treaty with the Americans was to be prevented, if possible. The only glimpse we get of this council is furnished by the correspondence of Governor St. Clair. He received his information through friendly Indians, who were present, or who served him as messengers. In one of his letters, he mentions a circumstance that took place between the Wyandots and the warlike chiefs of the Twigtwees (Miamis), Shawanese, and Kickapoos. A chief of the former placed one end of white wampum on the shoulder of a principal Miami chief, recommending that they be at peace with the Americans, as were the Six Nations. Without making any reply, the chief turned aside and let the emblem of peace fall to the ground. Thereupon, the Wy-

[1] *St. Clair Papers.*

[2] Letter to P. Langan, October 7, 1788.

andots immediately left the council. Were the representatives of the British nation interested in this? They thought the States could not be consolidated into a Republic, and were encouraged by Shay's Rebellion in Massachusetts, and the Spanish intrigue in Kentucky. John Connolly, erstwhile of Fort Pitt and His Majesty's service, had been sent to Kentucky, by somebody, and was in this very year holding out inducements to the inhabitants of that country to receive the protection of good King George. As late as December he sent a messenger to the Indians, armed with a passport, addressed to Captain McKee, in which he asked him to recommend the messenger to the "natives in general, that no evil consequences may ensue from the interruption of a good design."

This was the situation in 1788, for which Thayendanegea and the British officers were chiefly responsible.

On the 9th of September, the important chiefs began to arrive, but it was not until the middle of December that a sufficient number had appeared to justify General St. Clair in attempting a treaty. The council was opened on on the 15th of December, and on the 29th the cause for the Indians was stated with great force by the old Wyandot chief, Shandotto, to which Governor St. Clair formally replied on the 6th of January. To the demand for the Ohio river as the boundary-line he refused to listen, and explained to the assembled Indians, by a simile, how they had forfeited their country, in becoming allies of the British in the Revolutionary War.[2] The business was concluded, and two separate treaties formed on the 9th January; the first with the Six Nations (excepting the Mohawks), confirming the treaty at Fort Stanwix, and the other with the representatives of the Wyandot, Delaware, Chippewa, Ottawa, Pottawatomie, and Sac Nations, confirming and bettering the treaties of Forts McIntosh and Finney.

For particulars, I refer the reader to St. Clair's letters. He had accomplished an important work and shown great address. He secured valuable concessions from the Indians

[1] *St. Clair Papers.* See letter of Major Dunn to St. Clair.

[2] *Military Journal of Major Ebenezer Denny*, pp. 332 and 333.

and rewarded them liberally, in which, says the author of the *Life of Brant*, "there was an approximation to justice toward the Indians which had not been previously counttenanced by Congress."[1] He did not recognize the Indians as one nation, but as different nations having distinct interests, in which he followed their own practice. "A jealousy subsisted between them," says he, "which I was not willing to lessen by appearing to consider them as one people,"[2] and he was of the opinion that their confederacy was broken. This the author of the *Life of Brant* calls the Machiavelian policy of dividing to conquer, and then proceeds to denounce it as immoral. If St. Clair had created the divisions which the Indians themselves recognized, there would have been some ground for censure; but his action bore a just relation to existing circumstances. Mr. Stone's premises are not sound.

Neither the fiercest of the western tribes nor the Mohawks[3] were represented at the conference. The absence of the latter did not matter much, while the friendship of

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[1] *Life of Brant*, Vol. II., p. 280.

[2] *St. Clair Papers.* Letter to the President.

[3] Mr. Stone expresses the opinion that Captain Brant was present, although not a party to the treaty. He bases this opinion on an ambiguous passage in a letter from Captain Brant to Major Matthews, in March, 1789: "You'll hear by this opportunity the result of our jaunt to the southward, as Captain McKee has sent down all the proceedings of our councils with the American Commissioners, speeches and answers. Our proceedings have been such as I hope will be approved of." But Brant does not refer in this to the Mohawks, but to the Five Nations, who signed the first treaty. As he had not yet resigned his headship, he could with propriety speak of the business in the manner here quoted. Major Denny, in his journal, under the date of November 7th, says: "Brant is expected here in a few days," but in his account of the councils no mention is made of the Mohawk chief, which he would have been apt to do if he had been present. Moreover, St. Clair says in his correspondence with the War Department, that Brant was on his way to the Muskingum with a large party, but upon receiving a message from him turned back, and pursuaded the Shawnese also to do the same. There is a legend, however, in the St. Clair family, that it was a son of Brant who was present, attracted by the charms of Louisa St. Clair, and not by any particular interest in the treaty.

the Five Nations was permanently secured. But there could be no peace while the Shawnese and Miamis stood out. The murderous attacks on the pioneers in Kentucky and on the Virginia and Pennsylvania borders were renewed, and it soon became apparent to General St. Clair that severe measures would have to be adopted towards the obstreperous Indians. Captain Brant does not appear actively on the scene again for two years, but he did not omit any opportunity to denounce the treaties of Fort Harmar, even while he was receiving tokens of the high regard of the United States government.[1]

St. Clair visited his family, and afterwards proceeded to New York to concert measures with General Knox for the settlement of the Indian difficulties. While there, he had the pleasure of assisting at the inauguration[2] of his old Commander-in-Chief, and devoted friend, as first President of the United States. We are indebted to Colonel May, who had also left the banks of the Muskingum, for a graphic description of the ceremonies of that ever-memorable day. There were ringing of church bells, prayers for blessings upon the head of him who had come to be the head of the nation, parading of the military, an imposing administering of the oath in the Senate Chamber, followed

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[1] General Washington, in a letter to Governor Clinton: "It gives me pleasure to learn from you the friendly sentiments of Captain Brant; and with you I think they merit cultivation; but he has not been candid in his account of the conduct of General St. Clair, nor done justice in his representation of matters at Muskingum. It is notorious that he used all the art and influence of which he was possessed to prevent any treaty being held; and that, except in a small degree, General St. Clair aimed at no more land by the treaty of Muskingum than had been ceded by the previous treaties."—*Washington's Writings*, Vol. X., p. 122.

[2] General Washington "was clad in a full suit of dark-brown cloth, manufactured at Hartford, Connecticut, with a steel-hilted dress-sword, white silk stockings, and plain silver shoe-buckles. His hair was dressed and powdered in the fashion of the day, and worn in a bag and solitaire. The oath was administered by Chancellor Livingston; near him stood Roger Sherman, Alexander Hamilton, Richard Henry Lee, Generals Knox and St. Clair, Baron Steuben and other distinguished men."—*Journal of Colonel John May*, p. 133. *Note* by William M. Darlington.

in the evening, by illuminations and fire-works, very brilliant, which the people applauded, as they did every thing on that joyous occasion. The President was very dignified, but Colonel May thought him much altered in countenance since he last saw him.

After this, St. Clair remained in New York, waiting patiently for legislative action to enable him to proceed with the new government, and for the formulation of an Indian policy. There was a personal matter, too, in which he was deeply interested, concerning which it was his duty to take counsel of his friends. It was no less than that of resigning the Territorial Governorship, and returning to Pennsylvania to enter actively into political life. After the requisite number of States had adopted the Constitution, the name of St. Clair was freely canvassed in connection with the position of Vice-President. In July, 1789, while he was waiting on the new government, he received an urgent letter from his old friend James Wilson, asking an immediate interview for the purpose of deciding whether he would stand for the governorship of Pennsylvania. It was not St. Clair's manner to look back when once his hands were upon the plow, but he found himself in a false position in the West. He had no genius for speculation; his salary as Governor would barely cover his traveling expenses; his family was large, and his wife, who had been accustomed to every comfort, was not well fitted for a pioneer life. The mistake he made in leaving Pennsylvania might be rectified by an early return. But a canvass showed that the party led by General Mifflin, who knew how to catch the popular breeze, was in the majority. The demoralization and discontent following the Revolution favored the plans of those who had not been closely identified with the party of Washington during the war.

It was late in the year before General St. Clair received his final instructions and turned his face toward the West again, to resume the work of constructing a government in a wilderness filled with hostile savages, distant from the supporting power, with an imperfect and unreliable system of communication, and without adequate means. Immedi-

ately after the treaty of Fort Harmar, the Indians were more quiet than usual, only a few depredations having been committed and those by the Miamis.[1] But later this quiet gave place to a predatory warfare on the borders of Pennsylvania, Virginia, and Kentucky, in which all of the dissatisfied tribes engaged. The Indians took possession of a high point of land on the Ohio near the mouth of the Scioto, whence they sent out parties to waylay the boats passing up and down the river. Thrilling events occurred, which will be found duly recorded in Indian history, to which the curious reader, who would sup on horrors is referred.[2] Something of these will be found related in the St. Clair papers printed in this work. It is the purpose of this memoir to touch on only the most salient points, and the above reference to the general situation, will suffice for our purpose.

The citizens of Marietta gave special attention to the preparation of a residence for Governor St. Clair, and in the winter of 1790, his son Arthur, twenty-one years of age, and three daughters, Louisa, Jane, and Margaret, with a middle-aged, sensible, colored woman who acted as cook and housekeeper, took possession. Mrs. St. Clair still remained in the East.[3] Louisa, the eldest of the three daughters, was about nineteen years of age, and is described by Professor Hildreth as "a healthy, vigorous girl, full of life and activity, every way calculated for a soldier's daughter; fond of a frolic, and ready to draw amusement from all and

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[1] Letter of Captain McKee, British Indian Agent, at Detroit, to Captain Brant. See *Life of Brant.* Vol. II. p. 290. President Washington attributed the mischief to the Shawanese.

A quarrel arose this year between the Miamis and Delawares, which caused the latter to withdraw beyond the Mississippi river—an event greatly deplored by the British agents as it threatened the destruction of the Confederacy.

[2] Judge Innes, of Kentucky, estimated, in 1790, that within seven years over fifteen hundred whites had been killed, and twenty thousand horses and other property stolen by the Indians. The statement frequently made at this time that the savages were always the aggressors, was not correct. There were bad whites as well as bad red men.

[3] *Hildreth's Pioneer History*, p. 262.

every thing around her. She was a fine equestrienne, and would mount the most wild and spirited horse without fear, managing him with ease and gracefulness; dashing through the open woodlands around Campus Martius at full gallop, leaping over logs or any obstruction that fell in her way. She was one of the most rapid skaters in the garrison; few, if any, of the young men equaling her in speed and activity, or in graceful movements in this enchanting exercise. Her elegant person and neat dress showing to much advantage, called forth loud plaudits from both young and old. The broad sheet of ice on the Muskingum, near the garrison, for a few days in the winter, afforded a fine field for this healthy sport. She was also an expert huntress; and would have afforded a good figure of Diana in her rambles through the woods, had she been armed with the bow instead of the rifle. Of this instrument she was a perfect mistress; loading and firing with the accuracy of a backwoodsman, killing a squirrel from the highest tree, or cutting off the head of a partridge with wonderful precision. She was fond of roaming in the woods, and often went out alone into the forest near Marietta, fearless of the savages that occasionally lurked in the vicinity. She was as active on foot as on horseback, and could walk for several miles with the rapidity of a ranger. Her manners were refined; her person beautiful with highly cultivated intellectual powers, having been educated with much care in Philadelphia. Born with a healthy, vigorous frame, she had strengthened both her body and mind by these athletic exercises when a child; probably first encouraged by her father, who had spent the larger portion of his life in camps. She was one of those rare spirits, so admirably fitted to the times and the manners of the day in which she lived." There is a legend in which she appears as a heroine, figuring at the treaty of Fort Harmar and again in the disastrous Indian campaign later, which will be found duly chronicled further on.

On the 2d of January, 1790, Governor St. Clair arrived

at Fort Washington, "in the purchase of Judge Symmes,"[1] and on the 4th, he issued a proclamation establishing the county of Hamilton, which comprised all of the district lying between the Little Miami on the east, and the Big Miami on the west, and the Ohio on the south, to a line on the north drawn from the standing Stone Forks, on the Big Miami, due east to the Little Miami. Courts were established, and officers appointed in the same manner as in the case of Washington county. William Goforth, William Wells and William McMillan were appointed Judges of the Court of Common Pleas and Justices of the Court of General Quarter Sessions of the Peace. Israel Ludlow was made Clerk of the several Courts.[2] Cincinnati was declared to be the county seat.

It is related that Governor St. Clair gave to the "city," which had been laid out, the name "Cincinnati" in lieu of a barbarous compound—Losantiville—invented by Matthias Denman, of Springfield, New Jersey, Colonel Patterson, of Lexington, and John Filson, a surveyor who had formed a partnership and planned a settlement opposite the mouth of the Licking river, on land which Denman had purchased of Judge Symmes. Mr. Filson having been killed by the Indians,[3] his place was supplied by Israel Ludlow, another surveyor, who platted and laid out the city of Cin-

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[1] The purchase made by John Cleves Symmes was in accordance with the terms of a petition laid before the Continental Congress after the success of the Ohio Company, and was for one million acres. (See *Journals of Congress* for 1787 and U. S. Land Laws). Judge Symmes sold ten thousand acres to Major Benjamin Stites and others on the Ohio, south of the mouth of the Little Miami. Major Stites arrived on the purchase in November, 1788, and laid out Columbia, which for some time had more inhabitants than any other point below Marietta. In December of the same year, the party organized by Matthias Denman located on the Ohio, opposite the mouth of the Licking, the site of Cincinnati. Judge Symmes himself (whose arrival at Marietta was noted by Major Denny), located at North Bend in February, 1789. At his request, General Harmar sent detachments of troops to protect the settlements at Columbia and North Bend, and subsequently Fort Washington was erected, opposite the mouth of the Licking, by that officer.

[2] *St. Clair Papers.* See Vol. II.

[3] For an account of the killing of Filson, see *St. Clair Correspondence.*

cinnati. Judge Burnet, who became a citizen of the Ohio country somewhat later, says in his Notes on the Northwest, that the whimsical name of Losantiville was repudiated after the accession of Ludlow to the partnership, and it is inferred that the name of Cincinnati was then adopted. There are, however, important witnesses to the fact that the name was given to the place by Governor St. Clair. Benjamin Van Cleve, a name well-known in pioneer history, arrived at Fort Washington on the 3d of January, the day after St. Clair, and in memoranda kept by him he says "the Governor altered the name from Losantiville to Cincinnati."[1] And this statement is undoubtedly authentic. John Cleves Symmes, writing from North Bend, under date of 9th January, 1790, says: "The Governor has made Losantiville the county town, by the name of Cincinnati, so that Losantiville will become extinct."

The Governor, the Secretary, and the Judges were old revolutionary soldiers, and most of them were members of the Society of the Cincinnati. Washington, Hamilton and St. Clair were original and conspicuous members, and personal friends. We have seen that the name of the old Commander-in-Chief was given to the first, and that of his distinguished Aid to the second county established by the other of the trio. What more natural than that the military, social, and benevolent Society which was formed after the war in which they were conspicuous figures, for the purpose of perpetuating the memory of

[1] Memoranda of Benjamin Van Cleve: "We landed at Losantiville, opposite the mouth of Licking river, on the 3d day of January, 1790. Two small hewed log-houses had been erected and several cabins. General Harmar was employed in building Fort Washington, and commanded Strong's, Pratt's, Kersey's, and Kingsbury's companies of infantry and Ford's artillery. A few days after this Governor St. Clair appointed officers, civil and military, for the Miami country. His proclamation erecting the county of Hamilton bears date January 2d, 1790, on the day of his arrival. Mr. Tappan, who came down with us and who remained only a short time, and Willliam McMillan, Esq., were appointed Justices of the Peace for this town, of which the Governor altered the name from Losantiville to Cincinnati." *American Pioneer*, Vol. II., p. 148.

that struggle for freedom, and affording aid to the survivors, should also be remembered by St. Clair at this time? In a short time the name of St. Clair was given to the third county and that of General Knox, who was concerned in the drafting of the charter of the Society, to the fourth, by Secretary Sargent, who, despite the modest protests of the Governor, took good care to see that his own chief was not neglected in the records.

The Governor remained at Fort Washington only a week,[1] and then hastened on toward the Mississippi, where his coming was looked for with great impatience. The inhabitants of the French towns on that river had been persistent in their appeals to the old Continental Congress to give them a government, and the President was very anxious that General St. Clair should establish the forms of civil government there as soon as practicable.[2] The Governor reached the Rapids of the Ohio on the 8th, where he remained long enough to prepare dispatches containing speeches addressed to the Indian tribes on the Wabash, which he transmitted to Major Hamtramck, commandant at Post Vincennes, with instructions to send them to their destination by Antoine Gamelin, a trader, who was very popular among the Indians. It was St. Clair's plan to first organize the Illinois country and then return to Post Vincennes, by which time he hoped favorable replies would be received from the Wabash Indians.[3] But as it turned out otherwise he was, upon his return, compelled to leave the work of organization at Vincennes to Secretary Sargent, and hasten to the east to provide means for the chastisement of the savages and the relief of the suffering inhabitants of the various posts.

Governor St. Clair arrived at Kaskaskia in February. He found the inhabitants in an impoverished condition, and rendered incapable of taking any action looking to permanent improvements, on account of the uncertainty of

[1] *Records of Governor North-western Territory*—State Department.

[2] *St. Clair Correspondence.*

[3] *St. Clair Papers.* Letter to Major Hamtramck.

the tenure of the lands they occupied. He described the condition of the people in a report to the Secretary of State: "The Illinois country, as well as that upon the Wabash, has been involved in great distress ever since it fell under the American dominion." He said the inhabitants had contributed supplies liberally to the support of the troops under General Clark, for which they received certificates which had been repudiated by the State of Virginia, by whose authority the expedition led by Clark had been undertaken; that, after the Illinois regiment had been disbanded, "a set of men, pretending the authority of Virginia, embodied themselves, and a scene of general depredation and plunder ensued. To this succeeded three successive and extraordinary inundations from the Mississippi, which either swept away their crops, or prevented their being planted. The loss of the greatest part of their trade with the Indians, which was a great resource, came upon them at this juncture, as well as the hostile incursions of some of the tribes, which had ever before been in friendship with them; and to these was added the loss of their whole last crop of corn by an untimely frost. Extreme misery could not fail to be the consequence of such accumulated misfortunes."

The order of Congress,[1] relative to the survey of the lands, could not be carried out, because the people could not pay the Surveyor. St. Clair's aid was invoked, in pathetic terms, by Father Gibault, the venerable priest of Kaskaskia and Cahokia: "Your Excellency is an eyewitness," said he, "of the poverty to which the inhabitants are reduced, and of the total want of provisions to subsist on. Not knowing where to find a morsel of bread to nourish their families, by what means can they support the expense of a survey which has not been sought for on their parts, and for which, it is conceived by them, there is no necessity? Loaded with misery, and groaning under the weight of misfortunes accumulated since the Virginia troops entered their country, the unhappy inhabitants

[1] *St. Clair Papers.* See Report to Secretary of State, Vol. II., p. 136.

throw themselves under the protection of your Excellency, and take the liberty to solicit you to lay their deplorable situation before Congress."[1]

St. Clair did every thing in his power, and went beyond the technical restrictions formed by an authority a thousand miles away to relieve the distress surrounding him. His familiarity with the French language proved a great help to him in his work.

The county of St. Clair was erected, courts established, and officers appointed, the same as in other cases. The county embraced the section of country extending from the River Ohio northward to the mouth of Little Mackinaw Creek, where it empties into the Illinois River.

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[1] *St. Clair Papers.* Letter of Father Gibault, Vol. II., p. 148.





CHAPTER VII.

OMINOUS SIGNS OBSERVED IN THE INDIAN COUNTRY—THE CHIEFTAIN BRANT AND THE BRITISH AGAIN AT WORK—DEPREDATIONS ON THE FRONTIERS—FAILURE OF ATTEMPTS TO NEGOTIATE A PEACE—THE INDIANS DEMAND THAT THE WHITES SHALL REMOVE EAST OF THE OHIO—VIGOROUS MEASURES RESOLVED ON—ST. CLAIR'S CONFERENCES WITH SECRETARY OF WAR—SUCCESSFUL EXPEDITIONS OF SCOTT AND WILKINSON—EXPEDITION OF GENERAL HARMAR AND SEVERE ENCOUNTERS WITH THE INDIANS—ST. CLAIR APPOINTED MAJOR-GENERAL AND COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF—HIS DISASTROUS CAMPAIGN—RESPONSIBILITY OF THE WAR DEPARTMENT—SCANDALOUS CONDUCT OF THE QUARTERMASTER-GENERAL—REPORT OF CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE VINDICATING ST. CLAIR FROM BLAME—MASSACRES OF THE WHITE SETTLERS—REORGANIZATION OF ARMY UNDER GENERAL WAYNE—FAILURE OF NEGOTIATIONS RESULT IN CONQUERING A PEACE—MURDER OF MESSENGERS—LEGEND OF LOUISA ST. CLAIR.

Receiving from Major Hamtramck the information that Antoine Gamelin had failed to persuade the Wabash Indians to enter into a treaty with the Americans, Governor St. Clair hastened to complete the work of organization, and on the 11th of June began his return journey. Before his departure, he wrote to Major Hamtramck, advising him of his purpose to prepare for a military movement against the Indians on the Wabash, and that Colonel Sargent would proceed to Post Vincennes, to make the civil apappointments, organize the militia, and carry out the plan for the adjustment of land claims agreeably to the proclamation he had issued to the inhabitants of that section from Kaskaskia.[1]

The report of Mr. Gamelin[2] is of extraordinary interest. It shows that the machinations of Brant and his British friends had been successful, and that the Indians proposed to fight to retain their country and force the Americans

[1] *Records of Government North-west Territory—St. Clair Papers.* Full account is also given in this work of Secretary Sargent's proceedings at Post Vincennes.

[2] *Sse St. Clair Papers*, Vol. II., p. 132.

back across the Ohio. A Kickapoo chief said: "You invite us to stop our young men. It is impossible to do it, being constantly encouraged by the British."

General St. Clair, after conferring with General Harmar, determined to send an expedition against the Maumee towns, under the command of that officer. A circular letter was issued to the County Lieutenants of Kentucky and Western Pennsylvania, informing them that there was no prospect of a peace with the tribes on the Wabash, and instructing them to call out the militia allotted to their respective counties, to rendezvous at Fort Washington by the 15th of September. When the militia did arrive, General Harmar was much disheartened, as they "were raw and unused to the gun or woods." "One half," says Major Denny, in his excellent journal, "serve no other purpose than to swell their number. If the leading *patriots* of Kentucky don't turn out rascals, then some men that I know are greatly mistaken."[1] Those from Pennsylvania were but little better. In addition, a large portion of the arms were unfit for use—many of the muskets and rifles being *without locks!* The militia officers quarreled, and the men were insubordinate. Colonel Trotter aspired to the command, although Colonel Hardin was the senior officer. Some of the men declared they would return home unless Colonel Trotter could lead them, and a compromise became necessary.

When on the march, October 2d, the force was found to consist of three hundred and twenty regulars under the immediate command of Majors Wyllys and Doughty, and one thousand one hundred and thirty-three militia under the command of Colonel Hardin, an old Continental officer. The route was by old Chillicothe, at the headwaters of the Little Miami, thence to Mad River, and thence to the Miami or Omee River, which they struck near the ruins of La Source's trading post. Here they captured a Shawanese Indian, who informed them that the Indians were leaving their village (distant about thirty miles) as fast as possible.

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[1] *Military Journal* of Major Denny, p. 344.

Colonel Hardin was detached with six hundred light troops and one company of regulars. He was instructed to push for the Miami village, which was at the junction of the St. Joseph and St. Mary rivers, and take every precaution to keep his men under strict discipline. When he reached the village on the 15th, he found it deserted. On the 17th, he was joined by the main body, and the order was given for the destruction of the buildings and the vast fields of corn stretching along the bottoms of the streams. The militia, regardless of discipline, broke into squads and strolled about in search of plunder, but fortunately were not disturbed.

The following day, Colonel Trotter was ordered out with three hundred militia and thirty regulars, under Captain Armstrong, with instructions to see if he could find traces of the Indians. He returned at night without having accomplished any thing. The next day Colonel Hardin went out with the same command. Before he had proceeded very far the militia began to desert, but this did not make him more cautious. When distant from camp ten miles, he suddenly came upon about one hundred Indians, "and, owing to the bad order of his men, and their dastardly conduct, was entirely defeated." At the first fire of the Indians nearly all of the militia fled without firing a shot. As usual, the regulars stood firm, and were cut to pieces. "I lost one sergeant and twenty-one out of thirty men of my command," says the brave Captain Armstrong in his report, and was obliged to retreat. We should think it was about time. All effort of Colonel Hardin to rally the militia was unavailing. About seventy men were killed.

On the 21st, the army, having burned the Indian capital and five villages and destroyed twenty thousand bushels of corn in ears—the object of the expedition—took up their line of march back to Fort Washington, and encamped eight miles from the ruins. At nine o'clock, at the solicitation of Colonel Hardin, General Harmar ordered out four hundred men, including sixty regulars, under Major Wyllys, with instructions to return to the Indian town, on the headwaters of the Miami, to surprise any parties that might

have returned there. The troops crossed the Miami early in the morning, and it was the intention to surround the village before making an attack. But the militia, led by Majors Hall and McMillan, came upon a few Indians immediately after crossing the river, put them to flight, and, contrary to orders, pursued up the St. Joseph for several miles. The center, composed of the regular troops, was soon afterwards attacked by the main body of the Indians, under Little Turtle, and, although they fought with desperation, were obliged at length to give way. The few survivors fled in the direction taken by the militia, and met them returning from the pursuit of the scattering Indians. They were followed by the Indians, who attempted to pass the stream, but were repulsed. The savages did not persist in their attack, and the troops, after collecting the wounded, returned to camp. The loss of the regular soldiers was forty-eight men and two officers—Major Wyllys and Lieutenant Frothingham—of the militia, not so many. But the death of the brave Wyllys was a loss long felt and mourned over.

Although this expedition was in most respects a complete success, it was, owing to the bad conduct of the militia, attended with a severe loss of regular troops, which called forth censorious comments on General Harmar. That meritorious officer, after he had been vindicated by a court-martial, could not be prevailed on to continue in the service, and in the following year resigned his commission.

"Your friend, General St. Clair," said Washington, in a letter to La Fayette, "resumes his functions as Major-General."[1] It was even so. The result of St. Clair's visit to Philadelphia and his report on affairs in the territory, was: First, to send a formidable military force into the Miami country, and erect a series of forts, as recommended by him the preceding year; and, secondly, to send minor expeditions against the Wabash tribes to punish them for their reckless marauding and refusal of the offer of peace in the spring of 1790. A new regiment was

[1] Letter of the 19th March, 1791. *Washington's Writings*, Vol. X., p. 142.

to be added to the military establishment, and General St. Clair was to conduct the expedition against the Miami towns in person, with General Richard Butler second in command. The equipment was to be complete in all respects, and the most cordial co-operation was promised on the part of the War Department.

While this promise was being indifferently regarded, two expeditions were sent against the Wabash towns. The first, under command of Brigadier-General Scott and Colonel James Wilkinson, left the Ohio at the mouth of the Kentucky river on the 23d of May, and marched directly for the Wea village Ouiatenon, on the Wabash.[1] This and other important towns were destroyed, and a few Indians killed and captured. The second expedition was authorized by Governor St. Clair, on the 25th of June. It consisted of five hundred mounted men, under the command of Brigadier-General Wilkinson, and marched from near Fort Washington, on the 20th of July, for the Indian village Ke-na-pa-com-a-qua (l'Anguille), situated on the Eel river, about six miles above its confluence with the Wabash. This and various other villages, and several hundred acres of corn were destroyed, and a considerable number of prisoners captured. This expedition was conducted with such celerity and signal success, as to receive a special letter of thanks from the Secretary of War, which was communicated to Wilkinson through Governor St. Clair.

But how was it with the main expedition? This entry is found in Major Denny's Journal, under the date of September 1st: "General St. Clair appears exceeding impatient at the delay or detention of some of the corps. The Quartermaster-General, Hodgdon, not yet come on, and General Butler, the second in command, is also back. Preparations for the campaign very backward." This, when the army was to have moved in the summer. Whose was the fault?

The story may be told in a few words. The War Department had undertaken to provide an army, equip and

[1] About eight miles below the present city of La Fayette.

provision it, and have the same at Fort Washington by the 10th of July. "In this case," wrote General Knox, "you will have assembled a force of three thousand effectives, at least, besides leaving small garrisons on the Ohio, in order to perform your main expedition.[1]" In April, the Federal part of the force was still to be recruited. There was a demand for labor every-where, and such men as were finally induced to enlist were not the kind of material out of which the best soldiers are made. Nor was this the only difficulty; no money had yet been furnished General Butler to pay the men and provide stores for them. The militia were no better; some of them even worse. All were unaccountably delayed on the upper Ohio until the summer had been far spent.[2] The levies that now straggled into Fort Washington gave such evidence of a love of strong drink as to necessitate their removal to Camp Ludlow, beyond the reach of temptation. There was neither quartermaster nor commissary; the commanding general was both.[3] He was also chief artisan, and superintended the construction and repair of every thing, from gun-carriages to cartridge-boxes—the thousand details incident to the creation and preparation of an armed force, without the means which may be commanded in an old country. Here the ingenuity and restless energy of the commanding general supplied what it had been the duty of quartermaster and other subordinates to furnish. But though genius were never more fruitful and energy more tireless, yet even St. Clair found it impossible to improve the quality of the powder;[4] to make an elephantine pack-saddle fit the back of an Indian pony; to transform raw lines into veteran soldiers in a week; make honest men out of rogues; nor by command, similar to that of Joshua of old, stop the sun in its course and delay the revolutions of the seasons.

It was the 7th of September before General Butler and

[1] *St. Clair Papers*, Vol. II., 1791.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] See testimony taken by Congressional Committee. *Denny's Journal.*

[4] *Ibid.* A number of officers testified that they experimented with the powder, and found it had very little force.

Quartermaster-General Hodgden[1] arrived at Fort Washington and St. Clair had already moved forward his two thousand men—not three thousand effectives, as promised by the Secretary of War—about twenty-four miles.[2] If he had gone forward and constructed Forts Hamilton and Jefferson and then disbanded the militia and gone into winter quarters, all might have been well. But St. Clair was a strict soldier, and kept rigidly to orders. He saw ever before him these passages in correspondence from the War Department: "The President still continues anxious that you should, at the earliest moment, commence your operations." "He therefore enjoins you, by every principle that is sacred, to stimulate your operations in the highest degree, and to move as rapidly as the lateness of the season and the nature of the case will possibly admit." Accordingly, he pushed on. Forts Hamilton and Jefferson were constructed under the greatest difficulties, as there were few tools,[3] and the rainy season had set in.

It was on the 24th of October that the little army left Fort Jefferson and moved through the wilderness toward the Maumee, where another fort was to be erected. The frost had cut off the forage, the men were on half rations, and the militia deserted in such numbers that the general found it necessary to dispatch Major Hamtramck with the First regiment, three hundred strong, to arrest them and bring up the provisions that were supposed to be *en route*. The commanding general, who was now prostrated with severe sickness, had left only about fourteen hundred men. Every precaution was taken on the march and in camp to guard against a surprise.

On the 3d of November, the troops encamped on high

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[1] St. Clair was sorely tempted to arrest and try the quartermaster-general for disobedience of orders and neglect of duty, but upon reflection decided that in case of disaster it would be attributed to his act.

[2] *St. Clair Papers.*

[3] Testimony of officers. There were few axes, and but one cross-cut saw. The axes were of such poor quality their edges would turn like lead when used.

ground on a small creek supposed to be a branch of the Maumee, but which was, in fact, a branch of the Wabash. The high ground was barely sufficient for the regulars in rather contracted lines, but it was the best that could be found.[1] The militia, under Colonel Oldham, passed beyond the creek a quarter of a mile, and encamped in parallel lines the same as the regulars. Before mid-night, General Butler dispatched Captain Slough, with thirty-two men, to reconnoiter in front of the lines. That officer was told by Colonel Oldham that, in his opinion, the troops would be attacked in the morning. He saw enough Indians in the woods to confirm that opinion. He immediately returned to camp and communicated to General Butler what he had learned, and added that if thought proper he would go and make the report to General St. Clair. General Butler remained silent for some time, and then, thanking Captain Slough for his attention and vigilance, remarked that, as he must be fatigued, he had better go and lie down.[2] Captain Slough obeyed. General Butler neither communicated to General St. Clair the information he had received, nor took any further precautions against the enemy.

On the morning of the 4th, a half hour before sunrise, and when the men had just been dismissed from parade, an attack was made on the militia. Simultaneously with the crack of the rifle, was heard the yells of the savages. The militia fled pell-mell through the first line of regulars, who were attempting to form, and caused some confusion. However, the enemy was well received by the front line, but almost instantly the entire camp seemed to be surrounded by an unseen foe. The men were pressed toward the center, where were huddled the craven militia, and fell by scores under the unerring aim of the savages, who fired from the woody covert surrounding them. Every-where could be seen St. Clair, who had left his sick quarters upon the first fire, endeavoring to reform the lines. He repeatedly directed the men to charge against the skulking foe,

[1] *Major Denny's Journal.* Major Denny selected the ground for the camp. The surrounding country was low and wet.

[2] Statement of Captain Slough before the committee.

who fled before the bayonet, and then returned to the attack. The officers attracted the aim of the savages, and they fell on every hand. Among those wounded early was General Butler, but he continued to urge resistance. When, at last, all of the artillery officers had been either killed or wounded, and the fire of the Indians became so near and deadly from all points as to threaten the annihilation of the force, preparation was made for a retreat. Such of the wounded as could be moved were gathered together and a charge was made against the enemy, under cover of which the retreat was accomplished. "A few officers," says Major Denny, "put themselves in front. The men followed. The enemy gave way, and, perhaps, not being aware of the design, we were, for a few minutes, left undisturbed. The stoutest and most active now took the lead, and those who were foremost in breaking the enemy's lines were soon left behind. At the moment of the retreat, one of the few horses saved had been procured for the General; he was on foot until then; I kept by him, and he delayed to see the rear." The General commanded his Aid, Major Denny, to push to the front and rally a force sufficient to check the panic, and then turned his attention to the care of those who were partially disabled by wounds. As he and the officer in command of the rear-guard moved over the route, evidence was seen on every hand that the retreat had been a disgraceful flight, even to the very gates of Fort Jefferson,[1] where, at last, under the assuring presence of Major Hamtramck's regulars, terror gave place to confidence.

What pen can fittingly describe the scenes of that day?—the unexpected attack, the panic, the brave resistance of a devoted few, under the inspiring example of noble officers, the charge after charge through the forest, the destruction of the lines, the gradual encircling of the camp by the unseen foe, the terror of the poor wretches huddled in the center, who had fled without a shot, the groans and shrieks

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[1] *St. Clair's Official Report*, Nov. 10. Vol. II.

of the wounded under the scalping knife after the retreat, and the flight through the wilderness?

A word more and we shall ring down the curtain on this scene. The killed and missing numbered thirty-seven officers and five hundred and ninety-three privates; the wounded, thirty-one officers and two hundred and fifty-two privates. Among the former were Major-General Butler, Major Ferguson, of the artillery, Major Hart and Major Clark, of the first regiment, and Lieutenant-Colonel Oldham, of the militia. Among the latter were Colonel Sargent, who acted as Adjutant-General, Lieutenant-Colonel Gibson, Major Butler, and Viscount Malartie, a volunteer aid. The escape of St. Clair was miraculous.[1] Not an offi-

[1] The following description of St. Clair's conduct during the action, taken from the Narrative of the Campaign, will best show the coolness and courage of the man:

"During the engagement, General St. Clair and General Butler were continually going up and down the line; as one went up one, the other went down the opposite. St. Clair was so severely afflicted with gout as to be unable to mount or dismount a horse without assistance. He had four horses for his use; they had been turned out to feed over night, and were brought in before the action.

"The first he attempted to mount was a young horse, and the firing alarmed him so much that he was unable to accomplish it, although there were three or four people assisting him. He had just moved him to a place where he could have some advantage of the ground, when the horse was shot through the head, and the boy that was holding him through the arm. A second horse was brought, and the furniture of the first disengaged and put on him; but at the moment it was done, the horse and servant who held him were killed. The General then ordered the third horse to be got ready, and follow him to the left of the front line, which by that time was warmly engaged, and set off on foot to the point designated. However, the horse and man were never heard of afterward, and were supposed to have both been killed. General St. Clair's fourth horse was killed under the Count de Malartie, one of his aids, whose horse had died while on the march.

"On the day of the battle, General St. Clair was not in his uniform; he wore a coarse cappo coat, and a three-cornered hat. He had a long cue, and large locks, very gray, flowing beneath his beaver. Early in the action, when near the artillery, a ball grazed the side of his face, and cut off a portion of one of his locks. During the action, eight balls passed through his clothes and hat. After his horses were killed,

cer exposed himself as much as he, and yet it was always with a calm courage seeking to reach the enemy effectively. "I have nothing to lay to the charge of the troops," said he, in his official report, "but their want of discipline, which, from the short time they had been in service, it was impossible they should have acquired, and which rendered it very difficult when they were thrown into confusion to reduce them again to order, and is one reason why the loss has fallen so heavy on the officers, who did every thing in their power to effect it." It was a wonder to General Harmar, at the time, and is no less a wonder to us to day, that the commanding general, who was known to be competent, whose courage had been often proved, who knew the superiority of the Indians, trained from infancy to war on such a field, should think of hazarding with such people and under such circumstances, his reputation and life, and the lives of others.

St. Clair hoped to have an inquiry made by military officers, but that being impracticable the matter came before Congress, and was there very thoroughly examined.

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he exerted himself on foot for a considerable time during the action, with a degree of alertness that surprised every body who saw him.

"After being on foot for some time, and when nearly exhausted, a pack-horse was brought to him. This he rode during the remainder of the day, although he could scarcely prick him out of a walk. Had he not been furnished with a horse, although unhurt, he must have remained on the field.

"During the entire action, General St. Clair exerted himself with a courage and presence of mind worthy of the best fortune. He was personally present at the first charge made upon the enemy with the bayonet, and gave the order to Colonel Darke. When the enemy first entered the camp by the left flank, he led the troops which drove them back, and when a retreat became indispensable, he put himself at the head of the troops which broke through the enemy, and opened the way for the rest, and then remained in the rear, making every exertion in his power to obtain a party to cover the retreat; but the panic was so great, that his exertions were of little avail. In the height of the action, a few of the men crowded around the fires in the center of the camp. St. Clair was seen drawing his pistols and threatening some of them, and ordering them to turn out and repel the enemy."

The opinion of the committee must stand as the judgment of the historian :—

"The committee conceive it but justice to the commander-in-chief, to say, that in their opinion, the failure of the late expedition can in no respect be imputed to his conduct, either at any time before or during the action; but that, as his conduct in all the preparatory arrangements, was marked with peculiar ability and zeal, so his conduct during the action, furnished strong testimonies of his coolness and intrepidity."

The Indians outnumbered the whites, and they fought as they never fought before. The fact must be kept in view that they had been rendered desperate by the desolation of their homes, and that they were fighting against a people who were trying to deprive them of their lands. After the expedition of General Harmar, the Indians received from the British posts large supplies of provisions and ammunition which rendered abortive the destructive expeditions of the Americans. The British influence was further exerted in the direction of forming an Indian confederacy among the Western tribes. In this last engagement many young Canadians and half-breeds and one hundred and fifty Mohawk warriors participated. The whole was commanded by the distinguished Miami chief, Little Turtle. It is now believed that Little Turtle had the council and assistance of another and an older chief. "General St. Clair," says the author of the life of Brant, "probably died in ignorance of the fact that one of the master spirits against whom he contended, and by whom he was so signally defeated, was none other than Joseph Brant—Thayendanegea. How it happened that this distinguished chief, from whom so much had been expected as a peace maker, thus suddenly and efficiently threw himself into a position of active hostility, unless he thought he saw an opening for reviving his project of a great North-western confederacy, is a mystery which he is believed to have carried in his own bosom to the grave.[1]"

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[1] This interesting fact, Mr. Stone says, he derived from Thayendanegea's family. It was, however, the opinion of St. Clair that Joseph

After his return to Fort Washington, on the 9th of November, St. Clair wrote his official dispatch to the Secretary

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Brant was engaged in this contest, as a number of his followers were present at the battle. There is a legend that the Brant who was engaged in that affair was a son of Joseph Brant. The story is known as "The Legend of Louisa St. Clair," and is as follows:

The proposed Indian treaty at Duncan's Falls, in 1788, being postponed and adjourned to Fort Harmar, the Indians prepared for peace or war, and were hostile to holding a convention to adjust peace measures under the guns of Harmar and Campus Martius. Young Brant, son of the famous Chief of that name, came down the Tuscarawas and Muskingum trail with two hundred warriors, camped at Duncan Falls, nine miles below Zanesville, and informed Governor St. Clair, by runner, that they desired the treaty preliminaries to be fixed there.

The Governor suspected a plot to get him to the Falls and abduct him, yet nothing had transpired of that import. He sent Brant's runner back with word that he would soon answer by a ranger. Hamilton Kerr was dispatched to Duncan's Falls to reconnoiter and deliver St. Clair's letter.

A short distance above Waterford Kerr saw tracks, and keeping the river in sight crept on a bluff, and raised to his feet, when hearing the laugh of a woman, he came down to the trail, and saw Louisa St. Clair on a pony, dressed Indian style, with a short rifle slung to her body. Stupefied with amazement, the ranger lost his speech, well knowing Louisa, who was the bravest and boldest girl of all at the fort. She had left without knowledge of any one, and calling "Ham"—as he was known by that name—to his senses, told him she was going to Duncan's Falls to see Brant. Expostulation on his part only made her laugh the louder, and she twitted him on his comical dress—head turbaned with red handkerchief, huntingshirt, but no trowsers, the breechclout taking their place. Taking her pony by the head, he led it up to the trail, and at night they suppered on dried deer meat from Ham's pouch. The pony was tied, and Louisa sat against a tree and slept, rifle in hand, while Ham watched her. Next morning they pursued their way, and finally came in sight of the Indian camp. She then took her father's letter from the ranger, and telling him to hide and await her return, dashed off on her pony, and was soon a prisoner. She asked for Brant, who appeared in war panoply, but was abashed at her gaze. She handed him the letter, remarking that they had met before, he as a student on a visit from college to Philadelphia, and she as the daughter of General St. Clair, at school. He bowed; being educated, read the letter, and became excited. Louisa, perceiving this, said she had risked her life to see him, and asked for a guard back to Marietta. Brant told her he guarded the brave, and would accompany her home. In the evening of the third day, they arrived with Ham

of War, which contains a comprehensive account of the disastrous campaign, and charged his aid, Major Denny, with its prompt delivery. This report is a model in its way, cool, dispassionate, magnanimous in a high degree. The nobleness of spirit so characteristic of St. Clair is conspicuous in every line. There is no fault finding, no allusion to the shameful mismanagement in the War Department (that he knew would be made apparent in the investigation he was determined to have), and no allusion to the neglect of Colonel Oldham and General Butler to advise him of the presence of the enemy on the night of the 3d of November: had not their lives been sacrificed on that fatal day? Major Denny discharged his commission with his usual promptness and good judgment. Upon his arrival in Philadelphia, which was at a late hour on the 19th of December, he waited immediately upon the Secretary of War, and delivered his dispatches. "The morning after my arrival here," he says, "General Knox called at my quarters and took me to the President's, where we breakfasted with the family, and afterwards had much talk on the subject of the campaign and defeat."

In striking contrast with this simple statement, is that highly imaginary account attributed to Mr. Custis, which is found copied into the works of several historians; among others, Irving gives it the weight of his approval. In that work of the imagination we have the picture of an officer in full uniform, dismounting in front of the President's house, towards the close of a winter's day in December.

Kerr at the fort, where she introduced Brant to her father, relating the incident. After some hours, he was escorted out of the lines, returned to the Falls, and went up the valley with his warriors, without a treaty, but in love with Louisa St. Clair.

In January, 1789, he returned, took no part in the Fort Harmar treaty, was at the feast, and asked St. Clair in vain for his daughter's hand.

In the fall of 1791, Brant led the Chippewas for a time during the battle at St. Clair's defeat, and told the warriors to shoot the general's horse, but not him. St. Clair had four horses killed, and as many bullet holes in his clothes, but escaped unhurt. Had St. Clair given his daughter to young Brant, would the alliance have averted war?

The porter would have refused him admittance, as the President was at dinner, and had company, but the officer was on pressing public business, and would not be denied. A servant went after the Secretary, Mr. Lear, but to that functionary the officer refused to deliver his letters. Thereupon, Mr. Lear returned to the dinning-room, and in a whisper communicated to the President what had passed. Washington withdrew into the hall, and in a short time returned and resumed his seat at the table. That evening Mrs. Washington had a reception. The President appeared there with his usual serenity. Neither then nor at the table did he allude to any thing unusual. After the company had gone and only his secretary remained, Washington suddenly became extremely agitated, and poured forth a torrent of bitter invective against St. Clair. This was followed by some moments of calm reflection, during which the President apparently regretted the exhibition of passion. "This must not go beyond this room," said he, in a subdued and altered tone; "General St. Clair shall have justice. I looked hastily through the dispatches; saw the whole disaster, but not all the particulars. I will receive him without displeasure; I will hear him without prejudice; he shall have full justice."[1]

Here we have the man Washington giving way to his passions in the most unreasonable manner, contrasted with the philosopher Washington, cool, just and magnanimous. This work of the rhetorician is calculated to make the pages of a book attractive, but it does not give one as natural and exalted a view of the President as the plain account of Major Denny.

Among the St. Clair papers is a pleasant note from Mr. Lear, changing the hour for a conference which had been agreed on, to the hour of breakfast the following day, when the President would be pleased to receive his old friend. The meeting was altogether cordial, and, with this scene in our mind, we read, with exalted sentiments of esteem for Washington, the following passage in the work

[1] *Rush's Washington in Domestic Life.*

of Chief Justice Marshall: "More satisfactory testimony in favor of St. Clair is furnished by the circumstance that he still retained the undiminished esteem and good opinion of Washington."

The success of the Indians in this affair inspired them with the hope that they might eventually drive the intruding whites back across the Ohio. They resumed the predatory system of warfare against the settlements and were more ferocious than ever before. To describe the bloody scenes that ensued for twelve months would require a volume for that alone. The settlers on the Muskingum and the Miamis withdrew within the forts. General St. Clair resigned his commission in the army and General Anthony Wayne was appointed to succeed him. Congress resolved on the vigorous prosecution of the war. The military establishment was to be increased to four regiments of infantry and a corps of cavalry; the whole, with artillery, to consist of five thousand men. Profiting now by the disastrous experience of the past, there was to be no six months' levies, and it was agreed to give the new commander two years in which to raise, equip and discipline his army before moving against the Indians. Meanwhile, negotiations looking to peace were undertaken by the Secretary of War through Captain Brant. That astute chieftain accepted the commission, and appeared in public councils as an advocate of peace. If sincere in this new character, the weight of his influence hitherto, and of the present treacherous counsels of Lord Dorchester, Governor of Canada, were still sufficient to lead the Indian Nations to refuse to accept a peace on any other basis than the Ohio River as a boundary line. The court paid to this able chief by the American Government during the period that the British held the posts in the West, forms one of the most curious chapters in the history of the United States.

While General Wayne was making preparations for the field, negotiations for a peace were continued. Mr. Freeman, Major Trueman, and Colonel Hardin, who were dispatched from Fort Washington, on different routes, in the spring of 1792, with flags of truce and presents, were all

murdered by the Indians. General Rufus Putman, however, was more successful. Aided by the Moravian missionary Heckewelder, he succeeded in effecting a treaty with the Wabash and Illinois nations, which bound them to peace. Arrangements had been made with the Indians at Au Glaize in the summer, that commissioners of the United States should attend a conference of the Indian nations in 1793, on the Miami of the lakes. The commissioners selected were Benjamin Lincoln, Timothy Pickering, and Beverly Randolph. They went by way of Niagara to confer with Governor Simcoe, and were detained there by fine speeches and feasting until near the middle of July. They had been invited by the Indians to meet them at Sandusky, but were detained by adverse winds at Fort Erie, and, finally, had to return to Niagara. In a few weeks, they received a communication from the Indian Nations, which concluded as follows:

"Brothers: We shall be persuaded that you mean to do us justice if you agree that the Ohio shall remain the boundary line between us. If you will not consent thereto, our meeting will be altogether unnecessary."

This was accepted as the red man's ultimatum, and the commissioners returned without having accomplished their mission.

Thereupon, General Wayne pushed his preparations for war. General Wilkinson, who was second in command, stationed at Fort Washington, with one thousand men marched to the scene of St. Clair's defeat, collected the bones of the victims, and erected on the spot Fort Recovery. The garrison stationed here had a sharp conflict with the Indians, under Little Turtle, on the 30th June, 1794, which cost the lives of the commanding officer, Major McMahon, and twenty-one others. The Indians displayed great courage, and made their attack in as good order as regular troops. There were among them several officers in British uniform.

On the 8th of August, General Wayne marched against the Indians. Profiting by the experience of the past, he moved

with extreme caution and only in superior force. As the forts had already been built by St. Clair, there was nothing to delay him. He had regular troops thoroughly drilled for this service, and was supported by about eleven hundred mounted Kentuckians under General Scott. The Indians took up a strong position in some fallen timber under the guns of the fort at the rapids, recently erected by Governor Simcoe, and there awaited the attack from Wayne. They attempted no surprise, but posted behind the thick wood, rendered almost inaccessible by a dense growth of underbrush and fallen timber, with their left protected by a rocky bank of the river, they thought themselves secure. They were formed in three lines within supporting distance of each other, extending for two miles at right angles with the river. General Wayne formed in two lines, the first beginning the attack early on the morning of the 20th. Finding that the Indians were attempting to turn his left flank, he moved his second line to the support of the first, and directed General Scott to turn the enemy's right. This disposition checked the flanking movement on the part of the Indians. Wayne simultaneously moved his first line forward with instructions to charge with trailed arms, and rouse the Indians from their covert at the point of the bayonet.[1] This charge was made with irresistible impetuosity, and being followed by a sharp fire, the Indians were completely routed. Within an hour, the enemy had been driven two miles, and the victory was complete.[2] The loss of the Americans in killed and wounded was one hundred and seven. That of the Indians is unknown, but it must have been very great.

After the battle, there was some sharp correspondence between Major Campbell, commanding the British fort, and General Wayne, which showed bad temper, but as there was no blood spilled it is hardly worthy of mention.

The result of this campaign was a treaty between the United States, represented by General Wayne, and the

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[1] *Life of Brant*, Vol. II., p. 386.

[2] *Ibid.*

Indian nations, concluded at Greenville, August 3, 1795, by which peace was finally secured on terms which gave to the Americans the lands of the Indians in the Northwest, with the exception of small reservations. The power of the Western tribes was forever broken.

CHAPTER VIII.

1793–1798—Interest in National Politics—Against the French Party—The Scheme to Return to Pennsylvania Abandoned—Second Stage of Government in the North-western Territory—Meeting of the Legislature—Important Work in the Revision of the Code of Laws—Rapid Increase in Population—The Connecticut Land Company—Commotion at Post Vincennes and Judge Turner—Political Excitement—Spanish and British Intrigues in the North-western Territory and Kentucky—Influence and Brilliant Talents of Wilkinson—Proclamation of St. Clair Warning Against the French Agents—George Rogers Clark a French Major-General—Division of People of Territory into Parties.

The year succeeding the close of the disastrous campaign of 1791, was a period of unrest and anxiety to St. Clair. He found the ties that bound him to the people of the East gradually and surely relaxing, and the advantage which had been his on account of his ability and prominence in the War of Independence, now that he was absent, was less certain, and might soon disappear altogether before the claims of less deserving men. A chance seemed to offer for him to regain his position. The representative of the Westmoreland District, having met with some opposition, had indicated a purpose not to stand again as a candidate for Congress, and it was proposed by the Federalists that St. Clair should make the canvass. The suggestion was eagerly embraced, and the advice of friends freely invited.

To his friend James Ross he confided the delicate task of sounding the political managers, and of deciding on a policy to be adopted. The names most generally mentioned were those of Mr. Todd and Mr. Smilie. As the latter was backed by Mr. Finley, it was not thought possible for Mr. Todd to succeed; if he did, "the public would not be benefited by the change." Mr. Ross was warned against Mr. J——, of Greensburg, who, notwithstanding "his profession to the contrary, was suspected of being at heart a

very Democrat." It was evident that St. Clair longed to be actively employed in the arena of national politics, in which he saw many associates and friends of Revolutionary days conspicuously engaged in support of the principles he espoused. Pennsylvania had not maintained her rightful position—nay, was degenerating under the dangerous political teachings of Gallatin and others. To his friend Ross St. Clair poured out his heart freely; though his recollections of La Fayette and other French patriots of the Revolution were most tender, he was opposed to the Gallican party in America. "I have seen the bill for cutting off the intercourse with France," said he, "which I hope is a law ere now. It was a step which should have been taken long ago, but is better late than not at all. Now let the country be put in a state of defense, and we shall have peace. One good consequence has flowed already from the firmness and decision of the President and Senate—the d——d Faction that were dragging the country to ruin are completely discomfited. I hope, too, the time is not distant when Pennsylvania—poor, degraded Pennsylvania—under your auspices, will regain her position of weight and influence in the Union from which she has been detruded." And concludes with a fine line from his favorite Horace:

"*Nil desperandum Teucro duce et auspice Teucro.*[1]"

But St. Clair was destined not to share in the leadership at the Capital. After careful inquiry it was found wiser to adhere to a plan of campaign already outlined by the managing Federalists. This action was what St. Clair himself had advised, but it forever cut him off from active participation in all that was most congenial. He left a society which he was so well fitted to adorn, and turned his face again towards the West with reluctance. The disappointment was even greater to Mrs. St. Clair, who still lingered among the beloved hills of Pennsylvania, and who hoped that some turn in affairs would reunite the family and restore their fortunes.

[1] *MS. Letter*, June 21, 1792.

While in Philadelphia, in 1792, Governor St. Clair looked faithfully after the interests of the people of the North-western Territory. As he still held to the opinion that the laws framed by the Territorial Legislature did not conform to the Ordinance of 1787, he induced Congress to pass an act giving to the Governor and Judges authority to repeal, at their discretion, the laws by them made; an authority judiciously exercised later. This seemed to be the only practical method for correcting the error against which the Governor had protested. His views on a judicial system, on the practice in England, on the rights of the people, and the duties of magistrates, will be found forcibly stated in the papers and addresses included in this work, and, upon examination, to be the basis of the system of laws established in 1795—a system, in the language of a distinguished jurist, "not without many imperfections and blemishes; but it may be doubted whether any colony, at so early a period after its first establishment, ever had one so good."[1]

In this work of revision, the Governor and Judges conformed to the provisions of the Ordinance, as the former had insisted should be done in 1789–90. For the first time, a complete system of government was created for the North-west, by which the blessings promised by the Ordinance were realized. Laws for the regulation of society—subjecting real estate to execution for debt; directing the manner of executing writs of attachment; for the speedy recovery of small debts; concerning defalcations; for the punishment of larceny; for the limitation of actions; for the recovery of fines and forfeitures; for the settlement of intestates' estates; for assessing and distributing taxes; regulating inclosures; concerning trespassing animals; directing how husband and wife may convey their estates; for the speedy assignment of dower; for the partition of land; giving remedies in equity; against forcible entry and detainer; allowing foreign attachments; limiting imprisonment for debt; governing proceedings in ejectment; sup-

[1] *Chase.*

pressing gaming; establishing orphans' courts; for the relief of the poor, etc., etc.—were adopted. The judicial system was so changed as to fix the general court at Marietta and Cincinnati, and a circuit court was established, "with power to try, in the several counties, issues in fact depending before the superior tribunal, where alone causes could be finally decided." Lastly, as if with a view to create some great reservoir, from which, whatever principles and powers had been omitted in the particular acts might be drawn according to the exigencies of circumstances, they adopted a law, providing that the common law of England, and all general statutes in aid of the common law, prior to the fourth year of James I., should be of full force within the territory.[1]

St. Clair had had this in view from the beginning of his administration, but the opinions of the first Judges were not in harmony with his own. He believed such legislation warranted by one of the articles of compact of the Ordinance, which provides that the people of the Territory shall always be entitled to judicial proceeding according to the course of common law. This statute was subsequently recognized as having the same force as any other adopted law of the Legislature and the bench.[2] But, on the other hand, it has been objected, that the Ordinance permitted the adoption of laws only from the then existing laws of the original States, and that this could not warrant the adoption of written and unwritten English law, especially as the Virginia act, upon which it was based, had been repealed.[3] Again it may be urged in support of the first view, if the action of the Governor and Judges was in technical violation of that provision of the Ordinance regulating the formation of laws, it was in keeping with the spirit of the more important compact already referred to, and with the history of all English colonies who made the common law the foundation of free governments. Upon this rock the Americans planted them-

[1] *Chase's Preliminary Sketch*, p. 26.

[2] See case Thompson's Lessee *vs.* Gibson, 2 O. R. 340.

[3] *Chase's Statutes of Ohio*, Vol. I., p. 190.—Note.

selves when resisting the oppressions of George III.[1] Whatever benefit could be derived from its obligatory recognition in the administration of government and the interpretation of laws, was secured to the people of the North-west by this action of Governor St. Clair and the Judges. If there was wanting the power to legislate, as afterwards held by some, this was cured by the failure of Congress to disapprove of the law.[2]

The act of Congress which gave to the Territorial Legislature this important authority, also empowered a single judge of the general court, in the absence of the others, to hold the terms. This was intended to remedy the difficulty of securing the attendance of any two Judges at any one point in so vast a territory; but the citizens saw their own interests jeoparded by this change. Governor St. Clair pointed out the danger to the Judges and to the President. In the Eastern part of the Territory lands had been bought, generally, either of the Ohio or the Miami Company; of the former Judge Putnam was a director, and of the latter Judge Symmes was the sole manager. Both Judges were members

[1] "When the difficulties with the home government sprung up, it was a source of immense moral power to the colonists that they were able to show that the rights they claimed were conferred by the common law, and that the King and Parliament were seeking to deprive them of that common birthright of Englishmen."—*Cooley on Constitutional Limitations*, p. 32.

"These statutes [common law] upon the points which are covered by them are the best evidence possible They are the living charters of English liberty to the present day; and as the forerunners of the American Constitutions and the source from which have been derived many of the most important articles in their bills of rights, they are constantly appealed to when personal liberty or private right are placed in apparent antagonism to the claims of government."—*Ibid.*—Note.

[2] "The legislation [by territorial bodies with plenary power], of course, must not be in conflict with the law of Congress conferring the power to legislate, but a variance from it may be supposed approved by that body if suffered to remain without disapproval for a series of years after being duly reported to it. Clinton *v.* Englebrecht, 13 Wall. 434, 446. See Williams *v.* Bank of Michigan, 7 Wend. 539; Swan *v.* Williams, 2 Mich. 427; Stout *v.* Hyatt, 13 Kan. 232."—*Cooley on Constitutional Limitations*, p. 33. Note.

of the Supreme Court. Every land dispute was liable to be traced to some transaction in which one or the other of them was concerned, and in the hearing they would sit in judgment. But the danger was increased by giving to a single judge the power of a full bench. Though never so upright, yet judgment was liable to be affected insensibly by the bias of interest.[1]

The same vigilance for the protection of the rights of the people is observable in the remarks of Governor St. Clair on the motion of Judge Symmes to extend the jurisdiction of a single magistrate in the trial of small causes, not involving over twenty dollars. He pointed out the hardship to the debtor resulting from summary proceedings; the increase of litigation through convenience of small courts, and the injury to society as a consequence. "These evils," said he, "have all proceeded from extending the jurisdiction of single magistrates; and the mischievous influence of it acts with so much regularity, that, knowing the character of a people as litigious or otherwise, you may tell with certainty what is the spirit of their laws; and, contrariwise, knowing the nature of their laws, you may with absolute certainty infer the character of the people." "Although" added he, "the administration of justice should certainly be so cheap as that every man may be within the reach of right, it should also be so dear, particularly at the first step, as that every body may be deterred from entering into lawsuits wantonly, or to gratify a revengeful disposition."

I have thus referred briefly to the more important part of the work of St. Clair in laying the foundation of the five republican states which hold to-day such an important place in the Union, for the purpose of calling attention to the ability, versatility, and noble principles of the man. To recount in detail his labors in administering the government from 1790 to 1802, is not within the scope of this memoir. It certainly was not smooth sailing at any time, but there was a period when his efforts were embarrassed in the most exasperating way by subordinates in the War and State De-

[1] St. Clair in letter to Secretary of State, December 14, 1794.

partments. In the former, Hodgdon, the Quartermaster-General, who had been largely responsible for the results of the Indian campaign of 1791, seemed to have a controlling influence; and after Mr. Jefferson left the State Department, that baleful influence was mysteriously extended. But for his regard for General Washington, St. Clair would have sent in his resignation. He finally stated the facts to the President in a private letter, and there was a speedy interference for his relief from headquarters, and it was so imperative that during the remainder of Washington's administration and the administration of Adams, he was treated with the respect to which he was entitled.

The unfortunate French who had been led to seek for a new paradise on the banks of the Ohio; the destitute inhabitants of the ancient posts on the Wabash and Mississippi, and the settlements of the Revolutionary soldiers, caused St. Clair the greatest anxiety, and required efforts for their relief and protection that were almost superhuman. He made repeated journeys from one part of the Territory to another, sleeping upon the ground or in an open boat, and living upon coarse and uncertain fare. At one time he traveled in this manner a distance of five thousand miles, without the means of protection against inclement weather, and without rest. These hardships proved a severe strain upon his constitution, and attacks of the gout were more frequent than formerly. In the winter of 1794-95, he was prostrated with a fever which brought him within view of the silent land. And yet the exigencies of his office did not permit him to omit any personal attentions.

After the treaty of Greenville, the tide of emigration was to the North-west. New settlements appeared upon the Muskingum, the Scioto, on the Miami even as far up as the Mad River, on the Wabash, on the Illinois, and the Mississippi. In the north-eastern part of the territory a new light appeared. The 4th of July, 1796, was celebrated on Conneaut (Conneaught) Creek, in New Connecticut land, by General Moses Cleveland and companions, who had come from the rugged hills of Old Connecticut to survey that part of her Western Reserve lying east of Cuyahoga River.

They were the first English-speaking people to take possession.[1] Connecticut had, with characteristic prudence, when the cessions of lands were being made by the States, reserved to herself a large section west of Pennsylvania. The western part of this, to the extent of half a million of acres, was granted to those of her citizens who had suffered by depredations of the British during the Revolutionary War, and the remainder, supposed to contain about three million acres, was sold. General Cleveland appeared as the general agent of the Connecticut Land Company, and conducted his operations from the east bank of the Cuyahoga, near Lake Erie.[2] The purchase of General Samuel H. Parsons, near the Mahoning River, known as the "Salt Spring Tract," made in 1788, also attracted the attention of the settlers. This progress of civilization required the extention of the Government, and new counties were erected as rapidly as consistent with the public welfare.

In 1795, Governor St. Clair issued a proclamation for dividing St. Clair county, which was too large for the transaction of public business. The part lying south of a line running from the Mississippi through New Design due east to the Wabash was designated as the county of Randolph—a graceful compliment to the distinguished statesman of Virginia, who had given the weight of his support to the Federal Constitution at an important crisis, and who was a member of Washington's cabinet.

Upon the surrender of the posts on the lakes by the British, the Detroit country was set apart as the county of Wayne—being appropriately named after the victorious general who had won peace from the Indians, and forever extinguished the hopes of the British commanders of a new confederacy which should embrace Canada and the Northwest. Adams, Jefferson, and Ross were soon after formed in the same manner, the first and third embracing all of the Sci-

[1] *Whittlesey's Early History of Cleveland*, p. 181.

[2] The Connecticut Company controlled the soil of the Western Reserve until 1809. See *Whittlesey*, p. 168. The work is an interesting and important contribution to the history of the North-west.

oto country, in which great numbers of settlers were locating lands, and the second the section between Pennsylvania and a line extending from the mouth of the Cuyahoga to the Muskingum. It will be observed that Governor St. Clair, in making choice of names and recognizing eminent characters, was equally happy in exhibiting a spirit of magnanimity and paying a tribute to friendship.

At last, St. Clair was moved to undertake a land enterprise, and, in 1795, in company with Senator Jonathan Dayton and Israel Ludlow, of New Jersey, and General James Wilkinson, contracted with John Cleves Symmes for the purchase and settlement of the seventh and eighth ranges, between Mad River and the Little Miami. The survey was completed after much trouble, and on the 4th of November Israel Ludlow laid out a town, which was called Dayton, from the name of one of the proprietors. Judge Symmes being unable to complete his payments and make title to what he had sold, the land reverted to the Government, and St. Clair did not profit by his undertaking. Daniel C. Cooper, who had assisted in making the survey, partly by the acquisition of pre-emption rights, and partly by agreement with the settlers, became the titular proprietor of the town.[1]

The act which permitted the holding of the Supreme Court by a single judge was productive of many unpleasant complications, which taxed the address and patience of the Governor sorely to adjust. Congress had made no provision for the payment of the expenses of the officers and to carry out the provisions of the Ordinance for the establishment of the government over so vast a territory, and the instructions of the President for the relief of the French inhabitants, would consume, in traveling expenses alone,

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[1] *Curwen's Sketch*, p. 11. Nineteen families removed from Cincinnati and formed the settlement of Dayton. Among these settlers were Benjamin and William Van Cleve, and the three brothers McClure, James, John, and Thomas.

The failure of Symmes and the transfer to Cooper led to a good deal of litigation, in which Dayton, Ludlow, St. Clair, and Cooper were parties.

their salaries. The first Judges declined to go with the Governor and Secretary to the Far West, and St. Clair was never able to secure at any point beyond Cincinnati a full court. He met the emergency well and prudently, but the responsibility was irksome, and it required a sacrifice of time and strength he should never have been called on to make at his time of life.

Judge Turner, who was arrogant and dictatorial in the extreme, succeeded, both at Post Vincennes and Kaskaskia, in putting every body by the ears, and necessitated the active interference of the Governor to quiet the storm. He purposed having Henry Vanderburg, judge of probate and justice, impeached for some informality in the administration of office; and in the Mississippi country he removed William St. Clair, clerk of the court of St. Clair county, for presuming to keep the records of the court at Cahokia instead of Kaskaskia. The Governor, in order to accommodate the inhabitants, had provided that the courts should be held at stated periods, at three different places, and the clerk of the court, in the same spirit, kept the books of record at Cahokia, where they were accessible to the greatest number of land-owners. But Judge Turner, without authority, directed that Kaskaskia should be the only county-seat, and, without waiting for an explanation, in the most arbitrary manner, commanded the clerk to produce the books, within twelve hours, at that place. He also, without authority, appointed a Mr. Jones assistant clerk, and placed the books in his possession. The Governor required William St. Clair to assert his rights, and rebuked Judge Turner for his high-handed proceedings. Subsequently, the inhabitants of the Mississippi country preferred charges of oppression and corruption against the Judge, to the Secretary of State, which, in due course, were referred to Congress for proceedings in impeachment. The committee, to whom the matter was referred, reported that, on account of distance and difficulty in commanding the attendance of witnesses, it would be better to have the investigation conducted within the Territory. Accordingly, the papers were

sent to Governor St. Clair, with instructions to make inquiry, and report.[1]

Another embarrassment arose in the Governor's inability to find a competent lawyer to accept of the office of Attorney-General for the Territory. The remuneration was so precarious no fit person practicing before the courts could be induced to undertake it. There was necessity for such an officer, and, in the emergency, the Governor, in 1796, prevailed on his son, Arthur St. Clair, Jr., a promising young attorney at Pittsburgh, to remove to Cincinnati and take the office. This was an unfortunate step, as it was at great personal sacrifice on the part of the son, and subjected the Governor to unjust criticism, some years later, when party passions were aroused in an effort to obtain political control. Young St. Clair directly gained a a position of prominence and influence in the Territory, due entirely to superior abilities and an agreeable address. In contemporary correspondence and publications he is referred to in terms of respect.

A subject, which attracted some attention during these formative years, was the extending of excise duties on spirituous liquors of domestic production to the Territories as a part of the United States. Persons selling foreign liquors were required to take out a license. This was extending the revenue system to the Territories, and was taxation without representation. It met with little other opposition than harmless criticism, but there were not wanting evasions. The Attorney-General supplied the Secretary of the Treasury with an opinion that the Fourth Article of Compact of the Ordinance extended all of the acts of Congress to the Territory. St. Clair, in a letter to Oliver Wolcott, controverted this view. He took the ground that the Fourth Article was intended to apply to the States that should be formed out of the Territory when admitted into the Union on an equality with the

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[1]American State Papers. *Annals of Congress.*

Judge Turner himself went to Philadelphia and asked to be heard, but his petition was laid on the table. The matter was referred back to the Territory, but was never heard from again.

original States, and not while in a territorial condition; that, if intended otherwise, the people would have been given a representation, a participation in the benefits of the general government, and that the judicial powers of the government would have been extended over the Territory.

The attempt in the Congress of 1792-93 to extend the law imposing a duty on spirits distilled within the United States to the Territory North-west of the river Ohio, failed, notwithstanding it was earnestly pressed by the administration.[1] In 1794, an act was passed authorizing the President to erect revenue districts and appoint collectors therefor "in the Territories North-west and South of the river Ohio," in order to facilitate and secure the collection of revenue on distilled spirits and stills. It extended the jurisdiction of the "judicial courts" of the Territories to all cases originating under the act.[2]

For several years after the passage of the Ordinance, the country lying west of the Alleghany range had an uncertain status. The three leading European powers regarded it by no means desirable or essential that it should become a part of the Republic, and they intrigued to prevent that consummation. We have seen how the British retained the posts, and encouraged Brant in his efforts to form an Indian confederacy whose eastern limits should be the Ohio; and how, growing bolder, Mr. John Connolly was dispatched by the Canadian authorities to Kentucky to persuade the people that they were being sacrificed by the people of the East, and that their darling object—the free navigation of the Mississippi—could be best secured through an alliance with His Britannic Majesty. Mr. Connolly's visit was well timed—as he supposed. It chanced that the inhabitants south of the Ohio, in the exercise of that freedom believed to be a part of the inalienable rights of American citizens, fancying their interests were being neglected by the general government, talked a great deal and threatened dire consequences if something were not

[1] *Marshall's Life of Washington*, Vol. V., p. 379.

[2] *Annals of Congress.*

immediately done to secure unrestricted commerce on the inland waters. Mr. Connolly found out how much importance should be attached to such popular gasconade, for directly he hinted the nature of his mission, he was invited to leave for Canada by the shortest route.

But Spain attempted a bolder stroke. That government formed the design of detaching the Western settlements from the Union, and erecting them into an independent state, under the protection of the Spanish King. The inducement held out was the free navigation of the Mississippi. To promote the scheme several influential citizens of Kentucky were pensioned, and settlements on the banks of the Mississippi were promoted by donations of land. The correspondence of the day shows that many Americans were attracted by these advantageous offers, and the occupation of the land north of the Ohio was greatly retarded thereby. But the emigrants did not take kindly to Spanish domination, and many of them removed to the Northwestern Territory or to Kentucky. The settlement at New Madrid, which was, perhaps, the most prominent, was abandoned early.

This Spanish intrigue is traced to the year 1787, when the Kentuckians became greatly alarmed at a report that Mr. Jay had proposed to concede the exclusive control of the Mississippi to Spain for a series of years. A delegate meeting was called for the following year. It was held as advertised, and an address to Congress issued in which the natural right of the people to navigate the Mississippi was asserted, and a demand made for the forcible protection of that right, if necessary. Prior to this, in February, 1788, Kentucky had petitioned for admission into the Union and had been refused. It was while the people were thus excited that the suggestion was insidiously made for them to act independently, and receive from Spain the privilege of conducting an unrestricted commerce down the rivers to the Gulf. Hon. John Brown, a member of the old Continental Congress, had been selected to present this petition, and on making a report of his failure to the convention above referred to, sitting at Danville, he did not speak confidently

of the future prospects of Kentucky. In a letter to Judge Muter, he said he did not think that the Eastern States would ever assent to the admission of Kentucky into the Union as an independent State, unless Vermont or Maine were brought forward at the same time; that there was a jealousy of the growing importance of the West; and that it was generally expected that the district would declare its independence, and proceed to frame a constitution of government. He then added: "This step will, in my opinion, tend to preserve unanimity, and will enable you to adopt, with effect, such measures as may be necessary to promote the interest of the district. In private conversation with Mr. Gardoqui, the Spanish minister at this place [New York], I have been assured by him in the most explicit terms, that if Kentucky will declare her independence, and empower some person to negotiate with him, that he has authority, and will engage to open the navigation of the Mississippi for the exportation of their produce, on terms of mutual advantage. But that this privilege can never be extended to them while part of the United States, by reason of commercial treaties existing between that court and other powers of Europe."[1]

There was strong temptation in this. The Union was little more than a rope of sand. What could it do for a people isolated as were those of the West? If independent, what could they not do for themselves? The situation was afterwards graphically described by General Wilkinson: "The people of the West were open to savage depredations; exposed to the jealousies of the Spanish government; unprotected by that of the old confederation; and denied the free navigation of the Mississippi, the only practicable channel by which the products of their labor could find a market."[2] Thus situated, there was a free expression of opinion at the Danville meeting not at all inconsistent with their attachment to a republican government, but which has, since the blessings of the Union became fully realized,

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[1] See *Butler's History of Kentucky*, p. 172. *American State Papers.*

[2] *Wilkinson's Address, Memoirs*, Vol. II., p. 119.

been magnified into something more serious, for partisan designs. The purpose of the Spanish government is clear enough, but it is quite as certain that only a very few Americans sympathised with that purpose.

It would seem that the communication thus opened improved the business interests of the Kentuckians. One of the first persons to attempt a mercantile venture at this time was General James Wilkinson. He shipped a cargo of tobacco to New Orleans, and by his address secured a contract with the Spanish Governor for a regular supply, not only of this product, but of flour and bacon, the government to be the purchaser of all he might send.

Wilkinson had settled in Kentucky after the close of the Revolutionary War, and established himself as a merchant. His agreeable manners and superior talents placed him in the front as a leader in all public affairs. "Was an address to be written, which should pour forth the feelings of Kentucky, a debate to be opened on her vital interests, Wilkinson was equally the author of the one and the speaker of the other. So varied, rich, and polished were the powers and acquirements of this singularly versatile person, that whether in the field of Saratoga, the cabinet of Governor Miro, or in the conventions of the backwoodsmen of Kentucky, he drew all eyes upon him, and was looked up to as a leader and chief."[1]

Wilkinson's mercantile expedition was a fortunate one for Kentucky. "Previous to that time all those who ventured on the Mississippi had their property seized by the first commanding officer whom they met, and little or no communication was kept up between the countries."[2] The military reputation of Wilkinson carried his property beyond the petty officers to New Orleans, where, although at first seized by the Intendant, it was permitted to be sold without payment of duty. Wilkinson had followed his property closely, and he so played upon the fears of Governor Miro, that advantageous terms of trade were ac-

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[1] *Butler's History of Kentucky*, p. 175.

[2] Clark's relation to T. Pickering. *Wilkinson's Memoirs*, Appendix 2.

corded. "This changed the face of things, and was productive of a new line of conduct on the part of the Spaniards."[1]

But this success came near wrecking Wilkinson's future prospects. He was accused of being a party to the Spanish intrigue for a separation of Kentucky from the Union; but no distinct proof in support of the charge was ever adduced,[2] and we may fairly conclude that the accusation had its origin in jealousy and party policy. When the attempts of the Spaniards were renewed later, Wilkinson was in command of the United States forces in the Northwestern Territory, and although he received communications from below, his conduct was strictly in the interest of the government.

In 1793, Citizen Genet, besides other extraordinary things, attempted to enlist an army in the Western country for the invasion of Louisiana, and, which is not the least remarkable of the events of this period, he obtained the consent of George Rogers Clark to command the expedition as "a Major-General in the Armies of France, and Commander-in-Chief of the Revolutionary Legions on the Mississippi." The French Government not doubting that the American Republic would make common cause with France, provided Genet with blank commissions, which were to be filled up for those officers who would join the army. The President had issued a proclamation of neutrality, but nothing daunted, Citizen Genet addressed himself directly to the real sovereigns of America. He met with hearty sympathy from a small number of prominent politicians, including Mr. Jefferson, Governor Mifflin and Chief Justice McKean, of Pennsylvania. In Philadelphia a "Democratic Society" in imitation of the famous clubs of Paris, was formed. Fresh from this source of inspira-

[1] Clark's account, *American State Papers.*

[2] *Hildreth*, Vol. IV., p. 135.

Also see *Mann Butler's History of Kentucky* for a fair and honorable presentation of the facts. The savage attack of Marshall, in his history, on Wilkinson and others, can only be explained on the ground that partyism is unreasoning and unfair.

tion, the zealous agents of Genet repaired to the Western country to spread the true democracy. A society was organized in Lexington, and Kentucky was soon filled with enthusiasm for the French cause.

President Washington early advised Governors St. Clair and Shelby of the projected movement, and communicated to them the names of the agents[1] dispatched from Philadelphia by the French Minister to put his plans into execution. These men found no such sympathy north as south of the Ohio. Governor St. Clair promptly issued a proclamation, informing the citizens of the contemplated invasion of the Spanish territory, and warning them of the dangerous consequences of participating in it. Governor Shelby took no public recognition of the communication of the President, and when advised by Governor St. Clair of the movements of General Clark and the French agents, did not attempt to interfere. To Mr. Jefferson, Secretary of State, he expressed this sympathetic opinion: "I have great doubts even if they attempt to carry this plan into execution, provided they manage their business with prudence, whether there is any legal authority to restrain or to punish them; at least before they have actually accomplished it."[2]

In the same paper in which was published Governor St. Clair's proclamation, appeared the call of General Clark for recruits, but the latter was careful to keep beyond the official reach of the Governor. Quite a number of venturesome characters crossed over the river and joined the French army, which, however, was destined never to draw

[1] Charles Delpeau, Maturin, La Chaise, and Gignoux. It surprised Citizen Genet that it should be considered an offense for these men to engage American citizens in a war against another power with which the United States were at peace; or for Americans to enlist in the armies of France. "Do not," said he to Jefferson, "punish the brave individuals of your nation, who arrange themselves under our banner, knowing perfectly well that no law of the United States gives to the Government the sad power of arresting their zeal by acts of rigor. The Americans are free; they are not attached to the glebe like the slaves of Russia; they may change their situation when they please."

[2] *American State Papers.*

Spanish blood. In the following year the President issued a proclamation, warning the officers of their peril in enlisting men to make war on a nation with which the United States were at peace; and soon after instructed General Wayne to send "a detachment to take post at Fort Massac; and to erect a strong redoubt and block-house, with some suitable cannon from Fort Washington." Major Thomas Doyle was intrusted with the execution of the order, which was carried into effect in the spring. Congress passed an act covering violations of neutrality, and, discouraged by such obstacles, Genet abandoned the projected invasion of Spanish territory.

Thus, unforeseen events prevented two thousand brave Kentuckians, in the language of Monsieur La Chaise, from taking from the despotic usurping Spaniards by force, under the flag of the French republic, the empire of the Mississippi, breaking the chains of the Americans and their brethren, the French, and laying "the foundation of the prosperity and happiness of two nations, destined by nature to be but one, the most happy in the universe."

Out of this attempt of the French minister to violate the neutrality of the United States, grew the most violent party divisions. There had been a strong Gallican spirit manifested in opposition to a treaty with Great Britian, but it broke out now with redoubled fury. This feeling extended to the West. On the 24th of May, 1794, a numerously-attended meeting at Lexington adopted resolutions, "expressive of unqualified censure upon the administration of Washington, mixing all the difficulties and perplexities attending the Indian war, British outrages, and Spanish procrastination, in one mass of condemnation.[1]" Although the people of the North-west were closely associated with those of Kentucky in many ways, yet the prevailing sentiment was in support of the administration. The feeling of opposition was intensified by the course of Great Britain in subjecting American vessels to search. When, however, an understanding was reached with that Government, France

[1] *Butler's History of Kentucky*, p. 234.

charged the United States with a breach of friendship, an abandonment of neutrality, and a violation of engagements, and, thereupon, concluded an alliance, offensive and defensive, with Spain.

Out of this grew new trouble for the West. At the instance of France, Spain complained to the American Government that the British treaty had sacrificed her interests as well as those of France, and made this a ground for delaying the running of a boundary line and the delivery of the posts on the Mississippi, as stipulated in the treaty of 1795. In July of that very year, Thomas Power, an agent of Governor Carondelet, delivered a letter to Judge Benjamin Sebastian, of Kentucky, which contained the information that the King of Spain was "willing to open the navigation of the Mississippi to the Western country, and desirous to establish certain regulations, reciprocally beneficial to the commerce of both countries," and an invitation to appoint agents to conduct negotiations at New Madrid. Subsequently, Judge Sebastian met the Spanish commissioner, as agreed upon, but before the business was concluded, word was received from Havana that a treaty had been signed, which put an end to the business. This, however, did not end the Spanish intrigue, which was renewed after the alliance with France.

Early in 1797, there was great activity noticed among the Spaniards at their upper posts on the Mississippi, which Governor St. Clair reported to the Secretary of War. The Indians were being tampered with, and inducements held out for them to desert the Americans and join the interests of Spain. In June, Thomas Power again appeared on the scene as a bearer of a letter from Governor Carondelet to General Wilkinson, who was found at Detroit. This letter asked the General to delay the march of the American troops for the posts on the Mississippi until the adjustment of certain questions which were then pending between the governments of the United States and Spain. General Wilkinson declined to comply, and sent Power back to New Madrid in care of Captain Shaumburgh. The emissary said in a letter to Don Manuel Gayoso, Spanish Governor

at Natchez, that Wilkinson declared that the project was chimerical; that the inhabitants of the Western States having obtained all they desired, would not wish to form any other political or commercial alliances; and that they had no motive for separating themselves from the interests of the other States of the Union, even if France and Spain should make them the most advantageous offers."

Spain professing to fear that Great Britain would send an expedition from Canada through the North-western Territory against the province of Louisiana, President Adams, February 4, 1798, instructed General Wilkinson to employ the force under him to oppose the British or other foreign nation "who should presume to attempt a violation of the territory of the United States, by an expedition through it against their enemies." All pretexts for delay being exhausted, Spain now reluctantly carried out the provisions of the treaty, and on the 5th of October, 1798, General Wilkinson established his headquarters at Loftus' Heights, on the left bank of the Mississippi, six miles north of the thirty-first degree of north latitude. Here he erected Fort Adams, which completely commanded the Mississippi. Thus the free navigation of that mighty stream was secured to the people of the North-west, and the first step taken towards its complete possession.

The further remark may be made in this connection, that, through these events and the retaliatory measures adopted by the American Government, party divisions were established in the North-western Territory, and political discussions became as violent and party methods as objectionable as in the more populous East. We shall see to what extent they were carried, and shall have abundant leisure to moralize on the uncertainty of political ties. Meanwhile the Territory was strongly for the administration.

The question of slavery proved to be one of great embarrassment in the administration of the Government. The Sixth Article was regarded as a menace by the ancient inhabitants at Post Vincennes, as well as in the Illinois country, and quite a number, as has been seen, removed to the Spanish territory with their slaves. Those that re-

mained behind presented a statement of the situation to Governor St. Clair, and asked his opinion.

The Governor declared it to be his opinion that the Sixth Article of the Ordinance was not retroactive; that it was "a declaration of a principle which was to govern the legislature in all acts respecting that matter, and the courts of justice in their decisions in cases arising after the date of the Ordinance." Retroactive laws were repugnant to free governments, and in most of the United States were forbidden. If Congress had intended the immediate abolition of slavery, compensation would have been made to the owners; but "they had the right to determine that property of that kind afterwards acquired should not be protected in future, and that slaves imported into the Territory after that declaration might reclaim their freedom."

This opinion was accepted as the true interpretation of the Ordinance in the different stages of government.

To many of the present day this may savor of extreme conservatism, and seem to disregard that higher law which refuses to recognize property rights in human beings. But an official charged with a trust, must execute it according to the letter and in the spirit of the law. This is what St. Clair did in the case of complications arising under the Sixth Article of compact. When the time came for changing the form of government for the eastern part of the Territory, he became the leader of the opposition to the movement to secure a suspension of the Sixth Article, and its defeat was largely due to his eloquent protests in public addresses.

CHAPTER IX.

1798–1802—ADVANCEMENT OF WINTHROP SARGENT—WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON APPOINTED SECRETARY—NEW STAGE IN THE TERRITORIAL GOVERNMENT—POPULAR ELECTION OF LEGISLATURE—ABSOLUTE VETO OF THE GOVERNOR—RIGHT TO ERECT NEW COUNTIES IN DISPUTE—POPULARITY OF ST. CLAIR—HIS EFFORTS TO PRESERVE THE RIGHTS OF THE PEOPLE—THE COMMON LAW—IMPORTANT SERVICES OF JACOB BURNET—INFLUENCE OF THE GREAT LAND HOLDERS—ATTEMPTS TO INTRODUCE SLAVERY—KENTUCKY CLAIMS JURISDICTION OVER OHIO RIVER—ADDRESS TO PRESIDENT ADAMS—DIVISION OF THE TERRITORY—HARRISON GOVERNOR OF INDIANA TERRITORY—THE VIRGINIA COLONY IN THE SCIOTO VALLEY—POLITICAL SCHEMES—ANTAGONISM TO GOVERNOR ST. CLAIR—HIS ABILITY AS A LEADER AND STRENGTH WITH HIS PARTY—INTRIGUE TO SECURE HIS REMOVAL DEFEATED—REAPPOINTED GOVERNOR BY PRESIDENT ADAMS—MOVEMENT FOR A STATE GOVERNMENT—COUNTER MOVEMENT—BITTERNESS OF POLITICAL DIVISIONS—COLONEL WORTHINGTON IN WASHINGTON—TRIUMPH OF THE STATE PARTY—ATTEMPT TO SECURE THE REMOVAL OF ST. CLAIR THROUGH JEFFERSON, AND ITS FAILURE—CONVENTION TO FORM A STATE CONSTITUTION—ADDRESS OF GOVERNOR ST. CLAIR AND ITS CONSEQUENCES—TRUE HISTORY OF THE INTRIGUES AGAINST HIM AND HIS REMOVAL.

In 1798, Winthrop Sargent, having been appointed Governor of the new territory of Mississippi, resigned the office of Secretary, and was succeeded by William Henry Harrison. The loss of his Secretary was keenly felt by Governor St. Clair. Although they differed widely in temperament and character—the one being ostentatious, reserved, and formal: the other, "plain and simple in his dress; open and frank in his manners; and accessible to persons of every rank"[1]—yet they had been friends on the tented field and in civil life, and Sargent, admiring the talents and courage of his chief, had always been faithful to his interests. On the other hand, St. Clair stood loyally by his friend, although sometimes he felt severely his want of tact and prudence. Between the Governor and the new Secretary there were no such ties—no bond of sympathy.

[1] *Burnet's Notes*, p. 375.

They belonged to opposite schools. The one was growing gray; was accustomed to deference from others; and held tenaciously to the political opinions formed amid the surging elements of revolution in the camp of Washington. The other, young and ambitious, was ready to sympathize with any movement that had for its object the changing of the old for a new order of things. Hence, it soon came to pass that the Secretary formed plans about which he did not consult the Governor.

It having been ascertained that the Territory contained a population of five thousand white male inhabitants, and was therefore entitled, under the provisions of the Ordinance, to a change in the form of government, Governor St. Clair took the necessary action to effect it. He issued a proclamation calling on the legal voters to elect Representatives to a General Assembly, and designating Cincinnati as the place of meeting. Under the Ordinance, only freeholders, in fee-simple, of fifty acres within the Territory, had the right to vote; and their selection of Representatives was restricted to freeholders of two hundred acres. The Representatives convened at the appointed place on the 4th of February, 1799. Their duty at this meeting was the selection of ten freeholders of five hundred acres, to be returned by the Governor to the President of the United States, from whom were to be appointed, in the manner prescribed in other cases, five persons to constitute a legislative council. After this form was complied with, the Representatives adjourned to meet at Cincinnati on the 16th of September, and the Governor transmitted the ten names to the President, who in due time appointed and commissioned the five to be members of the Council.

By this change the authority of the Governor was strengthened. He retained his general executive control, the right to make appointments of subordinate officers, and had an absolute negative on all legislative acts; while before he rightly claimed that the Governor must be one of the majority adopting laws, yet as that view was controverted by the Judges, he acquiesced in legislation that did not meet his approval. But under the new form of gov-

ernment the Ordinance clothed him with an absolute veto.

On the day appointed there was not a quorum present, and it was not until the 24th of September that the two houses were organized and ready to proceed to business. On the following day Governor St. Clair met them in the Representatives' Chamber, "and in a very eloquent address[1]" referred to the change in the form of government, and the subjects which would claim their attention. His opening words captured all hearts: "It is with much pleasure," said he, "that I meet you now in General Assembly, an event that has been looked forward to by the people with some anxiety, and not without reason, having been hitherto governed by laws adopted or made by persons in whose appointment they had no participation, and over whom they had no control; the wish to be withdrawn from under that authority, and that the laws which were to direct their conduct and protect their property should be made by their own representatives, was very natural, and I congratulate them and you, gentlemen, that you are now met for that purpose." Nevertheless, he expressed his conviction that the system which had been superseded was "full of wisdom and benignity," and adapted to the original circumstances of the Territory.

He then proceeded to lay before them a full description of the condition of the Territory, and "recommended to their attention such measures as he believed were proper to advance the prosperity and happiness of the people." He pointed out the defects of the system of laws that had been adopted, and advised legislative action for their amendment or confirmation. The necessity for meeting any expense incident to the change, called for the early enactment of revenue laws; an efficient military law was essential to the order and protection of the people; and as "the benefits that result from early education and due instruction in the principles of religion are of immense value to every country," he urged that action be taken to make available the

[1] *Burnet's Notes*, p. 300.

generous provisions for them set apart by Congress, which, he said, "might be done through trustees empowered by Congress to dispose of the lands." In the same spirit, he called attention to the importance of restraining the traffic in intoxicating liquors; of prohibiting usury; of carrying out that provision of the Ordinance requiring the Legislature to pass laws founded in justice and humanity for protecting the Indians in their property, rights, and liberty, and for preventing wrongs being done to them; and providing for the local administration of the laws. A delegate to Congress should also be chosen. He introduced his favorite topic of the common law in the following words:

"The statute laws of England that were in force in the American colonies of a later date than the fourth year of King James I. have not been adopted here, whereby the people are deprived of many excellent regulations in use in the United States, and praticularly of the celebrated *Writ of Habeas Corpus*, which was not brought into practice until the reign of Charles II., and is justly considered as the best security against illegal and oppressive imprisonings that was ever invented. It may be proper that all of them, down to the time of the Revolution, which are not inconsistent with the principles then embraced, should be declared to be laws in the Territory."

He concluded in the following language, which rises to the importance of the theme, and has seldom been excelled in state papers: "The providing for and the regulating the lives and morals of the present and of the rising generation, for the repression of vice and immorality, and for the protection of virtue and innocence, for the security of property and the punishment of crimes, is a sublime employment. Every aid in my power will be afforded, and I hope we shall bear in mind that the character and deportment of the people and their happiness, both here and hereafter, depend very much upon the genius and spirit of their laws."

The General Assembly cordially responded to this address, and transacted the business of the session in the same spirit. The views of the Governor were fully carried out, as the legislation of the session shows. How this was

done, deserves to be more fully related. It is an interesting fact (and mentioned here because we are describing the beginning of government in the North-west), that, although the General Assembly was composed of men of ability, some of whom had been well, if not thoroughly educated, yet the work of framing the most important of the laws devolved almost entirely on Jacob Burnet, a member of the Council. Mr. Burnet was of Scotch descent, a native of New Jersey, and a graduate of Princeton College. He was thoroughly read in the law, and had acquired a large practice in the Territory. He possessed a judicial mind, and expressed himself with perspicuity. Now, after nearly a century has elapsed, and the work is passed in review, it must be regarded as a happy circumstance that Jacob Burnet was a member of that first Legislature.

Not only were laws passed on the important subjects mentioned by the Governor and the territorial code of the first stage confirmed, but a deficiency—provisions for the partition of real estate; assignment of dower; relief of insolvent debtors; settlement of disputes by arbitration; divorce and alimony; equitable set-off, and execution of real contracts—was supplied.[1] Two notable memorials were received and acted on during this session: One from the French inhabitants of the Wabash and Mississippi, setting forth the difficulties growing out of the early custom of inclosing their small farms by a common fence, and asking legislative relief. A law was passed to regulate the inclosing and cultivating of common fields. The other memorial was from Continental officers of the Virginia line, for whom a district had been reserved between the Scioto and Little Miami rivers, asking to be permitted to remove to their lands with their slaves. The petition was rejected. Happily the Ordinance stood in the way of the granting of any such privilege. But we are assured by Judge Burnet, that, even without the compact prohibiting slavery, such was the public feeling, the request would have been denied by the legislature by a unanimous vote. "They were not only opposed to slavery on the ground of its being a moral evil,

[1] *Journal of Legislative Council.*

in violation of personal right, but were of opinion, that, whatever might be its immediate advantages, it would ultimately retard the settlement, and check the prosperity of the Territory, by making labor less reputable, and creating feelings and habits unfriendly to the simplicity and industry they desired to encourage and perpetuate."

Very decided action was taken on the question of jurisdiction between the Territory and the State of Kentucky, to which Governor St. Clair had early called the attention of the President. Kentucky, from the organization of the North-western Territory, had claimed jurisdiction on the north side of the Ohio to high water mark, on the ground that the deed of cession from Virginia was for the lands north of the river. The claim even went further; that when the river, at a high stage, passed a portion of its water through a bayou, or over low ground, into the main stream below, the ground so separated was an island, within the meaning of the act of cession, the jurisdiction and soil of which was vested in Kentucky. Hence persons "arrested by territorial officers for crimes committed on board of boats lying at the north shore, were released on *habeas corpus*, or discharged on pleas to the jurisdiction of the Territorial Courts." This conflict led to great embarrassment and the constant defeat of justice. To meet this, a bill was passed by a unanimous vote and approved of by the Governor, affirming the right of concurrent jurisdiction, and legalizing the services of process, civil and criminal, on any river, or water-course, within, or bounding the Territory. While this relieved the courts it did not settle the question. Some years later Kentucky revived the dispute. An examination was then made of the entire legislation of Virginia by Mr. Burnet. He found that Virginia in 1789, in authorizing the district of Kentucky to form a separate government, had provided in one of the compacts of the act, "that the State to be formed in the district, should never claim the exclusive jurisdiction on the Ohio river; but that it should be forever common to them and to the people and States on the opposite side." These conditions were agreed to by the people of Kentucky and embodied in the State Consti-

tution. Thus it was found that Virginia had treated alike the territories north and south of the river. This same pretense of exclusive jurisdiction, was made to do service years afterwards when the Fugitive Slave Law was being enforced.

Towards the close of the session, the General Assembly adopted a highly eulogistic address to President Adams. It was the production of the pen of Mr. Burnet, and contained strong meat for those of the new party, five of whom were found to vote against it in the House. It contained this allusion to the treaty of 1783, and to the Territory North-west of the Ohio: "to your firmness we attribute the enjoyment of the rich country we now inhabit." And this to his administration: "Permit us, sir, to assure you, that we are duly impressed with a sense of the wisdom, justice, and firmness with which you have discharged this important trust;" and, "We believe that, regardless of the voice of party spirit, which has striven to destroy our National Counsels, you have kept the honor and happiness of the United States constantly in view; and we ardently pray that the wise Ruler of Nations may preserve your health and life."

To Governor St. Clair was assigned the pleasing task of communicating this address to the President. He performed his part in his usual graceful manner:

"In that, Sir," wrote St. Clair, "they imposed a very agreeable duty upon me: for the sentiments appeared to be such as were proper for them to express, and having publicly expressed them, the individuals will find themselves prompted (had they no better motives, and I hope and believe they have many better,) by the desire so natural to men of leading others to think as they do, to propagate them among their constituents; and nothing can be more agreeable to me than being made the channel through which the testimonies of confidence and respect, and of attachment toward you are conveyed. I trust a short time only will elapse before they are common to the whole American people."[1]

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[1] *St. Clair Correspondence*, for 1799 and 1800. Vol. II.

A wish that must have gratified John Adams; but the five members of the House who did not approve the sentiments formed the leaven that changed the politics of the North-western Territory, and, in due season, sent the Governor back to the hills of Pennsylvania.

Notwithstanding the personal relations between the Governor and the members of the General Assembly were of the most cordial nature, yet they differed as to where the power was lodged for the erection of new counties, and the establishment of county seats. St. Clair held that the Ordinance had placed it exclusively in the Executive. The others, that in case of new counties to be formed from those originally erected by the Governor, it belonged of right to the General Assembly. Bills for the erection of six new counties had been passed by the Legislature and vetoed by the Governor. This action provoked a remonstrance, addressed to Congress, against the unqualified veto given to the Governor, and led to an unhappy controversy, which ended only when the Eastern District was admitted as a State.

Before being prorogued by the Governor the General Assembly issued an address to their constituents, in which they reviewed their labors; referred to the provision made by Congress for education, and concluded with this incitement to moral duty: "'Religion, morality and knowledge are necessary to all good governments.' Let us, therefore, inculcate the principle of humanity, benevolence, honesty and punctuality in dealings, sincerity, charity and all the social affections.[1]"

The election of a Delegate to Congress resulted in the choice of William Henry Harrison, by a vote of eleven to ten cast for Arthur St. Clair, Jr. The office of Secretary of State again became vacant, and was filled by the appointment of Charles Willing Byrd, on the 30th of December. Mr. Harrison made an active representative in Congress. He secured the adoption of a resolution to subdivide the surveys of the public lands, and to have them offered for

[1] *Journal Legislative Council*, 1799. Vol. II., *post.*

sale in small tracts—a measure of vital interest to the settlers, many of whom under the system which left the retailing of lands to the control of speculators, had been unable to obtain homesteads, and were excluded from the privilege of participating in the political affairs of the Territory. He also secured an extension of the time of payment, for those who had obtained pre-emption rights to lands previously bought of Judge Symmes, lying north of his patent.

Mr. Harrison was made chairman of a committee to report a plan for a division of the North-western Territory. On May 28, 1800, Governor St. Clair addressed him a letter recommending that the division be made into three districts —the first with the Scioto as the western boundary, and Marietta as the seat of government; the second, whose western boundary should be a line drawn from that part of the Indian boundary opposite the Kentucky, with Cincinnati as the capital; and the third, all of the Territory lying west of the Middle District, with Post Vincennes as the seat of government. This division to be only temporary until there should be a population sufficient to cary out the provisions of the Ordinance for the erection of states. But it was objected that this would delay the formation of a State from the Eastern district, and, Mr. Harrison being in the interest of the State party, the division was made into two districts. The new district known as Indiana Territory, was organized with Mr. Harrison as Governor, and Colonel John Gibson, of Pennsylvania, as Secretary. With the organization of this Territory, Governor St. Clair's connection with the Wabash and Mississippi country terminated. William McMillan was chosen to fill the unexpired term of Mr. Harrison as delegate in Congress, and Paul Fearing for the new term. These changes required the election of new men to fill the vacancies in the General Assembly. The most notable one was the appointment of Solomon Sibley, of Detroit, to take the place in the Council of Henry Vanderburgh, who had been excluded by the division of the Territory. This occurred in December, 1800.

Since the advent of Moses Cleveland and associates in

the Territory, Governor St. Clair had been somewhat embarassed in the administration of government in the Northeastern District, as it was known that the jurisdiction of the United States there was regarded with a jealous eye. The settlers did not recognize the Territorial Government, and, of course, took no part in the affairs of Washington County, in which they had been included by Governor St. Clair's proclamation. They petitioned Congress for relief, and failing there laid a statement of their grievances before the General Assembly of Connecticut, in 1798. In 1800, on account of losses and delays in their enterprize, due to a lack of civil government, the Land Company asked the State to abate the interest due upon their payments.[1] Happily the difficulty was removed this year by the transfer of the State claim of jurisdiction to the United States, and through the President the fee of the soil by patent to the Governor of the State, for the use of grantees and purchasers, claiming under her.[2] This district was immediately erected into a county by Governor St. Clair, who gave to it the name of Trumbull, and established the county seat at Warren. He issued a proclamation for the election of a Territorial Representative.[3]

Governor St. Clair heard of the death of General Washington while he was at Cincinnati in January, 1800. The loss of this most eminent man and best of friends, affected him deeply, and he withdrew from the public to commune with his own heart. Let no pen offend the sacredness of that retirement by attempting to describe the grief of St. Clair as he recalled the past, and the tender, confiding friendship of the departed hero. Saturday, February 1st

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[1] *Whittlesey's Hist. Cleveland*, p. 354.

[2] See *U. S. Land Laws*, 104.

[3] "The manner of conducting the election was after the English mode. That is, the Sheriff of the county assembled the electors by proclamation, presided at the election, and received the votes of the electors orally, or *viva voce*." At this election, which was held on the second Tuesday of October, all Trumbull County, that is, the Western Reserve, cast 42 votes. Of this number General Edward Paine received 38 votes.—See *Whittlesey*, p. 358.

was set apart for the purpose of paying the most solemn funeral honors to the memory of the man who was "first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen," at the military posts. St. Clair took part in the ceremonies at Fort Washington, which were arranged by the commandant.

Through the influence of the Virginians who had taken possession of the Scioto district, the act which divided the Territory also removed the seat of government from Cincinnati to Chillicothe. Accordingly, the second session of the Territorial General Assembly, which began on the first Monday in November, 1800, was held at that place. Governor St. Clair's address on this occasion, as on that of the opening of the first session, was replete with important suggestions as to legislation for the perfection of the government, and the general good. He assured the members of the General Assembly that it would afford him pleasure to join with them in every measure that would benefit the people, and by carrying them faithfully into execution, to give to them the effect desired.

Among the topics mentioned were, education, taxation, justice to the Indians, and the purity of elections, in the discussion of which he displayed the broadest and most enlightened statesmanship. For the full text of this able state paper the reader is referred to another part of this work. I refer here only to a sentence or two relating to the Indians and elections, to aid in more clearly bringing into view the character I am portraying:

"To act honestly, fairly and justly, and to perform our promises to Indians with whom the nation is at peace," said he, "is as much or more a duty than to those who are in the highest state of civilization, and it is within the sphere of your legislative power to compel it. It has long been a disgrace to the people of all the States bordering upon the Indians, both as men and as Christians, that while they loudly complained of every injury or wrong received from them, and imperiously demanded satisfaction, they were daily offering to them injustice and wrongs of the most

provoking character, for which I have not heard that any person was ever brought to due justice or punishment."

On elections:

"The freedom and purity of elections are the very soul and spirit of representative governments. If the electors are under any undue influence, though they may give their votes, they do not make their choice; and if they are corrupted, the wholesome stream which should flow through the whole body politic is poisoned at its source, and must carry that poison with it through all its ramifications."

The Governor then pointed out in what manner the law for the election of Representatives should be amended to prevent bribery, and alluded to a greater danger which threatened the electors:

"The lands in this country have been generally held at first by a few individuals in very large quantities, and sold out by them in parcels on credit. Hence, it happens that, in some of the counties, the greatest part of the people are their debtors, and in the existing scarcity of money were the payment of those debts to be rigorously exacted they would be exceedingly distressed. A demand of the debts, accompanied by the slightest hints that in case of voting for a certain candidate further time would be given, would have a certain, perhaps, a more certain influence than a direct proposal to buy their votes. Hence, a few persons in the different counties combining would have it in their power to influence the whole elections in the country, and, instead of a representation of the people, we should have a representation of the great landholders only, who, no doubt, would serve their interests in preference to those of the whole people. It may, therefore, be not improper for you to consider whether the mode of election by ballot should not be substituted for that now used, *viva voce*, as the best way of guarding against that not improbable evil; for, though it be true that the mode by ballot is liable to much deception and intrigue, it is free from that kind of influence I have mentioned. No measure can of itself be simply good; the circumstances of thé case to which it is to be applied determines its propriety."

The recommendation of Governor St. Clair was not carried out until after the change from Territorial to State government.

Having disposed of the public business, the Governor concluded his address with a vigorous reference to his enemies.

"My term of office, and yours, gentlemen of the House of Representatives, will soon expire. It is, indeed, very uncertain whether I shall ever meet another Assembly in the character I now hold; for, I well know that the vilest calumnies and greatest falsehoods are insidiously circulated among the people, with a view to prevent it. While I regret the baseness and malevolence of the authors, and well know that the laws have put the means of correction fully in my power, they have nothing to dread from me, but the contempt they justly merit. The remorse of their own consciences, will one day be punishment sufficient. Their acts may, however, succeed. Be that as it may, of this I am certain—that, be my successor who he may, he can never have the interest of the people of this Territory more truly at heart than I have had; nor labor more assiduously for their good than I have done. I am not conscious that any one act of my administration has been influenced by any other motive than a sincere desire to promote their welfare and happiness."

This was public notice that the Governor was inclined to change his policy, and might no longer pass by in silence those who reviled him. Heretofore, throughout a long life passed in the public service, his command of temper had been exemplary. He had early schooled himself in the principles so admirably expressed by John Quincy Adams, in 1805, in his Diary: "In public affairs, it appears to me, there is no quality more useful and important than good humor, because it operates continually to soften the asperities which are continually rising in the collisions of adverse interests and opinions." But now, when one's enemies, regardless of long public services and white hairs, presume on this forbearance, may not one doubt his own philosophy, and give as well as take blows?

To this personal allusion the Council, in their reply, responded in this sympathetic manner:

"It is with real concern and indignation that we view the malicious attempts which have been made to asperse the character of your Excellency; and though the provisions of the law might subject the authors to punishment, yet we agree with you, that attempts so despicable and wicked deserve no other notice than contempt. Believing that your general conduct, as chief magistrate, has been dictated by a pure desire to promote the interests and welfare of the people of this Territory, the Legislative Council feel it a duty incumbent upon them, at this time, to express their confidence in your administration, and their wishes for its continuance."

The address of the House of Representatives was hardly less complimentary:

"We regret, sir, that calumny and falsehood should be resorted to in order to render your administration unpopular among the good people of this Territory; but, we trust, the services you have rendered heretofore in the cause of liberty and your country, together with the manifest purity of your intentions since you have been entrusted with the dignified office you now fill, will be a sufficient shield to guard you against the unprovoked attacks of the wicked and malevolent."

The unfortunate difference of opinion as to where was lodged the power for the formation of counties, which had been the only one to disturb the harmony of the relations between the Governor and the General Assembly at the first session, again obtruded itself. He had given his reasons for refusing to approve of the counties they had formed, which the reader of to-day will declare to be forcible, and should have been satisfactory then; but they were *not* satisfactory to many members of the Legislature. They insisted that, "after the Governor had laid out the country into counties and townships, as he had already done under the first grade of government, it was competent for them to pass laws, altering, dividing, and multiplying them at their pleasure, to be submitted to him for his approbation;"

that "when the Territory had been divided into counties by the Governor, his exclusive power was exhausted, and any alterations thereafter required, were to be made by the Legislature, with his assent.[1]" This view was subsequently sustained by Congress, but as that was in the midst of a political contest, the action had no value in determining which opinion was more nearly in keeping with the letter and spirit of the Ordinance.

The Governor's opinion of the power of the Executive under the clause of the Ordinance relating to this subject, was succinctly stated in a communication to the General Assembly in 1799: "It appears to me that the erecting new counties is the proper business of the Executive. It is, indeed, provided that the boundaries of counties may be altered by the Legislature, but that is quite a different thing from originally establishing them. They must exist before they can be altered, and the provision is express that the Governor shall proceed from time to time, as it may become necessary, to lay them out. While I shall ever most studiously avoid encroaching on any of the rights of the Legislature, you will naturally expect, gentlemen, that I will guard, with equal care, those of the Executive."

There was another reason for his conservatism in this matter, which I have obtained a glimpse of in his papers: The greed which characterized the transactions in land actuated those who were speculators to seek to control the establishment of county towns. They hoped thereby to increase the value of their lands, as the public improvements in the way of buildings and roads, and superior school advantages incidental to a county seat, would attract the better class of settlers to such neighborhoods. Hence, the hot strife over this business. A striking illustration was afforded in the case of the county of Adams. Nathaniel Massie and associates, who, at great hazard of life, had, in 1790, established a station on the north bank of the Ohio, twelve miles above Maysville, sought to have their town,

[1] *Burnet's Notes*, p. 321. Mr. Burnet, being a member of the Council, his statement of the opinion of the Legislature is valuable.

known as Manchester, made the county seat of Adams county. In the absence of the Governor, Secretary Sargent, upon the petition of other inhabitants, appointed commissioners, who reported in favor of locating it at Adamsville, on Brush Creek. Great contention grew out of this, and when the Governor returned, he found it necessary to take such action as should bring peace to the different communities. At great personal inconvenience, he visited that section of country, which he examined thoroughly, accompanied by two citizens of Manchester. It was agreed by these that the most eligible place was at the mouth of Brush Creek, where the town of Washington was laid out, and the first Court was held in 1798. But this action, intended for the interests of the greatest number, incurred the opposition and enmity of the property owners of Manchester. And Colonel Nathaniel Massie afterwards got in his revenge, as the sequel will show.

The Governor was at last aroused, and he refused to be bound hand and foot, as had been proposed by those who had schemed to defeat or delay his re-appointment. As his term of office expired early in December, advantage was to be taken of the failure to appoint promptly, and Charles Willing Byrd, the Secretary, who was unfriendly to the Governor, was to become acting Governor, and proceed to carry out the views of the junto. But the Governor responded with a *coup d' etat*, which completely surprised and discomfited the intriguaunts. During the absence of Mr. Byrd from the Territory, on the 2d of December, he informed the General Assembly, by written message, that on Thursday, the 9th of the month, an end must be put to the session of the Legislature, as on that day his term of office would expire, and it was not a case provided for by law, in which the place of the Governor could be supplied by the Secretary.

Of course, this action was criticised, and it occasioned a feeling of disquiet to some of the Governor's best friends. However, soon after the Legislature was prorogued, Governor St. Clair received his re-appointment from President Adams. This re-nomination was singular in that the Ex-

ecutive, in recommending the re-appointment, accompanied his message to the Senate with the protests of those in the Territory who opposed St. Clair's administration. The friends of St. Clair were a good deal alarmed, but needlessly so, as, after a thorough discussion, and the vote was taken, it was found that there were very few opposed to confirmation. This pleasing intelligence was communicated to him by his friend, Senator Ross.

When the new Legislature, agreeably to the proclamamation of the Governor, convened, on the 24th November, 1801, the friction between the House and the Executive was increased. Although the county question was dropped, by mutual consent, yet the Representatives sought a petit revenge by withholding from the Governor printed copies of the bills as they were introduced. This provoked a sharp reprimand—well deserved, it must be confessed—which heightened the feeling.

The business transacted this session was of an uniteresting character, but none the less important. The Governor's views, expressed in an address to both branches of the Legislature, assembled in the hall of the House on the first day of the session, were carried out in the legislation of the session. He recommended that those citizens who were conscienciously opposed to war be exempt from military duty, and from fines provided for in the militia law—intended to afford relief to the Quakers who were settling in the Territory in considerable numbers; that, as it was important that articles sent to foreign markets should be of the best quality, a law be past for the inspection of articles of export; that the criminal laws be revised; that the delegate in Congress be instructed to obtain such legislation as would secure to the Territory the township of land promised but not furnished by Judge Symmes for the support of an academy, and make available the lands set apart for the maintenance of schools and religion; and that a more reliable provision be made for a revenue for the support of Government.

Acts were passed during this session to incorporate the towns of Cincinnati, Chillicothe, and Detroit; to establish

a university in the town of Athens, on land granted by Congress for that purpose; and to change the seat of Government from Chillicothe to Cincinnati.

An act was also passed declaring the assent of the Territory to an alteration in the Ordinance for the government thereof, the object of which was to effect a change in the boundaries of the three States first to be formed in the Territory. This was a political move and caused a flutter among the supporters of a State government. It received an almost unanimous vote in the Council, but in the House there was sharp opposition. The division was as follows:

Ayes—Cutler, Joncaire, Kimberly, Ludlow, McDougall, Miller, Paine, Putnam, Reeder, Schieffelein, Smith and White.—12.

Nays—Darlington, Dunlavy, Langham, McCune, Massie, Milligan, Morrow and Worthington.—8.

Political excitement was now at fever heat, and personal collisions were threatened daily. A mob, inspired by the violence of the advocates of a State government, and aided by citizens of Chillicothe, who were offended on account of the proposed removal of the seat of Government, took possession of the town for two nights, and threatened those members of the Legislature who had been most outspoken in opposition to the political views of the State party. They forced the door of the house in which Mr. Schieffelein and the Governor boarded, but fled before the former, who met them in the hall with a brace of loaded pistols.[1] Governor St. Clair sent a special message to the Legislature on the disgraceful proceedings, and wrote to the Secretary of State, giving a circumstantial account of the affair.

The members of the Legislature who had voted against the act providing for a change of boundaries, entered a formal protest against it, issued an appeal to the people to aid in obtaining the authority of Congress to erect a State government within the bounds assigned in the Ordinance to the first State. These papers, with others of a confidential nature, were placed in the hands of Thomas Worthington,

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[1] *St. Clair Correspondence.* Also *Burnet*, p. 333.

who was dispatched to Philadelphia to secure the much-desired legislation.[1]

The parties, who had been skirmishing through the press and in pamphlets, were now brought face to face in a deadly struggle. To enable the reader to understand the situation more clearly, we will go back a few months. Some of the leading citizens of Marietta had issued a calm address against a change from the Territorial to a State government, which provoked a whole broadside from the pro-State people. I find in a number of the *Scioto Gazette*, October, 1801, the most reasonable statement of that side of the case, and include its points in my sketch. The writer painted the future in bright colors, but he set out to catch the populace. It may be remarked that the Ordinance of 1787 was not held then by the pro-State party in such reverence as it is by the people of the North-west in the year 1881:

The writer in the *Scioto Gazette* considered that the Territorial Government was ill-adapted to "the genius and feelings of Americans;" it only being necessary to direct attention to the Ordinance of Congress for the government of the Territory, to convince one of "the utter impossibility of a government conducive to national happiness in this enlightened day being administered under it, 'unless by a person more than mortal.' This government, now so oppressive, was prescribed by the United States, at a time when civil liberty was not so well understood as at present, and when it could not be contemplated but for the government of a few.

"It is added by the remonstrants [Marietta], 'that no colony ought to wish to emerge from this State unless there be danger that the paramount government will infringe its rights, till it has made a comfortable provision for its wants, till it has made considerable progress in its improvements, till it has made its necessary arrangements for education, till it has, in some measure, consolidated its social system;

[1] *Worthington Papers.*

in a word, till it has not only become able to bear the weight of its own independence, but also to preserve its liberty by the force of its principles.' It is then asked, 'Is this our situation? Where are our improvements? What is the state of our agriculture? Our commerce? Our manufactories, etc., etc.?' To all of which I would answer, that, in my opinion, a state government is the only probable way to produce such a desirable situation. To talk about our rights being infringed by the paramount government when we enjoy none, is like the moral to the fable which concludes the Marietta address, 'it is all sound, no substance.' . . . We entered into the second grade of this government without a cent in the public treasury and much in debt; recourse was had to paper. This year's revenue will redeem it all and furnish cash for the present year's expenses. Considerable progress in improvements and necessary arrangements for education are making, but can not, in the nature of things, be perfected in our present situation. It must be well known that men of wealth and independence of sentiment are deterred from migrating to the Territory because they can not brook the idea of living under a government like ours. But let a change take place—let a government congenial to Americans be adopted, and it will be like opening the floodgates to a mill, wealth will flow in upon us, improvements and agriculture will adorn our lands; the creeks and rivers emptying into the Ohio will roll along to the Mississippi, conveying food to thousands suffering from want; manufactories will spring up in the wilderness; proper arrangements for education will be perfected; a new Athens, with other seminaries of learning, will discover their towering steeples above the lofty oaks, and soon send forth into the world youths ornamental to human nature. Our prolific plains covered with herds, our farms, loaded from the lap of plenty, gladdening their owner's hearts, and our government, like the tree of liberty, extending its benign branches over all our citizens, and, with a paternal care, sheltering and defending them from tyranny and oppression, will cause the astonished

traveler to contemplate our rising greatness with amazement, and cry out, in the language of the venerable Franklin, 'Here dwells liberty; here's my country.'"

It was shown that the only pecuniary aid received from the general government was the sum out of which were paid the salaries of the Governor, Secretary, and Judges, some $5,500; and that to pay the officials and miscellaneous expenses of a State government, only about $15,440 per annum, would have to be raised. To meet this, the Territorial tax on real property—fifty-five cents on each hundred acres of first-class, thirty-five cents on second-class, and seventeen cents on third-class—was estimated to yield $27,926.90 for the year 1801. In the Territorial officers and the able citizens of Marietta, would be found sufficient talent to form a constitution and put in successful operation a new government.

A "Hamilton Farmer" looked upon the scheme for a State government with misgivings. He believed it was only to furnish offices for the Chillicothe gentry—the ambitious and the wealthy at the expense of the poor, and that well enough should be let alone. There had been the same pother in Kentucky, the same promise of advantages to come. "But how did it turn out? Why, the gentlemen got the places they were looking for, to be sure, but the people have been kept with their noses to the grindstone ever since to make up the taxes, and are not able to do it, and now they are coming in shoals every day to this side of the river to avoid them. But where shall we go to avoid ours, unless we turn Papists and go to the Spaniards, and that would be jumping out of the frying pan into the fire. God knows we find the taxes heavy enough as we are, and where is the money to come from?"

But why expect such plain and practical opinions to prevail against the cry that the liberties of the people were endangered by the Territorial government, and that a plan had been formed to perpetuate the Colonial system, with a view of continuing the influence of a few individuals in the councils of the General Government, and in the manage-

ment of the Territory?[1] The pro-State party had gone in to win. In one respect alone, that of the multiplication of officers and a more general participation in public affairs under a State, they had an advantage that more than offset all that could be said on the other side.

Mr. Worthington met with few obstacles at Washington. There had been a change of administration, and the new party was in power under Thomas Jefferson. The influence of the administration, for reasons that will appear hereafter, was with Mr. Worthington and against a continuance of Territorial government under a change of boundaries. The provision of the Ordinance requiring a population of sixty thousand before the Eastern District could be admitted as a State was no obstacle to politicians who felt there was a necessity for increasing the number of Republican States. The census, which was taken during the previous year showed a population of forty-five thousand three hundred and sixty-five. Could not a State be formed as well with forty-five as with sixty thousand? But in this census were included the inhabitants of Wayne county, who were opposed to the scheme. These sturdy Federalists united with those of Washington and Hamilton counties, might make it difficult to give a Republican party-caste to the new State; or might reject the law of Congress, and prevent the formation of a State government. What should be done?

The managers at the National Capital were equal to the emergency—cut off Wayne County. No sooner said than done.

The act as passed contained two provisions, which the opposition party thought humiliating, and as altering the Ordinance which declared that the States formed from the North-western Territory should be admitted into the Union on equal terms with the original thirteen States. These were: the reservation of the right of Congress to dispose of the jurisdiction of the Territory lying east of the line drawn east and west through the southerly extreme of

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[1] See *Burnet*, p. 341. Also files of *Scioto Gazette* for 1801-2, and *St. Clair Papers*.

Lake Michigan, when the Ordinance had declared it should remain a part of the territory south of it until its inhabitants numbered sixty thousand; and that lands sold by Congress should be exempt from taxation for the term of five years from and after the day of sale.

It was held that a wrong was done to the people living within the district of Wayne, who desired to remain under the government of the country south; and to the people of Ohio, by depriving them of all the benefits they would have derived from the population and wealth of that rich and extensive district.[1] And in the second case, that "the people of Ohio suffered an immense loss by giving up that portion of their sovereignty which authorized the State to extend her tax laws to every species of property within her limits, without inquiring to whom it belonged, or by whom it was claimed."[2]

The most important fact connected with this whole business is, that the only organized body representing the people, and the people as a whole, had no part in it. The scheme for making a new State had a purely political origin. The contest in the election of the last President was so desperately close, and the result in doubt so long, that it was deemed essential to the future power and control of the Republican party that new electoral votes should be secured by the admission of a new State before the next Presidential election should occur. This strength could only be obtained from the North-west. The Republican leaders of that day, who were able, shrewd, and far-seeing, were not likely to overlook a point having such a direct bearing on their cause. One of the most active promoters of this scheme was John Breckenridge, of Kentucky,[3] Mr. Jefferson's faithful

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[1] Letter of Solomon Sibley.

[2] *Burnet*, p. 339.

[3] "NEAR LEXINGTON, 30 *Aug.* 1803.

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"I feel much pride and pleasure in yr State since she has become a Republican State; not only because she will and ought to be our natural friend, but because I had the honour and pleasure of contributing my small mite to relieve her from a corrupt territorial pupilage,

friend, and in political management, the ablest of his lieutenants.[1] To Hon. Wm. B. Giles, of Virginia, was entrusted important committee work, and nearly all of the members of Congress of both Virginia and Kentucky were active in support of the movement. The Virginia colony in the North-western Territory constituted the pioneer corps in the work in hand, and their zeal never flagged. If objection is made to their method, excuse is found in that practice which has obtained in the politics of this country, of charging opponents with being the enemies of society and good government. The active leaders were Colonel Nathanial Massie, Colonel Thomas Worthington, and Dr. Edward Tiffin. Colonel Massie was an older but not an abler man than Colonel Worthington.[2] He was not ambitious of political preferment as was the younger man, but gave his aid and counsel in advancing the cause espoused by the

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and elevate her to the dignified station which her conduct since has evinced she was justly entitled to. Considering the difficulties you had to encounter with your political adversaries, you have succeeded beyond all expectation; and you seem to move on in your arrangements with as much order and steadiness as if you had the experience of a dozen years. It gives us much pleasure and cause of triumph here; but to none more sincerely than to

"Your friend and very humble servant,

"JOHN BRECKENRIDGE."

From MS. among the *Worthington Papers.*

[1] Mr. Breckenridge was consulted by Mr. Jefferson as to the most advisable course to take to counteract the political policy shadowed forth in the Alien and Sedition laws, and he carried with him to Kentucky the famous resolutions of 1798, which were adopted by the Legislature of that State. He is understood to have been the author of the nullifiying resolution of 1799, which took a more advanced step than Mr. Jefferson in the resolutions of the preceding year.

[2] "Mr. Worthington is a man of plausible, insinuating address, and of indefatigable activity in the pursuit of his purpose. He has seen something of the world, and, without much education of any other sort, has acquired a sort of polish of manners, and a kind of worldly wisdom, which may perhaps more properly be called cunning."—John Quincy Adams, in 1805.—*Memoirs*, p. 377.

"Governor Worthington was a man of vigorous intellect, great industry and force of character, and he left a favorable impression when he retired from public life."—MS. Letter of Hon. Thomas Ewing.

other. They were all on confidential terms with the statesmen of Virginia. Colonel Worthington and Dr. Tiffin had hardly been in the Territory a year when they formed the design of driving Governor St. Clair out and affecting a political revolution. This will appear more clearly as we progress with our relation. They were assisted by William Creighton and Samuel Finley, of Ross; Mr. Darlington, of Adams; Judge Symmes, John Smith, Wm. Goforth, and Francis Dunlavey, of Hamilton, and Return J. Meigs, Jr., of Washington. Jeremiah Morrow and others joined later, but the first-named were the active spirits in Republican management.

In order that nothing may be omitted calculated to throw light on this interesting political movement, which embraced in its designs the control of National affairs, I shall quote at some length from manuscripts that have never been published, found in part among the papers of Governor Thomas Worthington. But first, let us present so much of the contemporary account of Judge Jacob Burnet, who was a leader of the Federalist party, as bears on the relations of Governor St. Clair to the politics and the contentions of parties in the Territory. It will be found to be a calm and impartial statement:

"The Governor was unquestionably a man of superior talents, of extensive information, and of great uprightness of purpose, as well as suavity of manners. His general course, though in the main correct, was, in some respects, injurious to his own popularity; but it was the result of an honest exercise of his judgment. He not only believed that the power he claimed belonged legitimately to the executive, but was convinced that the manner in which he exercised it was imposed on him as a duty by the Ordinance, and was calculated to advance the best interests of the Territory. It was admitted that he placed too high an estimate on the powers of his own mind, and on the general correctness of his judgment; and, though modest and unassuming in his ordinary intercourse with society, he very rarely yielded his opinion, when deliberately formed, however erroneous it might be in the estimation of others.

"He had been accustomed from infancy to mingle in the circles of taste and refinement, and had acquired a polish of manners, and a habitual respect for the feelings of others, which might be cited as a specimen of genuine politeness. It seemed to be his desire that persons of every grade should feel at ease when in his company. And it may be said, with great truth, that at the time he addressed the first Territorial Legislature, in 1799, he possessed as great, if not greater, share of the confidence and respect of the people of the Territory than any other individual residing in it.

"When the proposition to form a State government was warmly agitated, and party spirit carried to unusual lengths, he expressed himself freely in opposition to the measure; and, although he did not take an active part in the struggle, yet the mere expression of his preference identified him with the party opposed to the change; and not only so, but the influential station he occupied in the community, and the probable result of his communications to Congress on the subject, rendered him an opponent greatly to be feared; hence, the most strenuous efforts were made to weaken his influence, at home and abroad. To accomplish that purpose, the foibles and faults of a long life were collected, exaggerated, and proclaimed throughout the Territory. False constructions were put on the most unexceptionable actions of his life. Ridicule as well as falsehood, was employed against him to such an extent that strangers to his true character might naturally conclude that he possessed neither talent nor integrity. The free use he had made of the veto power, and the collisions which had occasionally taken place between him and the Legislature, though their intercourse had generally been harmonious and agreeable, were urged against him with great effect.

"It was believed by every person who witnessed the change of treatment received by the Governor from the advocates of a State Constitution, before and after the agitation of that subject commenced, and who had noted the circumstances attending it, that his opposition to their pro-

ject was the chief ground of their opposition to him; and that, if he had united with them on that question, the differences of opinion, and the occasional collisions which had occurred during his administration, would have been forgotten, or remembered only as unimportant errors in judgment, not affecting his wisdom, integrity, or patriotism. Be that as it may, one thing is very certain; that, as the discussion of that project progressed, his supporters were fast deserting him, and, before it closed, a majority of the persons who had been his friends and admirers, were associated with his most active opponents, and seemed to have forgotten that they had ever believed him to possess a single virtue.

"The efforts made to injure his character, and weaken his influence, were attributed by himself and friends to unworthy motives. Some alleged that the hostility of his opponents proceeded from a belief that it was necessary to prostrate him to accomplish their own political views. But, on a calm review of those party conflicts, after a lapse of more than half a century, many circumstances, over which the mantle of oblivion has been thrown, might be uncovered, which would account for the conduct of the leaders of both parties, without ascribing to them more of self-interest or less of honesty of purpose than falls to the lot of those who were not called consistent politicians. Some part of the Governor's conduct was condemned by his best friends, and was well-calculated to excite a warmth of feeling in his opponents which might have led upright men beyond the limits of moderation and even of justice.

"The Governor had many fast friends remaining in the Territory, who received a full share of the abuse in which he participated so largely, and who were not slack in their efforts to sustain him; but the most successful defense of his chactater came from a distant and unexpected quarter. Mr. Charles Hammond, a young lawyer of Wheeling, then just admitted to the bar of the Territory—unknown to fame, and scarcely heard of beyond the little circle in which he moved, but whose talents, subsequently, raised him to the highest elevation in his profession, and whose course of

life identified him with the history and politics of Ohio, was induced to commence a series of numbers in the *Scioto Gazette*, published at Chillicothe, in which he defended the Governor with great ability.

"At the time he engaged in that defense, he had no personal acquaintance with the Governor—had never been introduced to him, and knew him only as he did other distinguished men, from his life, public conduct, and writings. The journals of the day had given him a knowledge of his military services in the French war and in the war of the Revolution, and also of the manner in which the government of the Territory had been administered; from which he had no doubt of the fact that he was a misrepresented, persecuted man. The publication of that defense placed his character and conduct in a fair point of light—refuted the most serious charge alleged against him, and elevated the youthful writer to a high stand in public estimation."[1]

Judge Burnet did not understand the opposition to the Governor so clearly as he would if he could have looked in upon the Chillicothe committee on political management when in session, devising ways and means for the overthrow of St. Clair. Even if the latter had acquiesced in the movement for a State government, there could have been no union on political principle. St. Clair, like most other Revolutionary soldiers closely associated with Washington, came to be an ardent Federalist. He was in correspondence with Hamilton, and on friendly terms with the members of the Adams administration. We have seen how heartily he approved of the address to the President in 1799. He even entered the lists in public discussion, and printed a pamphlet in defense of the administration after the political blunder of the Alien and Sedition Laws, and sent it to Mr. Adams, with his compliments. The latter made a gracious acknowledgment. "I have read the pamphlet," said he, "with great pleasure, as a masterly refutation of its antagonist, in the style and manner of a gentleman, and seasoned with no more than was useful and agreeable of Attic salt. Happy am I to find such just

[1] *Burnet's Notes*, pp. 378–381.

sentiments countenanced, encouraged, and prevailing in the North-western Territory."[1] Unfortunately, this pamphlet has not been discovered among the St. Clair papers.

The political opinions of St. Clair were too well known to the junto for them to suppose it possible for him to support their movement. On the contrary, they recognized him as the head of the opposition, and aimed all of their blows at him as the political giant to be first dispatched. All of them had received favors of him, but with Massie and Symmes and Worthington and Finley he had come into sharp contact in the administration of the Territorial Government.

The violence of party contentions in the States of Pennsylvania and New York during this period, with which readers of history are familiar, was equaled by that prevailing in the North-western Territory. On the Fourth of July, 1801, there were two notable celebrations in Hamilton County. One, held at Columbia, had as presiding officers William Goforth and Benjamin Stites. Governor St. Clair, who had just returned from a tour to the upper counties, was present by invitation. The following toast, offered during his temporary absence, was received with applause:

"His Exc'y Gov. St. Clair—May his administration be as agreeable to himself as his grey hairs are honorable, and may it be his glory to have been instrumental in metamorphosing the present anti-revolutional, heterogeneous government of the Territory into that of a free State."

At the other, which was held on the Ohio, above Deer Creek, and presided over by Judge John Cleves Symmes, the toasts were all wildly Republican—extolling Jefferson, Burr, Gallatin, Madison, Clinton and McKean to the skies. There was no reference to Washington[2] or to Adams. The following toast will show the drift of sentiment:

[1] *Correspondence of John Adams.*

[2] This silence was respectful compared with the proceedings at Newton, Bucks County, Pennsylvania, on the Fourth. John Hanna presided on that occasion, which was devoted to the celebration of the "Glorious triumph of Republicanism." The following was among the toasts received with applause: "General George Washington—May the *tribute* due to his *memory now be forgotten*."

"The Press and its Martyr, Duane!—May some angel in Jefferson's form knock off his fetters and unlock his prison."

This spirit entered into political affairs in the Territory, and dominated the movement in behalf of a State government.

As early as 1800, Worthington threatened to prefer charges against St. Clair through the Legislature, but that body was found to be less complacent than was supposed. James Ross attempted to pour oil on the troubled waters. In a letter to Colonel Worthington he expressed regret at the feeling against the Governor, and added this (to Colonel W.) encouraging prediction: "This ferment, and the measures taken in consequence, will result in your having a new State,"[1] and then proceeded to show it would be a misfortune to the people.

When the Territory was divided in the year 1800, the measure originated with these same Chillicothe managers. The plan embraced the following objects: 1. The appointment of William Henry Harrison as Governor of the Indiana Territory; 2. The establishment of the permanent seat of government for the Eastern District at Chillicothe; and, 3. Such alterations in the form of the Territorial Government as should vacate the offices. It was expected that this would dispose of St. Clair, but the scheme met with decided opposition in Congress, especially in the Senate, where it went to a committee and was relieved of its special features. Colonel Worthington was notified of this adverse action by Senator John Brown, of Kentucky, who communicated to him the amendment. "You will probably object to the provision which has been proposed for continuing all things for the present in the Territory Northwest of the Ohio as they now exist. The Committee of the Senate were of the opinion that to adopt the principle of the bill would vacate all commissions, executive and judicial, civil and military, and also for all elections for the Legislature, and *all this to answer a particular object in this indirect way, which may be otherwise provided for in December.*"[1]

[1] *MS. Worthington Papers.*

On the 2d May, following, Senator Brown wrote that, as the two houses had disagreed on the bill, "a conference was asked, and, this morning, the managers on the part of the House of Representatives have receded from their disagreement, and the amendment of the Senate, heretofore sent you, may be considered as passed. I congratulate you upon this event, which, in my opinion, will give Chillicothe the permanent seat of government."[1]

The political scheme being only partly successful, the junto next resolved on preventing the re-appointment of Governor St. Clair in December. They sent to the President a remonstrance against the re-appointment, backed by an account of the disagreement between the Executive and the Legislature. Dr. Tiffin also added personal influence, by appearing in Washington and conferring with prominent members of the Senate. This did not escape the attention of St. Clair, as he was kept advised by General Wilkinson, who was at the capital at the time seeking promotion.[2] Some of the friends of the Administration suggested the appointment of Mr. Tracy, of Connecticut, in place of St. Clair, but the President adhered to his original purpose of making a re-appointment. The result has been seen. Some of the Republicans who voted to confirm the nomination were moved to explain their action to Colonel Worthington:—

Senator Brown said: "Under all circumstances we could not well do otherwise. *The applications from the Territory in his favor were numerous and very respectable, nor was it probable, in case of his rejection, that a successor would have been appointed who would have given greater satisfaction.*"[3]

General Stevens Thomson Mason thought that St. Clair ought not to have been re-appointed, but "some members who did not approve of the appointment were induced to vote for it from an apprehension that, should he be rejected, some person more obnoxious might be ap-

[1] *MS. Worthington Papers.*

[2] *St. Clair Correspondence.*

[3] *MS. Worthington Papers.*

pointed, such as Tracy, and that *it would only be exchanging an old and feeble tyrant for one more active and wicked.*"[1]

"I am truly sorry," wrote the venerable General Rufus Putnam to Colonel Worthington, "I am truly sorry that there ever was or should be a petition presented to the President of the United States, either against or in favor of Governor St. Clair. It serves, in my opinion, no other purpose but to create prejudice and a party spirit among the people."[2]

Afterward, when the war on St. Clair assumed the most violent phase, General Putnam took an active part in sustaining the Governor by letter and petition.

Failing in this, there was hope ahead in the change of administration. If the proper effort were made St. Clair might be removed and the way made clear for a new Republican State. The elder Return Jonathan Meigs, a few months before, had explained the necessities of the political situation in few words: "They [the Federalists] are apprehensive that if we come into a State government before the next election of President, the present administration may receive three votes from our then State." "The Federalists will oppose it [an increase in the number of States], because a multiplication of western or southern States will multiply Republican Senators."

Although Colonel Worthington had gone to Washington for the ostensible purpose of defeating a change in boundaries, his real mission was to secure the removal of St. Clair and the passage of an enabling act. The work was pushed with great energy. It was necessary to create the impression that the people of the Territory lived under a despotism, and that there was no remedy for the evils

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[1] *Ibid.* In contrast with General Mason's dreadful view of the character of Mr. Tracy, it is well to read the opinion of John Quincy Adams, as set down in his Memoirs in 1805: "Mr. Tracy shows in all his public conduct great experience and a thorough familiarity with the *order* and course of legislative proceedings. His manner is peculiarly accommodating and conciliatory; his command of temper exemplary." But Mr. Adams was a friend, and not a political opponent, and could not see the devil behind the smiling face.

[2] *MS. Worthington Papers.*

alleged but a radical change of government. To that end the public mind was inflamed by every art known to the politician; and this, again, was brought to bear upon the administration and Congress. That staunch Republican, Judge Meigs, had no patience with such talk, and never gave it his countenance. If the Governor's negative could be qualified he thought the Territorial system of government could not be oppressive in any respect.[1] "We are, and have been for more than thirteen years under the oppressive hand of tyranny," wildly exclaimed that other Republican leader, John Smith.[2] "We want to be free."[3] "Aristocrats," "Monarchists," were the terms usually applied to the Governor's party.

On the 18th of January, 1802, both Dr. Tiffin and Colonel Massie wrote to Colonel Worthington that petitions, numerously signed, had been forwarded to him. February 1st, Dr. Tiffin wrote: "I have used every exertion to get Colonel Massie to draw up and forward on his charges. We appointed three different times to meet on that business." February 8th, he wrote again on the same subject: "We have this day been busy in drawing up charges to forward to the Secretary of State against Governor St. Clair. Colonel Massie, Mr. Creighton, and myself, meet again at my house on Wednesday, and we shall send them on by the next mail certainly. Colonel Massie will enclose the proclamation for erecting the counties of Fairfield, Clermont, and Belmont, agreeable to your request. McMillan is recalled. He will not, therefore, be seen in Washington this year. The Governor is expected through here daily on his way."[3] On the same day Colonel Massie forwarded the proclamations and promised the charges by next mail. "Suffer me, my dear sir," he added, "to tell you that I am highly gratified with your conduct, and if you can remain a short time longer, will be assisted by all our aid that we can give you."

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[1] *MS. Worthington Papers.*

[2] Afterwards U. S. Senator, and implicated in Burr's conspiracy.

[3] *MS. Worthington Papers.*

At last the charges were completed and forwarded under cover of the following note:

"Chillicothe, 12th Feb., 1802.—DEAR SIR:—The enclosed charges I have at length prepared, and have sent them to the Secretary of State, referring him to you for the several documents which you will be pleased to lay before him. I am in hopes this will arrive in time to be of service. They, perhaps, will want some explanation that I am sure it will be in your power to give.

"I am, dear sir,

"Respectfully yr. ob't serv't,

"NATH. MASSIE."[1]

It was evident that, at this time, it was not all plain sailing. On the 20th of February, Dr. Tiffin wrote to Colonel Worthington that he was sorry to hear him express the fear that a law would not pass authorizing a change in the government. "I have used exertions on this occasion to the utmost of my power." "I expect, ere this, you have received the charges against the Governor. I had much trouble to get Colonel Massie to finish them."

The charges themselves will be found in full in the second volume of this work. Let it suffice to remark here that when Governor St. Clair obtained a sight of them, he answered them so effectually that President Jefferson refused to take the action asked. There is reason to believe that Hon. Wm. B. Giles, who was chairman of the Congressional Committee before whom Colonel Worthington presented these charges, and supported them in an argument, advised the President against it. It is known that Mr. Jefferson's friendship for St. Clair influenced him, and that it was only after it was represented to him some months later upon what seemed to be reliable authority, that Governor St. Clair had spoken in public against democratic government, that he issued the order of removal.

Meanwhile, the efforts for an act authorizing a State Government, proved successful in the month of April. Care was taken, in the act, to exclude the Territorial Legislature

[1] *MS. Worthington Papers.*

from all participation in the work of calling the Convention. Congress assumed the responsibility for that, and, distrustful of the people, even after severing the citizens of Wayne county from the Territory, made no provision for submitting the Constitution to the people.

It was still feared by the managers that in some way Governor St. Clair would yet defeat the scheme for a State, and renewed efforts were made for his removal. The feeling is plainly expressed in the following letter from Judge Symmes:

"WASHINGTON CITY, *June* 24, 1802.

"*Dear Sir*[1]:—Here I am yet, puzzling myself with explanations of my Miami business with the Attorney General, who seems willing to hear much and say little, but I have, as yet, no cause of discouragement.

"Governor St. Clair is also at Georgetown, but whether it is hope or fear keeps him here so long, I am not able to say. Some days, I understand, he is in high spirits, and on some other days his mercury stands very low.

"The Attorney General mentioned his case to me the other day, and, of his own accord, told me that he believed there would not be the greatest difficuly in the President's mind, but that some good Republicans had suggested to the President that they thought it would, perhaps, be as well to let Governor St. Clair remain in office until our State is formed, and the people choose a Governor for themselves. My delicacy forbids me to inquire who those good Republicans are, but I boldly advised to the contrary; and yet, I suspect those Republicans live in the Territory. I begin to be afraid that Republicans in the Territory do not agree well on the question of a successor to Mr. St. Clair, and one or more, for fear of not being well pleased with the new, advise a continuance of the old. I am sorry for it, if it be the case. We shall have much to dread if Republicans do not harmonize like clock-work. Jealousies ought to be banished from Republicans, or we fail altogether. I could name an hundred in the Territory that I will assent

[1] *MS.* Letter to Colonel Thomas Worthington.

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to any one out of the number. When I see you, I will let you know a little more on the subject than I care to write.

"I got a letter from Daniel Symmes, dated the 4th inst. He tells me the parties are at it pell-mell in Cincinnati, but that the printers there do not give the Republicans a fair chance; print every thing for Aristocrats, and only now and then a piece for Democrats. *We shall never have fair play while Arthur and his Knights of the Round Table sit at the head*, and yet there are Republicans who recommend his continuance. Astonishing!"

Summer and autumn passed away, and the convention to form a constitution met, organized, and proceeded to its work, and St. Clair was still discharging the functions of Governor. Men of excellent character and ability had been selected to make a constitution for the new state, more than one fourth of whom were opposed to changing from a Territorial to a State Government. On the 3d of November, officers[1] having been elected, Governor St. Clair proposed to address the convention, and was permitted to do so. After the Governor had made his address, "which was sensible and conciliatory," it was resolved that it was expedient to form a Constitution and State government.[2]

The presence of Governor St. Clair within the boundaries of the Eastern District, now about to become a State, was cause of continual disquiet to the Republican leaders. Their sleep was disturbed with visions of Sir Arthur and his knights continuing at the head, even after the District should come to be the State of Ohio. Word went up from Cincinnati to Chillicothe that the Federalists intended to rally round him, and make him the first Governor of the State.[3] They were filled with despair. Dr. Edward Tiffin, who had been promised the first honors by the Republicans, began an active canvass, and in a few weeks wrote, in some confidence, that he thought the situation favorable to their cause.[4] Governor St. Clair had refused the use of his name.

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[1] Edward Tiffin was elected President, and Thomas Scott, Secretary.

[2] *Burnet's Notes*, p. 352.

[3] *MS. Worthington Papers.*

[4] *Ibid.*

While the matter was in doubt, St. Clair's enemies were watchful, hoping for an opportunity to trip him up. They lay in wait for him in public and in the social circle. Two of these[1] had certified, the preceding December, that in a coversation, at a private house, in Chillicothe, the Governor had spoken contemptuously of the government, and said it "would finally settle down into an Aristocracy, and thence into a Monarchy." But even this was not sufficient to convince Mr. Jefferson that a man who had risked his life and spent a large fortune in helping to establish a republic was a monarchist. Perhaps, he did not care to give official countenance to political warfare of such questionable propriety. Within a year, however, he took notice of public utterances in antagonism to the principles of the Republican party, or of opinions reported to him to be opposed to his policy, and directed the removal to be made on political grounds.[2] This official action was in the following form:

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[1] See Vol. II. Note to letter of George Tod, May 29, 1802.

[2] The reader who has followed me thus far, and has seen what came of the mob in Chillicothe in 1801, and of the charges which were drawn up by Colonel Massie, and pressed upon the President and Congress with infinite labor and zeal by Colonel Worthington, in the winter and spring of 1802, may profit by reading a communication made to the Ohio Historical and Philosophical Society, in 1869, which shows the value of "recollections" as material for history. I copy from the proceedings of the Ohio Historical Society:

Robert Clarke read the following paper by A. H. Dunlevy, of Lebanon, Ohio:

"The removal of Governor Arthur St. Clair, in 1802, by President Thomas Jefferson, from the Governorship of the North-western Territory:

"This removal caused much talk at the time, and Mr. Jefferson suffered not a little abuse for an act which was generally supposed to proceed from mere party proscription. General St. Clair had been appointed by General Washington, was a man of great learning and respectable talent, and, though he sadly failed in his military campaign in the West, General Washington had the fullest confidence in his integrity and civil ability. Why he was removed by Mr. Jefferson was, therefore, never understood, unless it was on simply party prejudice.

"General St. Clair was a Federalist of the old school. Mr. Jefferson was a Republican—so-called in 1802—and Judge Jacob Burnet, in his valuable 'Notes on the North-western Territory,' has expressed the

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
WASHINGTON, *November* 22, 1802.

Arthur St. Clair, Esq.:

SIR:—The President observing, in an address lately de-

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opinion that the removal of General St. Clair was a political partisan movement, wholly uncalled for and unwarrantable. Whether this removal was or was not justifiable, was a matter on which the people of the North-western Territory then differed, and on which there is, no doubt, still a great difference of opinion. But whether the removal was right or wrong, the cause of it, and the real actors in it, and the manner in which it was brought about, should be known. It forms a part of our early history, and with a view of correcting the common error on this point, the facts were communicated to me by the late Governor Jeremiah Morrow shortly before his death. They are substantially these:

"In the winter of 1802–3, when the first Constitutional Convention was in session in Chillicothe, there were some warm debates about the point at which the northern line of the State should be fixed, and quite a disturbance having occurred in the streets of Chillicothe one night, it was attributed by some to this quarrel about the northern boundary. Under this impression, though it proved wholly erroneous, Governor St. Clair called the morning after its occurrence, at the room occupied by two members of the convention from Hamilton county, the late Governor Morrow and Judge Francis Dunlevy, while they were in their room and while the late Judge Luke Foster, also of Hamilton county, was present. Governor St. Clair, referring to this tumult in the streets the night before, and attributing it to the dispute about the northern boundary, proceeded to express his entire want of confidence in our democratic form of government, and declared in the most positive language that *we must have a stronger government*, or anarchy would soon be the consequence. In giving expression to these sentiments the Governor used terms of the most violent abuse of all democratic institutions.

"The three individuals present on this occasion were all the warmest advocates of the democratic form of government, and fully believed, while they lived, that, in the progress of Christianity, general education and consequent civilization, the democratic form of government was destined to supersede all others, and hence they were highly indignant at Governor St. Clair's opinions, and believed him holding these sentiments to be unfit for the Governorship of the vast country included in the North-western Territory, then just beginning to be settled.

"Judge Dunlevy, at once reduced Governor St. Clair's expressions to writing. They were signed by the three persons present, verified by affidavit, and forwarded to President Jefferson.

"At the same time they recommended the appointment, as successor

livered by you to the convention held at Chillicothe, an intemperance and indecorum of language toward the Legislature of the United States, and a disorganizing spirit and tendency of very evil example, and grossly violating the

of St. Clair, of William Henry Harrison, then delegate of the Territory in Congress, and so well-known since as the distinguished commander of the North-western army in 1812–15, and finally elected President of the United States in 1840. Governor St. Clair was immediately removed, and General Harrison appointed his successor. But as Congress, about that time, divided the North-western Territory into districts and separate Territories, General Harrison was assigned to the Territory of Indiana, and acted as Governor thereof until his appointment as Brigadier-General, in October, 1812, and placed at the head of the North-western army.

"After the death of Judges Dunlevy and Foster, the survivor of the three who had been active in the removal of General St. Clair, the late Governor Jeremiah Morrow, called on me, as I understood him, to furnish me with the facts relating to this removal, in order that, after his death, I might explain a transaction that had caused so much excitement at the time, and had given rise to a relentless political persecution of a worthy and highly honored patriot.

"If the officers of the Historical Society of Ohio think this matter worthy of their attention, they can use this communication as they think proper. It might be well, in some way, to perpetuate the facts, and thus correct the history of the event. Judge Burnet, in his work, has devoted a large space to remarks on this removal, and attributed it, as he no doubt really believed, as he interpreted the riotous mob at Chillicothe, in 1801, to a wanton and unjustifiable persecution of Governor St. Clair. In all this, however, I have been assured he was mistaken.

"LEBANON, O, *May* 25, 1869. A. H. DUNLEVY.

It would be difficult to crowd into the same space a greater number of errors.

Alfred T. Goodman reviewed the paper of Mr. Dunlevy, and, in attempting to correct the errors made by that gentleman, himself committed others. He erroneously attributed the cause of the removal to the charges drawn up by Colonel Massie and presented by Colonel Worthington. He supposed Colonel W. to be the author of these. Until recently, the papers which reveal all the facts have not been obtainable, and are made public in this work for the first time. Mr. Goodman was right in supporting the statement of Judge Burnet that the removal of St. Clair was made on political grounds. It is customary to speak of the Ohio Constitutional Convention as having been held in the winter of 1802–3. It concluded its labors November 29, 1802. The Chillicothe riot occurred in 1801, and did not originate in any discussion relating to a northern boundary.

rules of conduct enjoined by your public station, determines that your commission of Governor of the North-western Territory shall cease on the receipt of this notification.

I am, etc.,

JAMES MADISON.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
WASHINGTON, *November* 22, 1802.

SIR:—Enclosed is a letter to Governor St. Clair, from a copy of which also enclosed, you will find that his commission of Governor of the North-western Territory is to cease on his receipt of the notification. It is only to be added that no successor has yet been appointed, and, consequently, that the functions of the office devolve on you, as Secretary of the said Territory.

I have the honor to be,
Very respectfully,
Your most obedient and humble servant,
JAMES MADISON.

CHARLES W. BYRD, ESQ., *Chillicothe.*

This official correspondence is a striking illustration of the political madness of the time. That a gentleman of the high character, the culture, and the experience of Mr. Madison could consent to commit such an indignity as to send a letter of removal under cover to a malignant, personal enemy of the officer removed, is remarkable; and it would be difficult to justify the act on the ground of official duty. It would have been impossible for him to have committed any other act that would have been regarded by St. Clair as more offensive.

Thomas Jefferson, Republican, pronounced the address delivered before the constitutional convention intemperate in language, and as exhibiting a "disorganizing spirit." Jacob Burnet, Federalist, who was present on the occasion, declared it to be "sensible and conciliatory." In these radically different opinions the philosophical reader will find food for reflection.

We catch a glimpse of the brave St. Clair in the Re-

publican correspondence of the period, and likewise the bouyant spirits of the young leaders of the new party. Let these excerpts suffice:

William Creighton to Thomas Worthington, Chillicothe, Dec. 27, 1802:

"At present we talk of nothing but the Governor's dismissal. He passed thro' this place on Sat. for Phila. I have just now read his answer to Mr. Madison—one of the severest things I ever saw. We have a host of candidates for the next Assembly. Your name appeared in the list on Saturday last. The people yet continue calm, and probably will during the present election."[1]

January 31, 1803, Return J. Meigs, Jr., announces that the Republicans swept the Federalist stronghold of Marietta by a large majority:

"The Federalists here have grown (if possible) more bitter than ever. They fulminate their anathemas against the administration with unprecedented malice. Such was their obstinacy that (knowing they could not carry a Federal governor) they would not vote for governor at all, but threw in blank tickets."[2]

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[1] *MS. Worthington Papers.*

[2] *Ibid.*

CHAPTER X.

1803–1818.—Closing Days—Importance of the Work of St. Clair in the North-western Territory—A Wilderness Civilized and a People made Prosperous and Happy—Return of the Veteran to Ligonier—Financial Affairs—The Government of the United States pleads the Statute of Limitations, which Act, with the Aid of the Embargo Law, brings St. Clair's Estate to Forced Sale, and reduces the old Soldier and Family to Poverty—Depth of Party Prejudices—St. Clair removes to Chestnut Ridge—Visited by Distinguished Citizens—Interesting Relic of the Revolutionary Period—Privations endured—Sympathy of New York Ladies—Ingratitude—The Last of Earth.

St. Clair's work in the North-western Territory was finished, and he could look upon it with feelings of pride. He had helped to secure from the old Continental Congress the great charter which secured freedom to a vast empire, and made religion and education fundamental principles in the constitutions of the five republics. He had given to the Territory a code of laws better in all respects than any new country ever had before. He had seen that Justice tempered her decrees with mercy, and had infused into all the departments of government a spirit of benignity whose influence is still felt, and will continue to be felt as long as these republics exist. Such services, in the days of the Grecian and Roman world, earned the wreaths of honor and gratitude, and, mayhap, added wealth which insured ease and comfort in old age. But in the model republic, what?

St. Clair returned to Pennsylvania, and in time gathered his family about him at Ligonier. His first efforts were given to the task of putting his private affairs into shape, and if possible securing something to live upon from the wreck of things. He was now an old man, and unfit to embark in business of any kind, but as he had spent his fortune in the service of the public, he was hopeful that the representatives of the people would remunerate him

for his losses. Alas! he knew little of the motives that control men in place. The past to them is dead, and the services which gray hairs recall may look to that past for their compensation. They can add nothing to the living present in which ambition is busy building monuments for the future.

The story of St. Clair's financial troubles, and his efforts to get justice—aye, even the shadow of justice—from the Government, is a pitiful, and to the Government, a shameful one. I have dwelt on the brilliant services of a long life with pleasure, and now that the evening has come with its shadows, I would hasten to the end.

In the dark days of the Revolution, when it seemed as if Washington's army would melt away and leavé him and his officers as the sole force to confront the enemy, he appealed to St. Clair to save to him the Pennsylvania line, the flower of that army. St. Clair at once responded by supplying from his own private resources the funds necessary to begin the recruiting, which was undertaken by Major William Butler. After the close of the war, he endeavored to get this refunded in a settlement of his accounts, but, because of the non-adjustment of other accounts, the Paymaster-General did not allow it, although conceding the regularity of the claim. It was finally presented to the Committee on Claims in Congress, who reported that the money had been furnished and expended for the benefit of the United States, but that it was barred by the Statute.

In the management of the Indian affairs in the Territory, it became necessary as Superintendent, in order to carry out the instructions of the Secretary of War, to become responsible for supplies which exceeded in amount the warrants furnished by Government, nine thousand dollars. When St. Clair sent his account to the Treasury Department it was disallowed, because the accompanying vouchers were not receipted. When this omission was supplied, the contractor required St. Clair to give his personal bond for the payment of the vouchers. When again presented to the Treasury Department for payment, the vouchers could not be paid because there was no appropriation for

the payment of debts contracted under the confederation, and before that could be secured, Mr. Hamilton went out of office. St. Clair had not been anxious about the matter, as Mr. Hamilton had promised that it should be attended to, and that interest should be allowed on the claim. But the new Secretary would do nothing in the matter, and, in 1796, all of the papers were destroyed by fire in the War Office. St. Clair finally applied to Congress, where, again, payment was refused because of the Statute of Limitations! The creditor got a judgment on the bond, and five thousand dollars were paid on the debt; but, in 1810, execution was issued, at which time the debt had increased, with interest, to ten thousand dollars. At that unfavorable moment, when the embargo had driven money out of the country, St. Clair's property was forced to sale; and a most valuable tract of land, on which there was a good mill, a large and well finished dwelling-house, and all of the necessary outhouses for a farm, and a furnace for smelting iron, on which St. Clair had laid out about ten thousand dollars (which was so valuable that at the time it was rented for twenty-four hundred dollars per annum)—all of this property, in value over fifty thousand dollars—a large sum in those days—which would have made him and his family comfortable for the remaining years of his life, was sacrificed to pay a debt which was in no proper sense personal, but was due from the United States. It went under the hammer for four thousand dollars! All of his other property went in the same way, and St. Clair, wife, daughters, and orphan grandchildren were reduced to poverty.

This home, from which they were now driven, was built while St. Clair was Governor of the North-western Territory—about 1799—and was named by him "The Hermitage," in fond anticipation of the time when he should be relieved of the cares of State. It was about two miles north of Ligonier, on a tract of land received by St. Clair at the close of the Revolutionary War. Alexander Johnston says the residence was considered handsome at the time. It was handsomely painted and papered, and, besides ordi-

nary apartments, had a suite of numbered rooms. The situation was picturesque, a fine trout stream flowing in front of the house through an expanse of meadow and woodland, with the blue outlines of the mountains visible in the distance, to complete the landscape. Nothing remained of the old mansion, when last seen, except St. Clair's own room, which was as he left it, but the painting over the fire-place had been destroyed.

In referring, afterwards, to the executions which swept away this beautiful home, and all his personal property, St. Clair said: "They left me a few books of my classical library," (including Horace, one would hope,) "and the bust of Paul Jones, which he sent me from Europe, for which I was very grateful."

Was not this forbearance which spared the counterfeit of an old friend, and the means for forgetting the pangs of hunger and the ingratitude of man sufficient to be grateful for? This was more than the Government did: it took the best years of its subject's life, piled debt upon debt, and then mocked his gray hairs. If, as Schiller truly says, it is the most important concern of every State that justice should prevail, and all men in the world should have their own, how shall we describe the magnitude of the crime that drove, empty-handed, from the door of the Capitol, where Justice, it is supposed, ever has her seat, the man who gave his all to his country?

One is reluctant to believe that party feeling had anything to do with this refusal to pay the just claim of a creditor, and, yet, the debates show that the members entertained a feeling of political animosity that is inconceivable at the present. Even as late as the winter of 1818, when the era of "good feeling" yet prevailed, and an effort was made to pay the principal of the debt due to St. Clair, there was great acrimony displayed in the debates.[1] Then the gallant

[1] In further illustration of the bitterness of feeling entertained by Republican politicians against the old Federalist, I give here the following extract from the proceedings of the House, Feb. 5, 1818:

"Mr. Mercer then moved the following amendment, by way of preamble: 'Whereas, the Congress of the United States entertain a high sense of the tried integrity, as well as of the civil and military virtues,

old patriot did not lack eloquent orators to plead his cause —*his* cause? the cause of honesty and right embraced in the duty of government—for there were Henry Clay, of Kentucky; Charles F. Mercer, of Virginia, and William Henry Harrison, of Ohio, who stood forth in his behalf. But the debt was not paid—never was.[1] Finally, there was wrung from that Congress a pension of sixty dollars per month, but not a dollar of it ever reached St. Clair, for a creditor seized upon it at the very door of the Treasury.

The sacrifice of his home drove St. Clair to the barren lands of Chestnut Ridge, (about five miles west of Ligonier,) where the few remaining years of his life were spent in great privation.[2] His favorite daughter, Mrs. Louisa Robb, shared his fortunes and cheered his remaining days. The dwelling was a log house, situated by the side of the old State road that passed from Bedford to Pittsburgh. Hither many were attracted by the fame of the noble resident, whose dignity of carriage, fire of spirit, and charm of conversation were preserved in spite of his extreme age. Two distinguished men have left their impressions of him in these closing years.

The biographer of General Lewis Cass, referring to that statesman's acquaintance with St. Clair, described him as he was when contending with political opponents at the beginning of the century:

"General St. Clair was a most interesting relic of the

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of Arthur St. Clair, late President of the Congress, and Commander-in-Chief of the Army of the United States, whom they learn, with regret, has been reduced, by misfortune, to extreme poverty.'" This motion was negatived—ayes, 61; noes, 81.—*Annals of Congress.*

Pennsylvania, after St. Clair was reduced in circumstances, settled an annuity of three hundred dollars, and, in 1817, increased the amount to six hundred.

[1] In 1857—thirty-nine years after the death of St. Clair—Congress appropriated a considerable sum for the benefit of his surviving heirs.

[2] During the last four years of his life, the family were frequently in great want. Some patriotic ladies of New York, hearing of St. Clair's necessities, sent him a remittance in money, and afterwards eight hundred dollars in steamboat stock, which, however, proved to be worthless. Nevertheless, the deed was a good one, and St. Clair acknowledged it in a graceful letter.

revolutionary period; tall, erect, though advanced in years, well educated, gentlemanly, thoroughly acquainted with the world, and abounding in anecdotes, descriptive of the men and scenes he had encountered in his eventful career."

"Lewis Cass saw him for the last time some years before his death, in a rude cabin, supported by selling supplies to the wagoners who traveled the road, one of the most striking instances of the mutations which chequer life."

Hon. Elisha Whittlesey saw him in 1815, as he and three friends were journeying from Ohio to Connecticut on horseback. "I proposed that we stop at his house and spend the night. He had no grain for our horses, and after spending an hour with him in the most agreeable and interesting conversation respecting his early knowledge of the North-western Territory, we took our leave of him with the deepest regret.

"I never was in the presence of a man that caused me to feel the same degree of esteem and veneration. He wore a citizen's dress of black of the Revolution; his hair clubbed and powdered. When we entered, he rose with dignity, and received us most courteously. His dwelling was a common double log-house of the Western country, that a neighborhood would roll up in an afternoon. Chestnut Ridge was bleak and barren. There lived the friend and confidant of Washington, the ex-Governor of the fairest portion of creation. It was in the neighborhood, if not in view, of a large estate near Ligonier that he owned at the commencement of the Revolution, and which, as I have at all times understood, was sacrificed to promote the success of the Revolution. Poverty did not cause him to lose his self respect, and, were he now living, his personal appearance would command universal admiration."

The journey is nearly ended. On one of the closing days of August, 1818, the venerable patriot, in his eighty-fourth year, undertook to go to Youngstown, three miles distant, for flour and other necessaries. He bade good-bye to his Louisa and started off with his pony and wagon, in good spirits. The authorities had changed the State road so that it passed along the Loyalhanna Creek, several miles

north of the St. Clair residence, and the route to Youngstown was rough and dangerous. Pony and wagon moved safely along until within a mile of the village, when a wheel falling into a rut, the wagon was upset, and the aged General thrown with great force upon the rocky road. In the course of the day he was discovered lying where he had fallen, insensible, and the pony standing quietly at a short distance, awaiting the command of his old master—faithful to the last. He was carried tenderly back to the house, but neither medical skill nor the tender care of loved ones could restore him, and, on the thirty-first, Death came with his blessed message of peace forevermore.

On a neat sand-stone monument, erected by the Masonic Society, in the cemetery of Greensburg, is this inscription:

THE

EARTHLY REMAINS

OF

MAJOR-GENERAL ARTHUR ST. CLAIR

ARE DEPOSITED

BENEATH THIS HUMBLE MONUMENT,

WHICH IS

ERECTED TO SUPPLY THE PLACE

OF A NOBLER ONE

DUE FROM HIS COUNTRY.

If this work, which unfolds the character and records the deeds of Arthur St. Clair, shall enable the American people to form a just opinion of our hero's abilities and virtues—notably his patriotism, his disinterestedness, his courage and magnanimity, all of which he possessed in a greater degree than almost any other of his day—then shall that nobler monument have been supplied, and in the increase of gratitude and respect for the men who stood faithfully by Washington in the dark days of the Revolution, the divine law of compensation have found its fulfillment.

Unobscured now by party passions and prejudices, the mind, calmly reviewing the past, discerns the truth in every event and the heroic in every character participating in the struggle with King George, and in the work of establishing civil government upon the ruins of war. Justice is dispensed at last. Ever noble shall appear the names of the few faithful companions and friends of Washington. What one deserves to stand above that of St. Clair? His abilities, his genius, his unselfishness, and his loyalty entitled him to share in the councils of his Chief. "As long as the measures which conducted us safely through the first most critical stages of the war shall be remembered with approbation; as long as the enterprises of Trenton and Princeton[1] shall be regarded as the dawnings of that bright day which afterward broke forth with such resplendent lustre;"[2] as long as self-sacrifice for country shall be

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[1] Since the above sketch was put into the hands of the printer, I have received an interesting letter from Dr. W. A. Irvine, grandson of General William Irvine, which confirms the opinion expressed in the text, that General St. Clair suggested the brilliant movement on the Delaware. I take the liberty of adding it to the notes already made:

"IRVINE, PA., *Sept.* 28, 1881.

"*Dear Sir:*—Your letter was laid aside and overlooked. I have no other letters of St. Clair's than those you allude to. I have, however, an incident connected with the General, which I will give you: Thomas Leiper, of Philadelphia, a member of the City Troop which served under Washington during the campaign of 1776, stated to my father, Callender Irvine, that St. Clair had not received the credit he deserved—of having suggested to General Washington the crossing the Delaware into New Jersey, which resulted so favorably to the American cause, and to General Washington's fame. Mr. Leiper said, the fact that St. Clair did suggest the movement was well known in camp. Leiper was a man of high honor and veracity, and would not have stated the fact if not true. At the same time he related the circumstances, he was commiserating St. Clair's misfortunes. It is not an uncommon thing for the Commander-in-Chief to reap all the laurels of his subordinates. True, he assumes all the responsibility of any particular course of action. General Washington, as a military man, had not, I think a suggestive mind, but he had the good sense to know when to follow sound advice. Respectfully yours,

"WM. HENRY SMITH, ESQ., *Chicago, Ill.* W. A. IRVINE."

[2] Alexander Hamilton, whose language has a singular appropriateness in this connection.

esteemed the highest evidence of patriotism; as long as the wisdom that preserved an army to thwart the scheme of the British Cabinet for the subjugation of the Eastern Colonies is appreciated; as long as the republics formed under the Ordinance of 1787 shall endure, so long shall the name of Arthur St. Clair be held in grateful remembrance by the American people.

THE ST. CLAIR PAPERS.

CORRESPONDENCE, ADDRESSES, ETC.

BOUNDARY TROUBLES BETWEEN PENNSYLVANIA AND VIRGINIA—LORD DUNMORE'S INDIAN WAR.

1771—1775.

George Wilson[1] to Arthur St. Clair.

My Dear Capt.—I am Sorey that the first Letter I ever undertook to Write you should Contain a Detail of a Grievance so Disagreeable to me; Wars of any Cind are not agreable to aney Person Posesed of ye proper feelings of Humanity, But more Especially intestin Broyls.[2] I no sooner Returned Home from Court[3] than I Found papers containing the Resolves, as they Called them, of ye

[1]The writer of this letter—George Wilson, generally known West of the mountains, at that date, as Colonel Wilson—was one of the justices of Bedford county, Pennsylvania, "nominated and authorized by the Governor, for the time being, by a commission under the broad seal of the Province." He was not a man "learned in the law," but was, nevertheless, a prominent and influential citizen. He was afterward, upon the erection of Westmoreland county, appointed one of its trustees for the purpose of "fixing a place for building a Court-House [and] a Goal [jail] for the said county." He was, also, made one of its justices of the peace, having received his first appointment February 27, 1773, and a second one the 11th of January, 1774. Colonel Wilson, at one time, resided at Staunton, Virginia, and moved thence to Pennsylvania. He succeeded Mackay as Colonel of the Eighth Pennsylvania Regiment. Died at Quibbletown, New Jersey, in the spring of 1777.

[2]The "intestin Broyls" referred to are the boundary troubles between Pennsylvania and Virginia, the history and progress of which will hereafter more fully be shown.

[3]The first court of quarter sessions of the peace and jail delivery was held in Bedford, April 16, 1771, before William Proctor, Jr., Robert Cluggage, Robert Hanna, William Lochry, William McConnell, and the author of this letter—George Wilson. The Court had the high-sounding title of "Justices of our Lord the King, to hear and determine divers felonies and misdemeanors committed in Bedford county."

inhabitants to ye Westward of ye Laurall hills,[1] ware handing fast abowt amongst ye people, in which amongst ye rest Was one that they Were Resolved to appose Everey of Pens Laws as they Called them, Except Felonious actions, at ye Risque of Life, & under the penelty of fiftey pounds, to be Recovoured or Leveyed By themselves off ye Estates of ye failure.[2] The first of them I found Hardey anugh to offer it in publick, I emeditly ordred into Custotey, on which a large number Ware asembled as Was Seposed to Resque The Prisonar. I indavoured, By all ye Reason I was Capable of, to Convince them of the ill Consequences that would of Consequence attend such a Rebellion, & Hapely Gained on the people to Consent to Relinquish their Resolves & to Burn the Peper they had Signed—When their Forman saw that the Arms of His Centrie, that as hee said Hee had thrown himself into would not Resque him By force, hee Catched up his Rifle, Which Was Well Loded, Jumped out of Dors, & swore if aney man Cam nigh him hee Would put What Was in his throo them; the Person that Had him in Custody Called for asistance in ye Kings name, and in pirtickelaur Comanded my self, I told him I was a Subject & was not fit to Comand if not Willing to obay, on which I watched his eye untill I saw a Chance, Sprang in on him & Sezed the Rifle by ye Muzle and held him, So as he Could not Shoot mee, untill more help Got in to my asistance, on which I Disarmed him & Broke his Rifle to peeses. I Res'd a Sore Bruze on one of my arms By a punch of ye Gun in ye Strugle—Then put him under a Strong Guard, Told them the Laws of their Contrie was stronger then the Hardiest Ruffin amongst them.

I found it necesery on their Complyance & altering their Resolves, and his promising to Give him self no more trouble in the affair, as

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[1] The Laurel Hill is a mountainous range in the South-western part of Pennsylvania. At the Youghiogheny River going North, it becomes Chestnut Ridge, and the range east of it receives the name of Laurel Hill. Colonel Wilson's home was in what is now Fayette county.

[2] "I understand by Captain John Haden, the bearer of this, that there is an agreement entered into by a number of the inhabitants of Monongahela and Redstone. They have entered into a bond or article of agreement, to join and keep off all officers of the law, under a penalty of fifty [pounds], to be forfeited by the party refusing to join against all officers whatsoever." —*Extract from a Letter written at "Stewart's Crossings," in what was then Bedford county, August* 9, 1771. The explanation of this unusual determination of the people of that section is, they were living in disputed territory—claimed by both Virginia and Pennsylvania.

hee found that the people Ware not as hardey as hee Expected them to be, to Relece him on his promise of Good Behavour.

I am affraid Sum Who Have Been too much Countenanced By their King & and ye province of Pensallvania are Grate accesoreys to those factions, & God Knows where they May Eind. I have, in my Little time in Life, taken the oath of Alegence to His Majestie seven times, & allways Did it with ye Consent of my Whole Heart, & am Determined in my proper place to Seport the Contents thereof to ye outmost of my power, as I look on it as my Duty to Let those things be known to Government, & my acquaintance at Philladelphia is none. I Expect you will Communicat those things to them, that the Wisdom of Government may provide Remedies in time, as there are numbers in the Lowr parts of ower Settlement still incressing ye faction.

It givs mee Grate Pleasure that my nighbours are Determined not to Joyn in the faction, & I Hope the Difiant Majestrits in this side ye Mountains will use their influence to Discorage it. I understand Grate thrates are made against mee in partikolaur if possible to intimidate mee With fear, & allso against the Sherifs & Constables, & all Ministers of Justice, But I Hope the Laws, ye Bullworks of ower nation, will be Seported in Spight of those Low Lifed trifling Raskells.

Give my Complements to Mr. George Wood,[1] Mr. Dohertey[2] & Mr. Frazor,[3] and Except of myn to your Self.

SPRINGHILL TOWNSHIP,[4] Aug't 14th, 1771.

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[1] George Woods, a resident of Bedford, was, at that date, a Justice of the Peace, his commission bearing date March 11, 1771. He was re-appointed February 27, 1773, and was a member of the Assembly for that year. He served as Treasurer of his county in 1773-4.

[2] Bernard Dougherty, a prominent citizen of Bedford, was one of the Justices of the Peace for Cumberland county when the territory included all of what was afterward the county of Bedford—his commission as such bearing date May 23, 1770. At the date of Mr. Wilson's letter, he was one of the Justices of his county—receiving his appointment March 11, 1771. He was re-appointed February 27, 1773, and was a member of the Assembly for the years 1774 and 1775.

[3] John Frazer left Fort Cumberland about the year 1758, and came to the fort at Raystown, now Bedford. He erected the first house outside the stockade, and his son William was the first white child born outside the fort. This was in 1759. At the date of Colonel Wilson's letter, the father was a Justice of the Peace for Bedford, his appointment dating March 11, 1771. He was re-commissioned February 27, 1773.

[4] This was one of the original townships of Bedford county; the others were Ayr, Bedford, Cumberland, Barree, Dublin, Colerain, Brother's Val-

ARTHUR ST. CLAIR TO JOSEPH SHIPPEN, JR.[1]

BEDFORD, *Sept'r 24th*, 1771.

Sir:—I am favored with yours of the 22d of August inclosing twelve Tavern Licenses; mine to you in April I find has miscarried. I had a particular reason for wishing that letter safe, but I hope soon to have the pleasure of seeing you in person.

I am sorry the papers I now enclose will contradict the favorable account I have given of our county; indeed I am apprehensive there will be a great deal of trouble on our frontier. A ridiculous story that Mr. Cressap[2] has spread with much industry that this Province did not extend beyond the Alleghany Mountain, but that all to the westward of it was King's Land, has taken great hold of the people, and together with Mr. Croghan's claims and surveys[3] has put

ley, Fairfield, Mt. Pleasant, Hempfield, Pitt, Tyrone, Rosstrevor, Armstrong, and Tullileague. Spring Hill took in a large part of what is now Fayette county, the whole of Greene, and a portion of Washington.

[1] "2d January, 1762. Memorandum. This day the Governor executed a Commission appointing Mr. Joseph Shippen, Junior, Secretary and Clerk of the Council, for the Province of Pennsylvania, etc."

"November the 1st, 1763. Mr. Joseph Shippen, Junior, being continued Provincial Secretary and Clerk of the Council, etc."

"Thursday, 17th October, 1771. The Governor informed the Board that he continued Mr. Joseph Shippen, Jun'r, in the office of Provincial Secretäry and Clerk of the Council, etc."—*Extracts from the Minutes of the (Pa.) Provincial Council.*

[2] Micheal Cresap, a well-known citizen, at that time, of Old Town, Maryland, which place was generally called "Cresap's," and is so marked on some of the maps of that period. He was frequently west of the mountains. He was a native of the State in which he lived. The use of his name (though wrongfully) in the celebrated "appeal" of Logan, the Mingo chief, has made it familiar to every school-boy.

[3] George Croghan (pronounced Crohon) was a native of Ireland. He first settled upon the Susquehanna, where as early as 1746, he was engaged in the Indian trade. He afterward was agent for Pennsylvania among the Indians upon the Ohio and tributaries. He erected a fort at the site of the present Shirleysburg, Huntingdon county Pennsylvania. Early in the French War, he was a captain; but, in 1756, he threw up his commission, and repaired to Sir William Johnson, who appointed him a deputy Indian agent of the Pennsylvania and Ohio Indians. After Pontiac's War, he lived at his settlement upon the east side of the Alleghany river, four miles above Pittsburgh, where, as Sir William's deputy, he continued very efficient. Here Washington visited him on the 19th of October, 1770; and here he still resided at date of this letter.

Croghan's "claims and surveys" were all in the vicinity of Pittsburgh. "Our friend, Mr. Croghan," said the Six Nations of Indians at a treaty held

numbers in a very doubtful situation, and will probably make it very difficult to carry the laws into execution; I wish it may not end in a regulating scheme like what was lately in Carolina, certain it will be impossible to collect the taxes in some parts of that country. You will see by Col. Wilson's Letter[1] that he has been active in suppressing a commotion in his neighborhood, and I hope you will be so good to represent it to the Council[2] in its proper light. There have lately been two Indians murdered near Fort Pitt;[3] the person who committed it is now in our jail but denies the fact—but he had owned it to several which with other circumstances I hope will be sufficient to convict him. The Judges I doubt will not be very fond of coming here to try him. I had the fellow sent to Fort Pitt and confined there a few days, that the Indians might see him and know that we were willing to do them justice, and went up myself to his examination before them; they seemed to be pleased with it, but it is hard to tell what they really think.

I am very glad to hear of Mr. Penn's[4] safe arrival in England in so short a time, and hope to hear soon of the Governor's arrival here.[5]

I beg my Compliments to Mrs. Shippen.

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at Fort Stanwix (Rome, in the State of New York), in 1768, "long ago got a deed for lands from us, which may now be taken into Mr. Penn's land;" and it was so taken. Notwithstanding this, Mr. Croghan was, at the writing of this letter, "making out patents to such persons as will buy of him." These facts, with Cresap's report that Pennsylvania "did not extend beyond the Alleghany Mountain," made it difficult, as the sequel shows, "to carry the laws into execution," as St. Clair quaintly expresses it.

[1] By this it will be seen that the previous letter—Wilson to St. Clair—was forwarded to Shippen.

[2] The Provincial Council of Pennsylvania; of which body Mr. Shippen was Clerk, as before noticed.

[3] Pittsburgh. The fort, at this date, had a small British garrison.

[4] John Penn. "A Proclamation. Whereas, The Honourable Thomas Penn, and Richard Penn, Esquires, true and absolute proprietaries and Governors in Chief of the Province of Pennsylvania, and Counties of New Castle, Kent, and Sussex, on Delaware, have been pleased, by their commission, under their hands and seals, bearing date the twenty-fourth day of August last [1769] to constitute and re-appoint me to be their Lieutenant-Governor of the said Province and Counties. . . . John Penn."

[5] Richard Penn was commissioned Lieutenant-Governor the 16th day July, 1771, by Thomas Penn and John Penn, which was approved by the King August 16th following; but this fact was not known to St. Clair when his letter was written; hence his "hope to hear soon of the Governor's [*John* Penn's] arrival here [that is, in Pennsylvania]."

The recommendation I will send the first opportunity after I see a few of the magistrates together.

GEO. CROGHAN TO ARTHUR ST. CLAIR.

June the 4th, 1772.

Dear Sir:—Your feaver of the 2d was Delivered me by Mr. Eapy [Espy] & Mr. Galbreath & I observe the Contents, Mr. Collens Did Write me Some Time ago, & I Inclose me ye Copy of a Leter from Coll. Crisap to ye Inhabitance there, & Desier'd my opinion thereon, in my answer I tould him that my Leters from England Did menshon that the Western bounds of Pensylvania Could Nott Come any Distance on this Side ye Hills, & that I made No Doubt but Coll. Cresaps had been Well Inform'd before he wrote that Leter, & that is my own opinion, how farr itt may be Consistant with the Good of Society for the King's Subjects to be under the Regulation of Laws, Every one will agree, any Law is beter than No Law, Butt when Laws are administered with two much Severity wh have been two often Don fer three years past, it becomes oppressife and unjust.

As I Conceave yr Leter and Infermation as an act of frendshipe, & that I have the highest opinion of yr upright & Just Sence of those maters, I Write you with freedom, & as we are on this topect, pray why did Not the proprietors prevent all those Disputes, by ascertaing thire bounds, I will Submitt itt to yr Self how farr itt is Consistant with the prinseples of Justice, forr thire agents to open an ofese to dispose of Lands so Curcomstanced as to admitt of Dispute, without proscribeing themselves any Limites, when they must well Remember that itts Nott a Great Number of Years Sence the aSembly Refused to build a Trading house or fort heer,[1] aLedging itt to be out of Mr. Penn's Grant, & after that ye Same aSembly Refused Granting mony for the King's use, to aSist in the Reduction of Fort Du quasne,[2] & I Dont Know that Ever Mr. Penn Tuck any meshurs Sence that Time to ascertain his bounds, or make itt Known to the publick, as to any Right that Pensylvania has to

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[1] "Refused to build a Trading house or fort heer;" that is, at the site of the present city of Pittsburgh.

[2] "Fort Du quasne;" *i. e.*, Fort Duquesne—the post, at what is now Pittsburgh, built by the French, and nearly destroyed by them upon the arrival, in 1758, of General Forbes' army. Fort Pitt was afterward erected upon the site.

have a Duridiction over ye King's Subjects Till the Limits of the province is Ascertain'd, as many of ye Subjects Come from Veginea & Maryland, & Settled under ye Ohio Company,[1] those Colonys has as Good pretensions as Pensylvania, and as to Extending ye Line by Dixon[2] beyond ye End of Maryland,[3] its to well know that was Nott Don by authority to Determine any thing:[4] Considering all those Curcomstances, I may Venture to say you will be of opinion that if any objections be made to the Laws or Taxes itt will be Intirly oweing to ye meshurs Taken by Pensylvania in Not acertaining the True Limits of thire Durediction, and publishing itt to the peple.

I Can Truly Say, that I have Neaver advised any person to use a Shereffe or Civil officer of the province, all & such as have ask'd my opinion on these maters which I aShure you is butt very few,

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[1] The Ohio Company was organized in 1748. Its members resided in Maryland and Virginia, with an associate in London—fourteen persons in all. Its object was the settling of wild lands west of the Alleghany mountains, and trade with the Indians. Its members obtained a grant of five hundred thousand acres of land from the Crown, to be chiefly taken on the south side of the Ohio River, between the Monongahela and Kanawha. The Revolution put an end to the existence of the company.

[2] In August, 1763, Charles Mason and Jeremiah Dixon, of London, England, were selected by Lord Baltimore and the Penns to complete the boundary line between the provinces of Maryland and Pennsylvania. They were both eminent suryeyors. The line they run (which extended further westward than the northwest corner of Maryland) has received their names —Mason and Dixon's line; figuratively, the dividing line between the northern and southern States of the Union. The work of Mason and Dixon began late in the year 1763, and ended in October, 1767.

[3] Mr. Croghan means by the words, "beyond ye End of Maryland," to the westward of the north-west corner of Maryland.

[4] That is, the running of the boundary line beyond the northwest corner of Maryland was not done by authority to determine any thing *as between Pennsylvania and Virginia.* This point by Mr. Croghan was, certainly, well taken, as Virginia took no part in the running of the line. As the "back line" between Maryland and Virginia had not been determined, it was to the interest of the former province that Mason and Dixon should continue west beyond the mountains, for the reason that just how far westward her territory extended had not been settled. Her "back line" was, at that period, a subject of controversy between the provinces, depending upon the question of the location of the "first fountain of the Potomac;" as the line was defined to be a meridian, extending from that point to the southern boundary line of Pennsylvania. The province of Virginia claimed all the territory west of the head of the *south* branch, while Maryland insisted that her territory extended as far west as the head of the *north* branch.

I have advised them to Comply. But with Respect to Lands or Taxes I will give you my opinion, which is, that I think the peple are fools if they Dont Keep thire mony till they are fully satisfy'd that thire property is Shure, & that they are under the Duredicton of Pennsylvania, when I have the Pleshur of Seeing you we may talk more on this Subject, & I will Shoe you the Copy of my Leter to Mr. Tilghman[1] on those Subjects Last August, which you will find fair & open, for tho' I know I am much blam'd by the agents & other officers of Goverment, yet I aShure you I have very Litle Connections or Intercourse with any of the Setlers in this Cuntry.

R. L. Hooper, Jr.,[2] to Arthur St. Clair.

Fort Pitt, *July* 10*th*, 1772.

Dear Sir:—I think it will be best to delay doing any thing about the lot we were talking of, till I have the pleasure of seeing you again. Two days ago I was informed of the determined resolution of a considerable number of people in the Redstone settlement,[3] to oppose the jurisdiction of your court in that part of the country, till the western bounds of Pennsylvania are run, and I apprehend the measure will be productive of bad consequences, tho' it may be the means of having that boundary sooner established than it otherwise would be. It does not become me to speak freely of this matter, but you know my sentiments respecting the western bounds of Pennsylvania, and I do assure you that no part of this *deep laid scheme* was communicated to me till within these two days past, and I hope you will believe that I have not been instrumental in promoting an affair, which, if carried into execution, will be productive of many bad consequences. If you hear me censured by any worthy persons, on the score of friendship, I request you will declare my sentiments, but don't shew this letter, as you know how I am circumstanced. I shall be glad to hear from you.

[1] James Tilghman, member of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania.

[2] Robert Lettis Hooper, Jr.; was, afterward, during the Revolution, a Deputy Quartermaster-General.

[3] The locality of what is now Brownsville and vicinity, in Fayette county, Pennsylvania.

ARTHUR ST. CLAIR TO JOSEPH SHIPPEN, JR.

BEDFORD, *July 18th*, 1772.

Sir:—A day or two ago a petition in the name of the people living to the westward of the Laurel Hill, signed by two hundred and twenty persons, was presented to our court. It charged the Government and the officers of the court with great oppression and injustice; and prayed that directions might be given to the sheriffs to serve no more process in that country, as they apprehended it was not in Pennsylvania.

You will remember that I formerly acquainted you that associations were forming to oppose the jurisdiction of the Province. I then thought they would have died away, but they appear now to be coming to such a head as threatens very dangerous consequences; something more than the settlement of the western boundary is certainly aimed at, tho' that is the pretense held forth to draw in the people. I wish it may not be a design to throw the whole Province into confusion, and may not turn out a second Carolina affair.

Col. Cresap appears openly to be a prime mover in this matter, as you will see by the inclosed copy of his seditious letter, forwarded to me by Col. Wilson, and Mr. Croghan is strongly suspected of giving it much encouragement privately. Our sheriff lately informed me he had seen a letter of his to the people about Red Stone, reflecting much on the Government, full of scurrility against all the officers, and advising them to treat sheriffs or constables in such manner as the worst of men would deserve. I took the liberty to write to him about it, and remonstrated freely on the consequences of such conduct. I inclose his answer to me,[1] he denies indeed the advising any act of violence, but in such a manner as seems to say acts of violence would be justifiable, and it is certain that specious kind of stuff with which it is filled, is daily dealt out to the people in great abundance, by the emissary of a party, the members of which I don't know.

A gentleman who is unfortunately connected with them writes me from Fort Pitt, the 11th inst., thus: "It does not become me to speak freely of this matter, but you know my sentiments respecting the western bounds of Pennsylvania, and I do assure you that no part of this *deep laid scheme* was communicated to me till within these two days past, and I hope you will believe that I have

[1] See Croghan's letter to St. Clair, June 4, 1772, *ante*.

not been instrumental in promoting an affair which, if carried into execution, will be productive of many bad consequences."[1] I can not send his letter as he writes to me in confidence, and requests me not to shew it on account of his dependent situation.

The petition was presented by Mr. Brent, a gentleman from Maryland, who practices in our county. He offered nothing in support of it, but the uncertainty where Pennsylvania ends, and the hardship it was on people to live under authority that was perhaps usurped. He was answered by Mr. Wilson, and I assure you the Proprietaries and the people are very much obliged to him. In a very handsome speech of about an hour he opened the Constitution of the Province, compared it with that of the neighboring Colonies, and pointed out where it excelled them. He explained to the people the conduct of the Proprietaries in granting their lands; their great indulgence to settlers; their singular lenity to their tenants, and the peculiar mildness of the whole system of their Government, and concluded with showing to them how fatal to themselves the granting their request must prove. I think it was lucky it was spoken so publicly, as many people from the doubtful part of the country were present, and seemed so pleased with the conduct of the court in rejecting the petition.

If I might trouble you with a conjecture, I would say some people in Philadelphia are at the bottom of all these disturbances. A certain ambitious set who would not scruple to wade to power thro' the blood of their fellow citizens, have still a change of Government in view; by their emissaries, they may embroil the Province, whilst at the same time, by their influence on a certain party in Assembly, the hands of Government may be so weakened, that order can not soon be restored, but this is all conjecture, and I am no politician; but certain I am messengers and expresses pass and repass betwixt Philadelphia and Fort Pitt too frequently for any private transaction to bear the expense.

It were to be wished that the boundary was fixed and so all pretense taken away; but if there are no orders to that purpose, perhaps it might answer a good end to divide this county and fix the county town at Fort Pitt. I believe it is beyond a doubt the Province will extend beyond it, and the people would perhaps think in this manner that the Proprietaries would not take that step without being absolutely certain.

I don't know if it was the intention of the Governor, the special

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[1] See preceding letter, R. L. Hooper to St. Clair, July 11, 1772.

commission of Oyer and Terminer, etc., should have extended further than for the trial of offenses that were then committed; if it was his intention it should extend farther, the gentlemen to whom it was directed mistook, and by not adjourning have suffered it to determine. We have a bill found for burglary which will oblige the judges to come up, or give you the trouble of forwarding a new commission.

I have other matters to write about, but I am fatigued with the hurry of the court, which has been a busy one and will take a more leisure opportunity; what I have wrote about I thought required to be communicated immediately.

ARTHUR ST. CLAIR TO JOSEPH SHIPPEN, JR.

[NO DATE.][1]

Sir:—Since I last wrote to you I have made a little excursion into the country of our rioters, and find that the moderation of our court has very much disappointed them. It seems the design of the petition I mentioned in my last was, to have provoked the court to have committed the attorney, and some of the petitioners who were present, which was to have served as declaration of war, a considerable number having engaged immediately to proceed to Bedford, break the jail, and set them at liberty. Luckily, fear or shame got the better of the worthy attorney, (who is a grandson by marriage of old Cressap,) and the privileges of the Province were so clearly pointed out by Mr. Wilson, that I trust it has had a good effect, a great many people having since paid their taxes that had before refused; however, there is still a number of people, abetted chiefly by Mr. Croghan, that refuse to submit to the jurisdiction of this Province, and very lately the sheriff has been very ill treated by a number of them; about twelve waylaid him, and came upon him and one of his deputies stark naked, and threatened to put them both to immediate death, but after much abuse they consented to let them go that time, but swore in the most dreadful manner, that if they ever returned to attempt to serve process, they would sacrifice them or follow them to their own houses and put them to the most cruel death. The sheriff knew several of them, particularly Abraham Tee Garden and William Tee Garden, the Younger, who

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[1] Although this letter is without date, the context shows it to have been written shortly after the one to Shippen, of July 18, 1772—the last one given.

are the ringleaders of this gang of villains, John Death, Andrew Gudgell and Michal Cock; they were all well armed with guns, tomahawks, pistols and clubs; and the sheriff is of opinion that only for a pocket pistol which he produced he would certainly have met with extreme ill usage if he had escaped with his life.

I have said these people are chiefly abetted by Mr. Croghan, and I think I have reason to say so; for no longer ago than Friday last, the collector and constable whom he had called to his assistance to levy (Mr. Croghan's) his taxes, were drove off by his people, and that Mr. Croghan himself threatened to put any or all of them to death if they attempted to touch any of his effects, for that he was not within the Province by thirty miles.

This will be handed you by William Lochry,[1] Esqr., a magistrate of this county, and treasurer. You will find him an intelligent man, and can give you any further information about matters in this part of the country. I suppose he will be desirous to wait upon the Governor; I will be obliged to you if you will please to introduce him; however, he is a plain, honest man, and allowances must be made for his address. I intend soon to have the pleasure of seeing you, and am, etc.

Bernard Dougherty to Arthur St. Clair.

Bedford *August* 18*th*, 1772.

Dr. Sir:—Having been in town yesterday I wrote you a few hasty lines from thence. I remember to have mentioned that my conduct with respect to the ensuing election should in some measure be greatly dependent on the part you'd act I can (with great sincerity) assure you, that 'twas neither to pay you a compliment, nor to make you believe I did so, that I have expressed this manner. It is entirely in consideration of the duty I owed myself, and the friendship I always possessed for you (friendship that did not consist in professions only, and wanted power, not will, to make it truly serviceable) that I deal thus candidly with you; —— Thompson,[1] having spoke to me, has resolved not to oppose him, and I am (and have always been) resolved not to appear on the opposite side you would be on; therefore if you offer yourself for assembly-

[1] William Lochry; was afterward, upon the erection of Westmoreland, commissioned a justice of the peace for that county.

[1] William Thompson. He was elected to the Assembly from Bedford county in 1771, and re-elected in 1772.

man, I will decline poling for the sheriff's office[1] for the reasons above mentioned. If I do pole, I am not at all sanguine in my expectations, but so resolved as neither to be joyous nor displeased at either gaining or losing the election. I request you will let me know as soon as possible what part you will take, and assure you that (notwithstanding the many representations that have been made to me of your having injured me in the most tender part) I shall not appear against your interest.

Best compliments to Mrs. St. Clair and love to your little family.

ÆNEAS MACKAY TO ARTHUR ST. CLAIR.

PITTSBURGH, *3rd March*, 1773.

Dear Sir:—Your esteemed favor dated Philada., the 12th ulto., I have had the pleasure of receiving. Every body up this way are well satisfied there is a county granted on this side of the hills,[2] altho' I find every body else as well as myself, observes with infinite concern, that the point in question is not attended with so favorable circumstance as we at this place had reason to expect, from the nature of things. I can not but express my surprise at the point determined in favor of the courts of law first sitting at Hanna's.[3] Pray may I ask you the question, Where is the conveniency for transacting business on these occasions, as there is neither houses, tables, nor chairs? Certainly the people must sit at the roots of trees and stumps and in case of rain the lawyers' books and papers must be exposed to the weather, yet to no purpose, as they can not presume to write. Consequently, nothing can be done but that of revising fees, by which means every body (the lawyers, only, ex-

[1] John Proctor was elected sheriff of Bedford county for 1771–2; James Piper for 1773–5.

[2] Westmoreland county. It was taken from Bedford county by act of the General Assembly of Pennsylvania, February 26, 1773. It lay west of the Laurel Hill, and included the whole of the south-west corner of Pennsylvania, as claimed by that Province; but a large portion was claimed by Virginia as being in Augusta county. Æneas Mackay, the writer of this letter to St. Clair, was one of the sixteen justices appointed for the new county, February 27, 1773. Mr. Mackay was re-appointed January 11, 1774. He resided in Pittsburgh.

[3] "Hanna's," so called because of its being the residence of Robert Hanna, the first settler, was on the "old Forbes road," a little over thirty miles east of Pittsburgh, and about three miles north-east of the present Greensburg, county-town of Westmoreland. It was better known as Hannastown.

cepted) going to or attending court, must be sufferers. No doubt but Mr. Irwin[1] and a few more of his party, may find their interest in this glaring stretch of partiality, yet we, at this place, in particular, are too much interested to look over such proceeding in silence. The whole inhabitants exclaim against the steps already taken to the injury of the county yet in its infancy, and that too, before it got its eyes or tongue to speak for itself.

My dear friend, if I had as much to say among the great as you, I would declare it as my opinion that it would be absolutely necessary that the commissioners[2] should be nominated in Philada., by which means I think we could not fail to have the point in question carried in our favor; whereas, should they be appointed up this way, it is ten to one, if Joe Irwin and his associates will not prevail.

I am sorry for our disappointment in our hopes of being indulged with a small garrison at this place, but in failure of that, nothing could afford me greater satisfaction than the prospect of having you, my friend, my neighbor at this place. This I will look for now every day, and if you will send me word when you will set of from Ligonier I will meet you half way and perhaps a Divine and another friend to show you the way up here. As to Ross, he seldom speaks as he thinks—for my part I therefore pay but little regard to his declarations.

The people of this place take great umbrage at the very thoughts of being disappointed of the county town's not taking place here at once, and are, to a man, willing to come to any measure or charges, in order, if possible to frustrate the intrigues carried on by a certain party. I think we can not exert ourselves too much on this occasion, and therefore would be very glad to receive your opinion of the affair and your advice in regard to the most intelligible steps to be pursued in the first setting off.

I would be exceeding glad how soon other affairs could admit of your coming up here, by which means a plan might be concerted, that in my opinion could scarcely fail of succeeding to our wish.

I daily inquire after the welfare of your family, and have the pleasure of informing you that Mrs. St. Clair and the children are well and in good health.

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[1] Joseph Erwin, a resident of the Hanna settlement.

[2] By "commissioners," Mr. Mackay meant the trustees of Westmoreland soon to be appointed—four in all.

JOSEPH SHIPPEN, JR., TO ARTHUR ST. CLAIR.

PHILADELPHIA, *3rd August*, 1773.

Dear Sir:—I received your favor of the 12th ulto. by Mr. Devx. Smith,[1] inclosing a letter from Mr. Mackay; since which the Governor has been out of town, and I have not as yet had an opportunity of acquainting him with the necessity there appears for another magistrate at Pittsburgh, and with your recommendation of Mr. D. Smith;[1] but I shall take the first proper occasion of doing it. We have just received news by the June packet that Mr. John Penn is reappointed to the Government of this Province, which will occasion the postponing of that and other business, except common matters, of course, until the new Governor's arrival, as he is expected so soon as the latter end of this month. He is to embark at Plymouth the 25th of June, or 1st of July at fartherest, in a large India ship for New York. A few days after the date of my letter to you of the 15th May came to hand your recommendation as Clerk of the Peace. The fees on the commission you paid, when you received your other Commissions. The land I mentioned to you in my last letter adjoins and lies below lands of Mathew Rogers; but I shall defer thoughts of disposing of it for the reasons you give me. The reports you mention about blank warrants are absolutely false, and the person who first propagated the story by pretending he was possessed of a number of them, has confessed before witnesses that he never had any, either with the Governor's name or his seal; tho' he had made some few ignorant people believe so, by producing to them blank copies, such as the Surveyor General fills up and directs to the deputies. I beg my compliments to Mrs. St. Clair.

ÆNEAS MACKAY TO ARTHUR ST. CLAIR.

PITTSBURG, *11th January*, 1774.

Dear Sir:—Here inclosed you will find a copy of Doctor Con-

[1] Devereux Smith, of Pittsburgh, was an early settler in the West, and a prominent citizen. He was appointed one of the justices of the peace for Westmoreland county, January 11, 1774.

olly's[1] advertisement,[2] put up at different parts of this village, the 6th instant, several copies of which were dispersed through the country at the same time. This impudent piece will, I am much afraid, be the means of creating great confusion and disturbance in this county, unless proper steps will be taken to check it in time.

The Doctor informs us that Lord Dunmore[3] has made application to General Haldiman for a serjeant and twelve men, to be sent immediately to this place, in order to support his authority.[4]

The captain has already appointed six or seven magistrates, among whom are Major Smallman,[5] John Campbell,[6] and John Gibson;[7]

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[1] John Conolly, a native of Lancaster county, Pennsylvania, was bred a physician; hence, his usual title of Doctor. He was a nephew of George Croghan, and, according to the testimony of George Washington, "a very sensible, intelligent man." He had traveled over a great deal of the country watered by the Ohio and its tributaries, and was well known west of the mountains. It may be here premised that he was selected by the Governor of Virginia to maintain possession of Fort Pitt, as well as Pittsburgh and its dependencies, for that Colony, and to put the militia and other Virginia laws in force there, as against those of Pennsylvania.

[2] The Advertisement was as follows: "Whereas, his Excellency John, Earl of Dunmore, Governor-in-Chief and Captain General of the Colony and Dominion of Virginia, and Vice Admiral of the same, has been pleased to nominate and appoint me Captain, Commandant of the Militia of Pittsburgh and its Dependencies, with Instructions to assure His Majesty's Subjects settled on the Western Waters, that having the greatest Regard to their Prosperity and Interest, and convinced from their repeated Memorials of the grievances of which they complain, that he purposes moving to the House of Burgesses the Necessity of erecting a new County, to include Pittsburgh, for the redress of your Complaints, and to take every other Step that may tend to afford you that Justice for which you Sollicit. In order to facilitate this desirable Circumstance, I hereby require and command all Persons in the Dependency of Pittsburg, to assemble themselves there as a Militia on the 25th Instant, at which Time I shall communicate other Matters for the promotion of public Utility. Given under my Hand, this 1st day of January, 1774. John Conolly."

[3] John Murray, 4th Earl of Dunmore, one of the representative peers of Scotland, was, at this date, as explained in Conolly's Advertisement, Governor of Virginia.

[4] Major-General Frederick Haldiman was in command of the British army in America, also Colonel of the 60th Foot. Fort Pitt had previously been evacuated and dismantled.

[5] Thomas Smallman.

[6] Mr. Campbell was a resident of Pittsburgh, and, during the Revolution, was captured by the Shawanese. This was in 1779.

[7] Gibson was born in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, May 28, 1740. He received

the rest I have not heard their names yet. There is no doubt but all the disaffected and vagabonds that before evaded law and justice with so much art, will now flock in numbers to the captain's standard, if not prevented in time, the consequence of which we have just cause to dread. I hope to have the pleasure of seeing you soon here. I think your presence is absolutely necessary at this time.

P. S. I have been greatly concerned that it has been out of my power to forward the inclosed to you sooner, owing to the badness of the weather, and besides, was at a loss for a person whose fidelity could be depended upon. Polly joins me in compliments to Mrs. St. Clair and the children.

Since I wrote the above, Mr. Espy happened in company with the new captain, to whom Espy said he thought the next court for Westmoreland would be held at Pittsburg; to which the captain replied in a rage, damn him if he would not oppose it;[1] from which, and many other circumstances of the like kind, it appears how determined he will be to carry his designs into execution. It's thought here that 'tis all Colonel Croghan's intrigues.

ARTHUR ST. CLAIR TO JOSEPH SHIPPEN, JR.

LIGONIER, *January 12th*, 1774.

Sir:—Late last night I received from Pittsburgh the inclosed copy of an advertisement, which I think of so dangerous a tendency that I have forwarded it by express, and to prevent all danger of delay, have sent my own clerk with it, that if possible I may receive the Governor's[2] directions before the 25th.

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a classical education. He was an excellent scholar at the age of eighteen, when he entered the service. His first campaign was under General Forbes, in the expedition of the latter to the Ohio in 1758. He then settled at Pittsburgh as a trader. Upon the breaking out of the war with the Indians, in 1763, Gibson was taken prisoner by the savages, but was given up in 1764 to Col. Bouquet, when he resumed his occupation of trading with the different tribes beyond the Ohio, and was thus employed at the commencement of 1774.

[1] That is, he (Conolly) would oppose the sitting of the Westmoreland Court at Pittsburgh.

[2] On the 8th of June, 1773, Richard Penn, "Lieutenant, etc.," was succeeded by John Penn as "Deputy or Lieutenant-Governor of the Province of Pennsylvania," by the "Royal Allowance and Approbation" of the King. He was inaugurated in Philadelphia, with much ceremony, August

Should it so happen that Mr. Hoofnagle[1] can not return in time, but which he will do if it be possible, what occurs to me is previous to the day appointed for the Assembly[2] to demand such security of Mr. Conolly for his good behavior as he will not be able to procure, and in consequence to have him committed; to direct the sheriff[3] to have a sufficient number of such as can be depended upon, to protect the jail, should a rescue be attempted, which perhaps may be the case, and to write to the magistrates,[4] some to attend at the jail, and some at Pittsburgh.

I have written to Mr. Wilson for his counsel on this thought, and to know if there is any other legal way of securing Mr. Conolly, and to desire he would suggest any other method to preserve the peace of the county, which will certainly be greatly endangered.

I need not press you to dispatch Mr. Hoofnagle; the shortness of the time is too evident; suffer me, however, to hint that this service is foreign to his engagements with me.

ARTHUR ST. CLAIR TO JOSEPH SHIPPEN, JR.

LIGONIER, *January* 15, 1774.

Sir:—This will be delivered by Mr. Hanna, one of the trustees for Westmoreland county.[5] To some management of his I believe, the opposition to fixing the county town at Pittsburgh is chiefly owing—it is his interest it should continue where the law has fixed the courts, pro tempore; he lives there; used to keep public house

30th. He remained in office until after the commencement of the Revolution.

[1] Michael Huffnagle was, subsequently, judge of the Common Pleas of Westmoreland county, and held several other offices. He was somewhat of a distinguished character west of the mountains during the Revolution. He was, it will be noticed, at the date of this letter, St. Clair's clerk.

[2] By "the Assembly," St. Clair has reference to the one proposed for the 25th of that month, by Conolly, and his advertisement.

[3] John Proctor.

[4] The magistrates of Westmoreland county, at that date, were William Crawford, Arthur St. Clair, Thomas Gist, Alexander McKee, Robert Hanna, William Lochry, George Wilson, William Thompson, Æneas Mackay, Joseph Spear, Alexander McLean, James Cavet, William Bracken, James Pollock, Samuel Sloan, and Michael Rugh.

[5] At the date of this letter, Robert Hanna was not only one of the trustees of Westmoreland county, but, also, one of its justices of the peace—having been commissioned to the last-mentioned office February 27, 1773. The other trustees were Joseph Erwin, Samuel Sloan, and George Wilson.

there; and has now, on that expectation, rented his house at an extravagant price. Erwin, another trustee, adjoins, and is also public house keeper. A third trustee[1] lives in the neighborhood, which always make a majority for continuing the courts at the present place. A passage in the law for erecting the county is, that the courts shall be held in the foregoing place (the house of Robert Hanna) till a court house and jail are built; this puts it in their power to continue there as long as they please—for a little management might prevent a court house and jail being built this twenty years. This is explanation of a petition to the House, which was sent down lately; it was begun and ended on the Friday of the court week. An unexpected opportunity to Philadelphia offered that day, by reason of which it is to the House only, and signed but by a few people, but the few that have signed it are the principal people; and who acted more from their feelings for multitudes, whom they saw suffering than from their own inconvenience. A like petition to the Governor will soon be forwarded, which will be countenanced, by, I am certain, five-sixths of the whole people.

Mr. Hoofnagle I hope will be almost home before you receive this. I beg you will excuse inaccuracies as I wrote in the greatest

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[1] Samuel Sloan. George Wilson, it will be remembered, resided in Spring Hill township, in what is now Fayette county. On the 8th of October, preceding the date of this letter, he wrote the Governor of Pennsylvania, John Penn, as follows:

"*Honoured Sir*:—After Congratulateing you on your Safe Arrivall to ye Seate of your Govourment, I Beg Leave to acquaint you that Since ye Constetution of ye New County of Westmoreland, We Who Ware appointed Trustees Have Met twice in order to consult on Sum things Relative to ower Duteys in that trust. I apprehend that it Was ye Sence of His Honour ye Govournour and ye Asembley at ye time, that ye Courts Ware appointed to Hold at ye Hows of Mr. Robert Hannow, that they Should Hold there untill the present unsettled State of ye Westrin Boundrey might be more perfectly asertained, for Which Reason I could not Joyn With ye other trustees in Making a Report to your Honour, Which Report I presume is com to Hand Before now. It Was My Advice that a Letter first should be sent to your Honour to Know your Sence of ye matter Whether it would be advisable (as there is a Goale and a Sort of a Courthows in Which ye Counties Busness may be Don in) To postpon the Fixing aney perticular place for a Countey Seat for Sum time Longer untill at Least, We had your advice in ye matter. But As They Rather chose to Make a Report, I Did not Thinke proper to Joyn in that. I Gladly Would Do My Dutey for ye Best & Would be Sorey to Mistake it. I Would be Extremely Glad to know your Sence of ye Matter & am Sorrey to acquaint you of ye unhapey diforances occasioned By Sum ill minded persons, As they Say By Reason of ye unsettled State of ye Westerin Bounderie. I am, etc."

hurry—Mr. Hanna holding his horse whilst I write. I will see you early in the spring.

GOVERNOR PENN TO ARTHUR ST. CLAIR.

PHILADELPHIA, *20th January*, 1774.

Sir:—I am extremely obliged to you for your great attention to the interest of this Government in transmitting, with so much dispatch and care, the intelligence contained in your letter of the 12th of this month, to Mr. Secretary Shippen, and the papers it inclosed.

I can not help being greatly surprised to find that Dr. Conolly hath published an advertisement, asserting his appointment by Lord Dunmore, Governor of Virginia, to act as Captain Commandant of the Militia of Pittsburgh, and its dependencies; and that in consequence of such appointment, he had taken upon him to assemble the people as a militia, under the Government of Virginia, and to appoint magistrates of Pittsburgh.

As his Lordship must certainly know that the jurisdiction of Pennsylvania hath been exercised at Fort Pitt, and in the neighborhood of it, for several years past, and hath not given me the least intimation of any design to extend his Government there, I am much inclined to conclude that Mr. Conolly hath, on this occasion, assumed powers which Lord Dunmore never gave him. However, I shall, without loss of time, dispatch a messenger to Williamsburg, with a letter to his Lordship,[1] in order to obtain an explanation of this very strange affair. In the mean time I would, by all means, have you and the other magistrates of your county assert the right of Pennsylvania, and protect the people in every part within its known limits, as Fort Pitt[2] most certainly is.

The meeting of a number of people under arms, in consequence of Mr. Conolly's summons, will undoubtedly be an act of a criminal nature, for which they may be indicted and punished, and comes properly under the idea of an unlawful assembly, with an intention to disturb the public peace; you will, therefore, do right in apprehending him and some of his principal partisans, after such meeting, and holding them to reasonable security for their appearance at the next sessions, to answer for their conduct.

I expect the magistrates on this occasion, will do their duty with

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[1] See the letter following—Penn to Dunmore, dated January 31, 1774.

[2] That is, Pittsburgh. The two names were used by the people indiscriminately.

Spirit, in which they will be supported by the Government; and if any of Conolly's pretended magistrates shall presume to proceed judicially within the known limits of the Province of Pennsylvania, I desire that proper actions may be commenced by the party aggrieved, not only against the officer who executes the process, but the magistrate also under whose authority he shall act; and you may be assured that such actions shall be prosecuted and supported at the expense of this Government.

In order to strengthen the hands of the magistracy on this occasion, in the course of their duty, I send you a copy of the riot Act made by the present Assembly, which has received my assent, and will pass the seals before this comes to your hands, and extends to all parts of the Province. But, as the execution of it may be attended with the most serious consequences, the proceedings under it should be conducted with the utmost caution, and great care must be taken to extend it only in such places as are certainly within the limits of the Province, of which you can make the best judgment of any body, by the share you had in running a line to ascertain the situation of Fort Pitt.[1]

I have made an addition to the Bench of your county, and send the commission for the new magistrates by this opportunity.[2]

I would have you get possession, if you can, of some of Conolly's original advertisements.

Governor Penn to Lord Dunmore.

Philadelphia, *31st January* 1774.

My Lord:—A few days ago I received by express, from the western frontiers of this Province, the inclosed copy of an advertisement, lately set up at Pittsburgh and divers other places in that quarter of the country, by one John Conolly, who has taken upon him as Captain Commandant of the militia at Pittsburgh, and its dependencies, by virtue of your Lordship's commission as he says, to command the people to meet him there as a militia on the 25th instant, and to exercise jurisdiction over them, as settlers under your Government within the Dominion of Virginia.

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[1] Concerning the efforts put forth previous to this date to determine the southern and western limits of south-western Pennsylvania, mention is hereafter made.

[2] The additional magistrates commissioned were, Van Swearingen, Thomas Scott, Alexander Ross, John Carnaghan, Andrew McFarlane, Oliver Miller, Devereux Smith, and John Shepherd.

A step so sudden and unexpected could not but be matter of great surprise to me, as well as very alarming to the inhabitants of those parts, who have taken up, improved, and hitherto peaceably enjoyed their lands under grants from the Proprietaries of this Province.

Being, however, too well acquainted with your Lordship's character to admit the least idea that you would countenance a measure injurious to the rights of the Proprietaries of Pennsylvania or which might have a tendency to raise disturbances within their Province, I flatter myself that the laying before you a short statement of the limits of this Province, so far as regards the present question and acquainting you with the steps which have been taken to ascertain its western extent, and the situation of Pittsburgh, will be abundantly sufficient to satisfy you that that place is, beyond all doubt, within this Province.

The western extent of the Province of Pennsylvania, by the Royal Grant, is five degrees of longitude from the river Delaware, which is its eastern boundary.

In the year 1768, an east and west line was run from Delaware, at the mouth of Cristiana Creek, to the crossing of Dunkard Creek, a branch of the Monongahela, by Messieurs. Dixon and Mason, two surveyors of distinction, who were sent over from England to run the division line between Maryland and Pennsylvania. These artists fixed the latitude and extent of that line with the utmost exactness and precision, to the satisfaction of the Commissioners on both sides.[1] From the 233d mile stone on this line, a north line hath been since carefully run and measured to the Ohio, and from thence up to Fort Pitt;[2] the several courses of the river have been taken with all possible care. From the line of Dixon and Mason to a known point in the south line of the City of Philadelphia, the true course and distance hath been discovered by

[1] The exact distance run by Mason and Dixon from the Delaware River was 244 miles, 38 chains, and 36 links. This took them across the Monongahela to the second crossing of Dunkard Creek, a little west of what is now Mount Morris, in Greene county, Pennsylvania. At this point, they struck "the Warrior branch of the old Catawba war path;" that is, the eastern edge of lands claimed by the Six Nations, when their labors were given up. The extreme western limit of the line run by them was about twenty-one and one-half miles east of the south-west corner of Pennsylvania, as established in 1784, by astronomical observations.

[2] It was in the running of these temporary lines that St. Clair took part, as mentioned by Governor Penn, in his letter of the 20th of January, 1774, ante.

actual survey, as also from the point aforesaid, to that part of the river Delaware which is in the same latitude as Fort Pitt; and from these several data, the most exact calculations have been made by Dr. Smith, Provost of our College, Mr. Rittenhouse, and our Surveyor General, in order to ascertain the difference of longitude between Delaware and Pittsburgh, who all agree that the latter is near six miles eastward of the western extent of the Province.

The better to illustrate this matter, and enable your Lordship to form a judgment of the accuracy with which the work has been done, and the calculations made, I have inclosed a map or draught of the several lines above mentioned, with explanatory notes, as delivered by them to me. Should your Lordship, however, contrary to my expectation, still entertain any doubt respecting this matter, I hope you will at least think it reasonable for avoiding those mischiefs which must naturally arise in cases of clashing and disputed jurisdiction, to defer the appointing of officers, and exercising government in that neighborhood, and suffer the people to remain in the quiet and undisputed possession of the lands they hold under this Province, till some temporary line of jurisdiction can be agreed on by commissioners, to be appointed by both Governments, to confer on this subject, or until the affair can be settled by His Majesty in Council, before whom a petition, exhibited by the Proprietaries of Pennsylvania, for the settlement of their western as well as other boundaries is now depending.

I shall hope to recieve your Lordship's sentiments of this matter by the first opportunity.

ARTHUR ST. CLAIR TO GOVERNOR PENN.

LIGONIER, *February* 2, 1774.

I am honored with your letter of the 20th January, which reached me the 28th, and am happy to find the method pursued at Pittsburgh, on the 25th, did not very materially differ from that you had been pleased to direct.

Doctor Conolly was arrested previous to the meeting, by my orders, on his avowing himself the author of the advertisements requiring the people to meet as a militia, and committed on refusing to find sureties for his good behavior till next court.

I was in hopes the sending him out of the way[1] would have put

[1] Conolly was taken to Hannastown where there was a sort of jail and there confined.

an end to it altogether; but I was mistaken. About eighty persons in arms assembled themselves, chiefly from Mr. Croghan's neighborhood, and the country west of and below the Monongahela, and, after parading through the town, and making a kind of *feu de joie*, proceeded to the Fort,[1] where a cask of rum was produced on the parade, and the head knocked out. This was a very effectual way of recruiting. As a scene of drunkenness and confusion was likely to ensue, I got the magistrates (who attended in consequence of the letters I had sent them) together, and read the inclosed paper,[2] which we had concocted that morning, and, at the conclusion,

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[1] Fort Pitt.

[2] The paper referred to was as follows:

"As friends and fellow countrymen, which we ought all to consider each other, from whatever different quarters of the globe we have met here, suffer that we make you acquainted with some things of which you ought not to be ignorant.

"We do not blame you for having an affection for the laws of the countries and provinces in which you have been born; 'tis a natural, 'tis a praiseworthy affection! And it requires a length of time and diligent application to discover and give the deserved preference to different systems of laws and forms of Government, for which but few have either leisure or opportunity.

"We do not tell you the plan of Pennsylvania is a perfect one. Such, no human institution is or ever was; but the rapid progress Pennsylvania has made, the numbers of people that flock to it from every part of the world, and particularly the much greater value of landed property than in the adjoining parts of the neighboring countries, evince that it is no very defective one; evince that its laws are mild and salutary, and that property and liberty, civil and religious, is well secured, and that it has some advantages over its neighbors.

"We doubt not but you will readily acknowledge these matters: but you will reply, it is nothing to us; the soil we live on being no part of Pennsylvania; we can have no part of the advantages or disadvantages arising from its constitution.

"We well know much pains have been taken to persuade many of you to a belief of this, and likewise that the Proprietaries have industriously delayed to settle their boundary. There is not the least foundation for either.

"The Proprietaries of Pennsylvania claimed the country about Pittsburgh, and the settlers quietly acquiesced in that claim; and as soon as doubts began to arise about it they took effectual pains to satisfy themselves whether or not they were right in that claim, and actually found the country a considerable distance west of that place within their Province: And so far are they from delaying the running their boundary line, we have the best authority for saying that a petition has been a considerable time before his Majesty for that very purpose. You must be sensible it would be to little

when they were required to disperse, they replied they had been invited there, but came with peaceable intentions, and would go home again, without molesting any one; on which we left them; however, towards night, their peaceable disposition forsook them, and I should probably have felt their resentment, had I not got intimation

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purpose to run it without the concurrence of the Crown; certainly it would never be conclusive.

"The jurisdiction of Pennsylvania has been regularly extended to Pittsburgh, and exercised there for a number of years, as the records of Cumberland, Bedford, and Westmoreland counties testify; and you yourselves have acknowledged it, by applying for your lands in that Province. Whether that extention has been legally made or not, can be determined by the Crown alone; but must be submitted to till it is determined. And it must be evident to you that Lord Dunmore, as Governor of Virginia, can have no more right to determine this matter than one of us, for this plain reason: the charters of Pennsylvania and Virginia, both flowed originally from the Crown; on that footing they are perfectly independent of each other; but they are both parties in this dispute, and consequently neither can be judge.

"We would fondly hope no person in this country would wish to be from under the protection of law. A state of anarchy and confusion, and total subversion of property must inevitably ensue. We can not help thinking contending jurisdictions in one and the same country must produce similar effects, and every attempt to introduce modes or regulations not warranted by the laws or constitution of Pennsylvania will also do so in a certain degree.

"Any grievances the inhabitants of this part of the country suffer, there is no doubt the Legislature want only to be informed of to redress. Should it be imagined the protection of a military force is necessary, the votes and proceedings of the last winter session of Assembly will shew that, probably, it was owing to the representions of the Indian Agent, that an Indian war would certainly follow, establishing a military force at Pittsburgh, that such protection was not then granted, and time seems to have shewn he was not in the wrong.

"If that effect would have supervened at a time when his Majesty's troops were just withdrawn, when the country was naked, defenseless, and alarmed, and when the Indians were accustomed to the idea of troops in their neighborhood, much more is it to be doubted the establishing a militia, which is a military force, will produce that effect now when they have been so long disused to it.

"As his Majesty's Justices and Protectors of the public peace of Pennsylvania, it is our duty to tell you your meeting is an unlawful one, and that it tends to disquiet the minds of his Majesty's liege subjects. We do in his Majesty's name require you to disperse, and retire yourselves peaceably to your respective habitations.

"Present when this was read: Alexander McKee, William Lochey, James Pollock, James Cavet, Æneas Mackay, Van Sweringen, William Bracken, Arthur St. Clair, Esq'rs."

of their design. I thought it most prudent to keep out of their way.[1]

I have no doubt the magistrates will do their duty with spirit, and I shall take the earliest opportunity to make them acquainted with the support your Honor is determined to afford them. In some parts of the country they will have a difficult task, and I am really afraid this affair will be productive of a great deal of confusion. I shall not fail to give them the necessary caution with regard to the Riot Act, and I think I can judge pretty nearly how far it may be safely extended.

Mr. Conolly has most certainly a commission from Lord Dunmore, expressly for Pittsburgh and its dependencies, and his subalterns are John Stephenson, a brother of Mr. Crawford, our Senior magistrate,[2] William Harrison, a son-in-law of his,[3] and Dorsey Penticost, who was lately in the commission of the peace here.[4] Mr. Penticost has, I hear, been down to Mr. Conolly since his confinement, and taken the necessary oaths to qualify him for his military office, and is to assemble the people at Red Stone, and take possession of Fort Burd.[5] I have written to the justices in that part of

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[1] "On the 25th day of January last, a number of disorderly persons assembled themselves here in consequence of his [Conolly's] advertisements (as Militia) who, when dispersing, wantonly or maliciously fired upon some friendly Indians, in their Hutts on the Indian Shore, which Conduct, together with So unexpected an Appearance of so many People in Arms at a time that they expected no Hostile Intention on our parts, greatly alarmed them, as appeared by a Camplaint made by them at a Council with Alexander Mc., [Kee], Esq'r, Indian Agent, and some of the Inhabitants of this Place [Pittsburgh], a few days after."—*Remarks on the Proceedings of Dr. Conolly, June* 25, 1774.

[2] Mention will hereafter be made of William Crawford. He had a brother Valentine, and five half-brothers, among whom was John Stephenson.

[3] William Harrison married Crawford's daughter Sarah; he afterward lost his life in the Indian country, being tortured to death by the Delawares.

[4] Dorsey Pentecost lived, at this date, in the "Forks of Yough"; that is, above the junction of the Monongahela and Youghiogheny. He was a justice of the peace for Bedford County before Westmoreland was taken from it, and was now a resident of the last mentioned county. He afterward had his home on Chartiers Creek, Washington County.

[5] Fort Burd was so called after Col. James Burd, who probably commenced the building of the post in 1759. There was an old Indian fort on its site and the place was known to hunters as "Old Fort," "Old Fort at Redstone," or "Redstone-Old-Fort," as it was near the mouth of Redstone creek, now Brownsville, Fayette County, Pennsylvania.

the country to watch his motions. Mr. McKee[1] is said to be appointed a justice by Lord Dunmore, but I would fain hope without his consent; at any rate he behaved very well on the late occasion, and, as he was doubted, I made a point of having him there under pretense of his being Indian Agent, but in fact, if he was a friend or abettor of Conolly's measures.

It is, sir, extremely grateful to me that my conduct in any part meets with your approbation; but should I forget to be attentive to any thing that may disturb the happiness of your Government, or from which you may receive a personal injury, I should be guilty of the grossest breach of duty, as well as the blackest ingratitude, neither of which, I trust, will ever be the case.

WILLIAM SMITH[2] TO ARTHUR ST. CLAIR.

PHILAD'A, *Feb'y 8th*, 1774.

Dear Sir:—About the breaking up of the Assembly, Capt. Thomson went to the Governor and got the promise of Mr. McCrea's district to be added to his own. Mr. Woods hearing of this, got his friends to represent to the Governor, that he had the first promise from Mr. Lukens. Mr. Shippen and I likewise told the Governor that you had the first promise during Richard Penn's administration, and the Governor then declared that if you had the first promise, no one else should have it, for that there was no person he would sooner oblige than you. But, on the whole, as these matters were before he came in as Governor the last time, he left Mr. Lukens to declare who was the first applier to him, and to act accordingly. He therefore certified to the Governor that Mr. Woods was the first applier and he has got the district, and I undertook to make you easy about the matter, which I was the more willing to do, as I believe the district is now of very little value; and I know of something which you may have, of six times the value, tho' I dare not trust

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[1] Alexander McKee was a native of Pennsylvania and early became a trader among the Indians, carrying on a large business from Pittsburgh in conjunction with Alexander Ross, from 1768 to 1772, when he became Sir William Johnson's Deputy Indian Agent, resident at that place. He was, upon the erection of Bedford county, made one of its justices; and, upon the creation of Westmoreland, his commission was extended for that county. He became a noted Loyalist during the Revolution.

[2] William Smith was a prominent citizen of Bedford, a brother of Thomas Smith, hereafter mentioned.

it to a letter but wish I might see you between this and next Spring, viz: in April if it might suit your other affairs. You must not think that because this was suffered to go to Mr. Woods, that your friends had forgot you. I shall be able to convince you that it was all meant for your interest. I shall be glad to hear how matters go at Fort.

JOSEPH SPEAR TO ARTHUR ST. CLAIR.

PITTSBURGH, *February* 23, 1774.

Dear Sir:—I am just now informed that the Virginians up the Monongahela have had two or three musters lately; one at *Red Stone Old Fort*, and one yesterday at Paul Freman's, on the other side of the Monongahela; and I am also told they had a meeting at Mr. Penticost's own house, in consequence of which Mr. Penticost wrote to Mr. Swearingen to act no longer there as a Pennsylvanian magistrate at his peril. I therefore think it would be advisable to endeavor to have a stop put to those proceedings, if possible, as it creates the greatest disturbance, and very much retards the execution of our civil process.

P. S.—This news has just come to hand, otherwise I would have written you more fully. Dr. Conolly[1] is just now going over the run to Red Stone, I know not what for.

ARTHUR ST. CLAIR TO JOSEPH SHIPPEN, JR.

LIGONIER, *February* 25, 1774.

Dear Sir:—The disturbances that have begun in this country seem still to be increasing, and, unless some effectual method is soon fallen upon to put a stop to them, will soon come to a formidable head. What that method should be it is difficult to say, but possibly the running a temporary line might quiet the people a little though I doubt very much if even that would not now be opposed.

As much the greatest part of the inhabitants near the line have removed from Virginia, they are inexpressibly fond of any thing that comes from that quarter, and their minds are never suffered to be at rest. Mr. Croghan's emissaries (and it is astonishing how

[1] After Conolly was committed to jail at Hannastown, the sheriff let him go at large on his giving his word of honor to return to next Court. He did return, but in a manner quite different from that expected by the sheriff, as the sequel shows.

many he has either duped or seduced to embrace his measures) are continually irritating them against Pennsylvania, and assuring them they are not within its limits; so that unless Lord Dunmore does formally recede from what he has undertaken in this country, it will be next to impossible to exercise the civil authority. From the very beginning I foretold a second Carolina affair was intended, I am now convinced of it.

I have letters from all the magistrates in that part of the country, complaining of the difficulties they are exposed to, and the open and avowed determination of the people not to submit to their jurisdictions. However, they are all still as yet, and I will do what in my power lies to continue them so; as one step towards it, and to convince the others that we in some measure are in earnest, I intend immediately removing my office to Pittsburgh, adjoining, there to live the moment I can get my farm off my hands here.

I enclose you a letter from Mr. Spear,[1] which I received by the bearer. I shall immediately write to Mr. Swearingen to commit, without ceremony, any person who shall attempt to oppose or molest him in the execution of his office. Excuse the haste I am almost always obliged to write to you in; opportunities offer unexpectedly, and the people waiting.

Lord Dunmore to Governor Penn.

Williamsburg, *3d March*, 1774.

Sir:—I have been favored with your letter of the 31st January, 1774, and duplicate of the same, the occasion of which having been the appointment of certain officers by me in a remote district of the county of Augusta,[2] in this Colony, which includes Pittsburgh, which having been done, as is always my rule, with the advice of his Majesty's Council, I could not, till I had an opportunity of laying your letter before them, return you an answer, and it is not till now that I am enabled so to do.

From the opinion, therefore, of his Majesty's Council of this

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[1] See the previous letter—Spear to St. Clair, February 23, 1774.

[2] The county of Augusta was, at this date, an old one, but ever of very uncertain western limits. The "remote district," spoken of by Lord Dunmore, was what was usually known as the "District of West Augusta," including, besides, much other territory in what is now the State of West Virginia, all the present State of Pennsylvania lying upon the waters of the Monongahela, as well as the country surrounding Pittsburgh.

Colony, I must inform you, that although the calculations on which you rely in the plan accompanying your letter, may possibly be found exact, yet they can by no means be considered, by us, as the observation, on which they were founded, was made without the participation of the Government, or the assistance of any person on the part of the Crown; and even if they were admitted, we apprehend they would decide nothing in the present case; for the right of the Proprietaries of Pennsylvania to the country about Pittsburgh, must be founded on better authority than is there adduced to make it valid, and we are strengthened in this opinion by the principles you yourself adopt, and the opinion of Lord Camden, which you have produced in your dispute with Connecticut. With respect to the right of this Colony to that country, the transactions of the late war show sufficiently what was ever the sense of the Government of Virginia with regard to it. And it seems to me that the step which I have taken ought not to have been either unexpected or surprising, as you are pleased to say it was to you, when it is well known that formal declarations were made by the Assembly of Pennsylvania, that Pittsburg was not within the jurisdiction of that Government at the time that requisitions were made to them for the defense of that place, the burden of which, on that account, fell on this Government.

In conformity to these sentiments you will easily see I can not possibly, in compliance with your request, either revoke the commissions and appointments already made, or defer the opportunity of such other officers as I may find necessary for the good government of that part of the country, which we can not but consider to be within the dominion of Virginia, until his Majesty shall declare the contrary; and I flatter myself I can rely so far on the prudence and discretion of the officers whom I have appointed, that the measure which I have pursued may have no tendency to raise disturbances in your Province, as you seem to apprehend, and if any should ensue I can not but believe they will be occasioned, on the contrary, by the violent proceedings of your officers; in which opinion I am justified by what has already taken place in the irregular commitment of Mr. John Conolly for acting under my authority, which, however, as I must suppose, it was entirely without your participation, I conclude he is before this time released. But, nevertheless, the act having been of so outrageous a nature, and of a tendency so detrimental to both Colonies, that, with the advice of his Majesty's Council of this dominion, I do insist upon the most ample reparation being made for so great an insult on the authority of his Majesty's Government of Virginia; and no less can possibly

be admitted than the dismission of the clerk (St. Clair) of Westmoreland county, who had the audacity, without any authority, to commit a magistrate in the legal discharge of his trust, unless he (St. Clair) can prevail, by proper submission, on Mr. Conolly, to demand his pardon of me.

Governor Penn to Lord Dunmore.

Philadelphia, 31*st March*, 1774.

My Lord:—I was favored with yours of the third of this month by express, which arrived when several of the gentlemen of the Council were out of town, and it being also my rule to consult the Council upon all occasions of a public nature, I could not possibly give your Lordship's letter an answer by the return of your messenger, who stayed but a very short time in town. I am sorry the papers I enclosed you had not the desired effect. I never expected they would be taken as decisive of the boundaries of Pennsylvania, as conclusive upon your Government, but I had reason to hope they contained such information as would show at least a very strong probability that Pittsburgh, the place of dispute, was within this Province, and not subject to the Government of Virginia, and from them I concluded you would be convinced of the impropriety of a step which I conceived must have been taken upon a supposition that that place was certainly beyond our limits. But I perceive your Lordship hath taken upon opinion that it is not material whether it be within our charter bounds or not, and that the right of the proprietors of Pennsylvania to the country about Pittsburgh must be founded on better authority than the Royal grant! And as your Lordship seems to imagine yourself supported in this sentiment by our own principles in Lord Camden's opinion upon our case with Connecticut, the transactions of the late war, and the declarations of our Assembly some time ago, I will take the liberty of endeavoring to set you right in some matters which you do not seem to be fully informed of, being persuaded that if I can be so happy as to place them in a different point of light from what you have heretofore viewed them in, you will be candid enough to change your sentiments.

In the year 1752, the Proprietors of Pennsylvania understanding that the Government of Virginia were about to erect forts upon the Ohio, in order to repel the encroachments of the French on the properties of the subjects of his Britannic Majesty, they instructed their then Governor, Mr. Hamilton, to assist in any measures of

that sort, taking an acknowledgment from the Governor of Virginia that such settlement should not be made use of to prejudice their right to that country, and at the same time allowed him to give assurances that the people should enjoy their lands they bona fide settled on the common quit rent. Of this instruction Mr. Hamilton not long after gave notice to Governor Dinwiddie.

In the year 1754, Mr. Dinwiddie came to a resolution of raising men and building forts to the westward, in order to repel the invasions of the French. He had fixed upon the forks of Monongahela as a proper situation for one of these forts, supposing it to be on his Majesty's lands, and issued a proclamation, expressing his purpose of erecting a fort at that place, and inviting the people to enlist in his Majesty's service against the French; and as an encouragement, promising that the quantity of two hundred thousand acres of land should be laid out and divided amongst the adventurers, when the service should be at an end; one hundred thousand acres of which to be laid out adjoining the fort, and the other one hundred thousand acres on the Ohio.

Upon the appearance of this proclamation Mr. Hamilton wrote to Governor Dinwiddie, the 13th March, 1754, reminding him of his former intimation respecting these lands, and enclosing an abstract of the Proprietaries' instructions, and also requesting from him such an acknowledgment as the Proprietaries expected; to which Mr. Dinwiddie, in his letter of the 21st March, 1754, answers: "Your "private letter of the 13th current, I have duly received, and am "much misled by our Surveyors if the forks of Monongahela be "within the limits of your Proprietaries' grant. I have for some "time wrote home to have the line run, to have the boundaries "properly known, that I may be able to appoint Magistrates on the "Ohio, (if in this Government) to keep the traders and others in "good order, and I presume soon there will be Commissioners ap-"pointed for that service. In the mean time, that no hindrance "may be given to our intended expedition, it is highly reasonable, "if these lands are in your Proprietaries' grant, that the settlers "should pay the quit rent to Mr. Penn, and not to his Majesty; "and, therefore, as much as lies in my power, I agree thereto, after "the time granted by my proclamation, to be clear of quit rent, "ceases."

From this correspondence between the Governors of Virginia and Pennsylvania, it appears beyond a doubt, that the terms upon which forts were built, and settlements made in that country, by the Government of Virginia, were well understood, and the rights of Penn-

sylvania carefully guarded; and these transactions entirely exclude the idea of that kind of settlement, or acquiescence and agreement of which Lord Camden speaks, and which are the only principles in his opinion from which your Lordship can draw any conclusions in favor of the right of Virginia.

From this view of the matter I flatter myself your Lordship will readily perceive that the principles of Lord Camden's opinion do not all apply to the present case. As to the opinion of our Assemblies, on which you seem also to rely, the case is shortly as follows: When Governor Dinwiddie resolved to erect forts on the waters of the Ohio, and to carry an expedition against the French, who had fortified themselves in several parts of the country to the westward, he applied to Governor Hamilton to procure him the assistance of this Province. Unfortunately at this time there was no very good understanding between the Government and the Assembly, and when Mr. Hamilton laid Mr. Dinwiddie's requisition before them they declined complying with it, and urged for reasons, that, by the Royal orders to the several Governors, they were not to act as principals out of their own Governments. That they (the Assembly) would not presume to determine upon the limits of the Province; and that by the papers and evidences sent down to them, and referred to by the Governor, the limits of the Province had not been clearly ascertained to their satisfaction.

It is to be observed, that at this time there had been no real mensurations from Delaware to the westward, except the temporary line between this Province and Maryland, which extends only one hundred and forty-four miles from Delaware. From this line, and from sundry informations of Indian traders, founded on computed distances, and mountainous and crooked roads, Mr. Hamilton concluded that the French forts were considerably within this Province, and it hath since appeared with certainty that the fact was so, though the Assembly were not satisfied with those proofs. And it appears by a report of a Committee of Assembly, appointed to examine those evidences, that they laid no great stress upon the opinions of traders founded on computed distances.

Upon the whole I can not find that the Assembly ever made any thing like formal declarations "that Pittsburg was not within this Government," but that they rather declined making any determination upon the extent of the Province. But if their declarations had been ever so formal or positive, I can not conceive how any proceedings of theirs would affect the state of the Province, control of the jurisdiction, or prejudice the rights of the proprietors.

Your Lordship is pleased to say: "With respect to the right of this Colony to that country, the transactions of the late war sufficiently show what was ever the sense of the Government of Virginia with regard to it." I do not know to what particular transactions you allude, nor can I apprehend upon what principle the sense of the Government of Virginia can prejudice the right of Pennsylvania, especially when the Governor of this Province was so far from concurring in any such sense, that he took the most effectual measures to guard against any conclusions which might be drawn from it; and I may say, with the strictest truth, that the Government of Virginia, with great justice, concurred in this precaution.

Upon the whole, then, my Lord, I hope the papers I heretofore had the honor of sending you, when properly attended to, will satisfy you that Pittsburgh is at least probably within the charter limits of this Province: and I flatter myself that what I have now urged will be sufficient to convince you that nothing can be inferred from the transactions of the late war, the correspondence between the Governors of the two Provinces, the proceedings of our Assembly, or the principles of Lord Camden's opinion, to contract the extent of our charter bounds, or establish the right of Virginia to any part of this Province. I therefore still hope that your Lordship will, upon a review of the subject, be induced to defer attempting to extend the jurisdiction of Virginia within the bounds of this Province, and thereby avoid the occasions of disturbances and dissentions amongst his Majesty's subjects, which will probably ensue from such a step, however prudent and cautious the Magistrates on each side may be inclined to be, and the rather as a petition for a commission to run out and mark the boundaries between us is now depending before his Majesty. And to prevent the setting up claims, and making conclusions of right by the Government of Virginia, from the circumstances of settlement on the one side, and non-claim on the other, I must take this opportunity of notifying to your Lordship that the Proprietaries of Pennsylvania do claim, by their said petition, as part of their Province of Pennsylvania, all the lands lying west of a south line, to be drawn from Dixon and Mason's line, as it is commonly called, at the westernmost part of the Province of Maryland to the beginning of the fortieth degree of north latitude, to the extent of five degrees of longitude from the river Delaware; and I must request your Lordship will neither grant lands, nor exercise the Government of Virginia within those limits, till his Majesty's pleasure be known.

I am truly concerned that you should think the commitment of

Mr. Conolly so great an insult on the authority of the Government of Virginia, as nothing less than Mr. St. Clair's dismission from his offices can repair. The lands in the neighborhood of Pittsburgh were surveyed for the Proprietaries of Pennsylvania early in the year 1769, and a very rapid settlement under this Government soon took place, and magistrates were appointed by this Government to act there in the beginning of 1771, who have ever since administered justice without any interposition of the Government of Virginia till the present affair. It therefore could not fail of being both surprising and alarming that Mr. Conolly should appear to act on that stage under a commission from Virginia, before any intimation of claim or right was ever notified to this Government. The advertisement of Mr. Conolly had a strong tendency to raise disturbances, and occasion a breach of the public peace, in a part of the country where the jurisdiction of Pennsylvania hath been exercised without objection, and therefore Mr. St. Clair thought himself bound, as a good Magistrate, to take a legal notice of Mr. Conolly.

Mr. St. Clair is a gentleman who for a long time had the honor of serving his Majesty in the regulars with reputation, and in every station of life has preserved the character of a very honest worthy man; and though perhaps I should not, without first expostulating with you on this subject, have directed him to take that step, yet you must excuse my not complying with your Lordship's requisition of stripping him, on this occasion, of his offices and livelihood, which you will allow me to think not only unreasonable, but somewhat dictatorial.

I should be extremely concerned that any misunderstanding should take place between this Government and that of Virginia. I shall carefully avoid every occasion of it, and shall always be ready to join you in the proper measures to prevent so disagreeable an incident, yet I can not prevail on myself to acceed in the manner you require, to a claim which I esteem, and which I think must appear to every body else to be altogether groundless.

William Crawford[1] to Governor Penn.

Westmoreland County, *April 8th*, 1774.

Sir:—As some very extraordinary occurrences have lately happened in this county, it is necessary to write an account of them to

[1] Crawford, at this date, was President of the Court in Westmoreland. He was the first to hold that office. During the year of 1770, he was pa-

you. That which I now give, is at the request and with the approbation of all the magistrates that are at present attending the court. A few weeks ago Mr. Connolly[1] went to Stanton and was sworn in as a justice of the peace for Augusta county, in which it is pretended that the country about Pittsburgh is included. He had, before this, brought with him, from Williamsburg, commissions of the peace for several gentlemen in his part of the Province, but none of them, I believe, have been accepted. A number of new militia officers have been lately appointed by Lord Dunmore; several musters of the militia have been held, and much confusion has been occasioned by them.[2]

I am informed that the militia is composed of men without character and without fortune, and who would be equally averse to the regular administration of justice under the Colony of Virginia as they are to that under the Province of Pennsylvania. The disturbances which they have produced at Pittsburgh have been continually alarming to the inhabitants. Mr. Connolly is constantly surrounded with a body of armed men. He boasts the countenance of the Governor of Virginia, and forcibly obstructs the execution of legal process, whether from the court or from single magistrates. A deputy sheriff has come from Augusta county, and I am told has writs in his hands against Captain St. Clair and the sheriff, for the arrest and confinement of Mr. Connolly.

The sheriff was last week arrested at Pittsburgh for serving a writ on one of the inhabitants there, but was, after some time, discharged. On Monday last, one of Connolly's people grossly insulted Mr. Mackay, and was confined by him in order to be sent to jail; the rest of the party hearing of it, immediately came to Mr. Mackay's house and proceeded to the most violent outrages. Mrs.

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pointed one of the magistrates for the county of Cumberland, within the limits of which was his home, as claimed by Pennsylvania. Upon the erection of Bedford the next year out of a portion of Cumberland, his commission was renewed for that county; finally, when Westmoreland, in 1773, was erected into a county from Bedford, his office was continued; and, being the first named, he became by courtesy and usage presiding judge of its courts.

[1] The spelling of personal names is preserved in the text of the letters. Hence the lack of uniformity in that respect.

[2] The visit of Conolly to Staunton was made after the sheriff of Westmoreland county had given him his liberty upon his word of honor to return to Hannastown at the next sitting of the court, which was to take place early in April. He returned to Pittsburgh towards the latter part of March, and prepared to make good his word to Sheriff Proctor. It will now be seen in what way he kept his promise.

Mackay was wounded in the arm with a cutlass; the magistrates, and those who came to their assistance, were treated with much abuse, and the prisoner was rescued.

Some days before the meeting of the court, a report was spread that the militia officers at the head of their several companies would come to Hanna's, use the court ill, and interrupt the administration of justice. On Wednesday, while the court was adjourned, they came to the court-house and paraded before it; sentinels were placed at the door, and Mr. Connolly went into the house. One of the magistrates was hindered, by the militia, from going into it till permission was first obtained from their commander. Mr. Connolly sent a message to the magistrates, informing them that he wanted to communicate something to them, and would wait on them for that purpose.

They received him in a private room. He read to them the inclosed paper,[1] together with a copy of a letter to you, which Lord Dunmore had transmitted to him,[2] inclosed in a letter to himself, which was written in the same angry and undignified style. The magistrates gave the inclosed answer[3] to what he read; and he

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[1] The paper read by Conolly to the Westmoreland Court was in these words:

"*Gentlemen:* I am come here to be the occasion of no disturbances, but to prevent them. As I am countenanced by Government, whatever you may say or conceive, some of the justices of this bench are the cause of this appearance, and not me. I have done this to prevent myself from being illegally taken to Philadelphia. My orders from the Government of Virginia, not being explicit, but claiming the country about Pittsburgh, I have raised the militia to support the civil authority of that colony vested in me.

"I am come here to free myself from a promise made to Captain Proctor [the sheriff], but have not conceived myself amenable to this court, by any authority from Pennsylvania, upon which account I can not apprehend that you have any right to remain here as justices of the peace constituting a court under that province; but, in order to prevent confusion, I agree that you may continue to act in that capacity, in all such matters as may be submitted to your determination by the acquiescence of the people, until I may have instructions to the contrary from Virginia, or until his Majesty's pleasure shall be further known on this subject."

[2] This was the letter of March 8, 1774—Dunmore to Penn—previously given.

[3] The answer of the Westmoreland Court to Conolly's paper was as follows:

"The jurisdiction of the court and officers of the county of Westmoreland rests on the legislative authority of the Province of Pennsylvania, confirmed by his Majesty in council. That jurisdiction has been regularly exercised, and the court and officers will continue to exercise it in the same regular manner. It is far from their intention to occasion or foment dis-

soon afterwards departed with his men. Their number was about one hundred and eighty or two hundred. On their return to Pittsburgh, some of them seized Mr. Elliott, of the Bullock Pen,[1] and threatened to put him in the stocks for something which they deemed an affront offered to their commander. Since their return, a certain Edward Thompson and a young man who keeps store for Mr. Spear, have been arrested by them; and Mr. Connolly, who, in person, seized the young man, would not allow him time even to lock up the store.

In other parts of the county, particularly those adjoining the Monongahela, the magistrates have been frequently insulted in the most indecent and violent manner, and are apprehensive that, unless they are speedily and vigorously supported by the Government, it will become both fruitless and dangerous for them to proceed in the execution of their offices. They presume not to point out the measures proper for settling the present disturbances, but beg leave to recommend the fixing of a temporary line with the utmost expedition, as one step, which, in all probability, will contribute very much toward producing that effect.

For further particulars concerning the situation of this country, I refer you to Colonel Wilson, who is kind enough to go on the present occasion to Philadelphia.[2]

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turbances, and they apprehend that no such intentions can, with propriety, be inferred from any part of their conduct; on the contrary, they wish, and will do all in their power, to preserve the public tranquillity. In order to contribute to this very salutary purpose, they give information that every step will be taken on the part of the Province of Pennsylvania to accommodate any differences that have arisen between it and the Colony of Virginia, by fixing a temporary line between them.

[1] "William Elliott deposed that he settled and improved a plantation about seven miles from Fort Pitt, on the public road, at a place called 'the Bullock Pens,' . . . by permission of Col. Reed, the officer commanding at that place [Fort Pitt], dated August 29, 1765, and is now [1777) in possession of the same."—*Virg. Col. State Papers*, Vol I., p. 280.

[2] The reply of Governor Penn to Crawford's letter was dated April 12th, at Philadelphia. It was directed to "William Crawford, Esquire, and his Associate Justices of Westmoreland County," and was as follows:

"*Gentlemen:* The present alarming Situation of our Affairs in Westmoreland County, occasioned by the very unaccountable conduct of the Government of Virginia, requires the utmost Attention of this Government, and therefore I intend, with all possible Expedition, to send Commissioners to expostulate with my Lord Dunmore upon the Behavior of those he has thought proper to invest with such Power as hath greatly disturbed the

ARTHUR ST. CLAIR TO BENJAMIN CHEW.[1]

CARLISLE, *April* 28, 1774.

Sir:—In conversation with Colonel Wilson the other day, he mentioned a transaction in Virginia, which if it be as he represents it, will throw some light upon what has been the "sense of that Colony, with regard to the country about Fort Pitt." Colonel Stephens,[2] it seems, in the year 1764, when that fortress was be-

Peace of that country. As the Government of Virginia hath the Power of raising a Militia, and there is not any such in this Province, it will be in vain to contend with them in the way of Force; the Magistrates, therefore, at the same Time that they continue with steadiness to exercise the Jurisdiction of Pennsylvania with respect to the distributions of Justice and punishment of Vice, must be cautious of entering into any such contests with the Officers of my Lord Dunmore, as may tend to widen the present unhappy Breach; and, therefore, as Things are at present circumstanced, I would not advise the Magistracy of Westmoreland County to proceed by way of criminal prosecution against them for exercising the Government of Virginia.

"I flatter myself that our Commissioners to Virginia will succeed according to our Expectations, and that our Affairs to the Westward will soon be put upon a peaceable and quiet Footing. I am, etc."

It is necessary to mention, at this point, an occurrence which took place two days subsequent to the date of the above letter, for the reason that it has an important bearing on the events following; and, for the further reason, that, in the letters of St. Clair, no account is given of it:

On the 8th of April, the justices, Æneas Mackay, Devereux Smith, and Andrew McFarlane, returned from court at Hannastown to their homes in Pittsburgh. The next day they were arrested by a Virginia deputy sheriff, at Conolly's instigation, and, on refusing to give bail, were sent off under guard to Staunton, county-town, at that period, of Augusta county, Virginia. After traveling one day together, Mr. Mackay, one of the three justices, got permission to go to Williamsburg to see Lord Dunmore. After some conversation with his Lordship, the latter wrote to the sheriff, requesting him to allow the prisoners to return home. Mackay immediately proceeded to Staunton, and his fellow-prisoners were at once liberated.

[1] Benjamin Chew was born in Anne Arundel county, Maryland, November 29, 1722: He was a lawyer by profession, and settled in 1748 on the Delaware, but in 1754 removed to Philadelphia, where he held respectively the offices of Recorder, Register of Wills, and Attorney-General. He became Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, the day after the above letter was written. He had been a member of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania for a number of years, and as such was written to by St. Clair at this date.

[2] Adam Stephen was a meritorious Virginia officer in the Colonial wars. He was a captain in the Ohio expedition of 1754, serving with distinction under Braddock. He became, afterward, a Virginia Brigadier-General.

sieged by the Indians,[1] sent a detachment of the militia to escort some provisions for the relief of the besieged; for this he was complained of to the Assembly, and censured for sending the militia out of the Government.

I have heard, sir, that you are to go to Williamsburg,[2] and imagined in that case, this hint would not be disagreeable. I wish you a pleasant journey.

ARTHUR ST. CLAIR TO GOVERNOR PENN.

LIGONIER, *May* 29, 1774.

I doubt not before this time you have expected some account from me of the situation of this country, but as I could not write with certainty respecting the intentions of the Indians I chose to defer it.[3]

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[1] This was during the so-called "Conspiracy of Pontiac." The siege spoken of by St. Clair was in 1763.

[2] That is, St. Clair had been informed that Chew was to be one of the Commissioners appointed by the Government of Pennsylvania to treat with the Governor of Virginia, on the subject of the disturbances in Westmoreland county; but the persons so appointed were James Tilghman and Andrew Allen—both members of the Provincial Council. They were "to treat and agree with the Right Honorable John, Earl of Dunmore, Governor of Virginia, concerning the Settlement of the Western Bounds and Limits of the Province of Pennsylvania, and preserving the Public Peace and Tranquillity on the Borders," etc.

[3] This is the first hint, in this correspondence, of the animosity between the Virginians on the one side, and the Mingoes and Shawanese on the other, which finally brought on what is known in history as "Lord Dunmore's War." One of the causes of these troubles was the general antagonism of the red and white races, then being brought nearer and nearer each other as the Virginians continued to survey land and make settlements down the Ohio. Concerning the first overt acts on each side, accounts of that period differ somewhat, as shown by the following (See *The Washington-Crawford Letters.* By C. W. Butterfield. [Cincinnati, Robert Clarke & Co., 1877.] pp. 86, 87 and 47, 48):

I.

"*Dear Sir*:—I am sorry to inform you the Indians have stopped all the gentlemen from going down the river. In the first place, they killed one Murphy, a trader, and wounded another; then robbed their canoes. This alarmed the gentlemen very much; and Major Cresap took a party of men and waylaid some Indians in their canoes, that were going down the river, and shot two of them and scalped them. He also raised a party, took canoes and followed some Indians from Wheeling down to the Little Kanawha;

In my last to Mr. Shippen I think I mentioned that Mr. Croghan had sent a Delaware chief (White Eyes) with two of our traders with a message[1] to the Shawanese; their return had been impatiently expected. Tired at last with the suspense, I determined to go to Fort Pitt whatever might be the consequence, and am just returned from thence. I was lucky enough to arrive there the day they came in, and though their accounts are alarming enough, yet I can not think they are equal to the panic that has seized the country.

The Shawanese message is insolent enough; and we have a certain account that twenty of their warriors are gone out, but we have still reason to think they do not mean mischief to the people here, as they lay all to the charge of the Big Knife, as they call the Virginians. The substance of their speech is, that they think what

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when, coming up with them, he killed three and wounded several. The Indians wounded three of his men, only one of whom is dead; he was shot through, while the other two were but slightly wounded. On Saturday last, about twelve o'clock, one Greathouse, and about twenty men, fell on a party of Indians at [opposite] the mouth of Yellow Creek, and killed ten of them. They brought away one child a prisoner, which is now at my brother William Crawford's. This alarm has caused the people to move from over the Monongahela, off Chartier's and Raccoon [Creeks], as fast as ever you saw them in the year 1756 or 1757, down in Frederick county, Virginia. There were more than one thousand people crossed the Monongahela in one day at three ferries that are not one mile apart."—*Valentine Crawford to Washington, May* 7, 1774.

II.

"*Sir*:— . . . "The surveyors that went down the Kanawha, as report goes, were stopped by the Shawanese Indians, upon which some of the white people attacked some Indians and killed several, took thirty horse-loads of skins near the mouth of Scioto; on which news, and expecting an Indian war, Mr. Cresap and some other people fell on some other Indians at the mouth of Pipe Creek, killed three, and scalped them. Daniel Greathouse and some others fell on some at the mouth of Yellow Creek and killed and scalped ten, and took one child about two months old, which is now at my house. I have taken the child from a woman that it had been given to. Our inhabitants are much alarmed, many hundreds having gone over the mountain, and the whole country evacuated as far as the Monongahela; and many on this [the east] side of the river are gone over the mountain. In short, a war is every moment expected. We have a council now with the Indians. What will be the event I do not know."—*William Crawford to Washington, May* 8, 1774.

[1] What Mr. Croghan sent in this message was, in substance, "that the outrages which had been committed, were done by some of our ill-disposed people, and without the least countenance from Government." The Delawares, at this period, had their homes upon the Muskingum; the Shawanese had theirs upon the Scioto.

Mr. Croghan and Mr. McKee say to them is lies; that they know the path is open from Philadelphia, and that they will keep it so if they please; but that the Big Knife has struck them, and when they have satisfaction they will speak to him, but not before, that now they have no King, and are all upon their feet, with other threatening expressions in their way.[1] There were several chiefs of the Delawares, and deputy of the Six Nations, (Goyasutha) with eight others of the Seneca tribe, at Pittsburgh, by Mr. Croghan's advice. They were called together and I made a short speech to them;[2] they received it with pleasure, and in return gave the strongest assurances that they wished for nothing more than to continue in peace with this Province, and to become as one people. I think there can be no doubt of the sincerity of the Delawares; they have given substantial proofs of it in the care they have taken of the traders that were to have gone to the Shawanese; and if the Six Nations are in the same disposition, the war will be of little consequence, but I fear it is to be doubted whether Goyasutha knows the sense of the league or not.

One of the traders who went with White Eyes was detained at

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[1] "White Eyes returned here [Pittsburgh] the 24th of May, and brought with him ten white men, who had been protected by the Delawares eight days in their towns, and guarded safe to this place; he also brought a speech from the Delawares, from which we have great reason to believe that they are not inclined for war; we also believe that they will endeavor to preserve the lives of the traders that are now amongst the Shawneese: he also brought from the Shawneese chief (called the hard man,) an answer to a speech sent to them by Mr. Croghan, upon this occasion, in which he signifies that the Shawnees are all warriors, and will not listen to us until they have satisfaction, for what injuries they have received from the Virginians, etc."—*Devereux Smith to Dr. Smith, from Pittsburgh, June* 10, 1477,

[2] The speech made by St. Clair was as follows:

"Brothers of the Six Nations and Delawares:

"The Governor of Pennsylvania has heard your good speeches, and I am come from him to thank you for the care you have taken of our traders, and the pains you have been at to preserve the general peace. Your brothers of Pennsylvania are determined to maintain the friendship subsisting betwixt the Six Nations and Delawares and them entire, but as they are alarmed at the threatenings of the Shawanese, we recommend it to you to prevent your people from hunting on our side of the river for some time, as our people will not be able to distinguish betwixt them and those who may be enemies.

"We wish and will endeavor to keep the path open to our brothers, and will on our parts keep bright that chain of friendship which has been so long held fast by their and our forefathers. AR. ST. CLAIR."

Newcomers Town;[1] they, it seems, thought it imprudent that more than one should go very soon after the others left it. They were met by a Shawanese man who fired at Duncan, within a very small distance, but fortunately missed him. White Eyes immediately called to him to make back to the town, and he himself got betwixt the Indian and him, and came up with him where he had stopped to load his gun, and disarmed him; they both got safely back to the town, and were immediately shut up in a strong house, and a guard kept on them day and night to preserve them from any attempt that might be made by the Shawanese or Mingoes (a small part of these last live near the Shawanese, and are in a manner incorporated with them) and this was continued till White Eyes went down to the Shawanese town and returned, during all which time they were furnished with provisions and every thing that could be procured for them in the most liberal manner. This I think must be an unequivocal mark of their disposition.

The mischief done by Cresap[2] and Greathouse[3] had been much exaggerated when I wrote to Mr. Shippen, but the number of Indians killed is exactly as I informed Mr. Allen, viz: thirteen.[4]

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[1] The site of the present New Comerstown, in Tuscarawas county, Ohio.

[2] The Pennsylvania account of "the mischief done by Cresap" was this· William Butler, a trader living in Pittsburgh, sent off a canoe from that place on the 15th of April, for the Shawanese towns on the waters of the Scioto. This canoe was attacked by three Cherokee Indians, who killed one white man and wounded another. About the 21st of April, Conolly, at Pittsburgh, wrote a letter to the inhabitants at Wheeling, telling them that he had been informed by good authority, that the Shawanese were ill-disposed towards the white men. On the 24th of the same month, Mr. Butler sent another canoe down the Ohio in care of some Shawanese and white men. Cresap who was below, hearing of the murder by the Cherokees, and being informed of the contents of Conolly's letter to the inhabitants of Wheeling, fell upon the Indians in Butler's second canoe, killing two; he also killed another Shawanese farther down the river.

[3] The "Yellow Creek Massacre," as it is called, took place opposite the mouth of Yellow Creek, April 30, 1774. It was then that Logan, the Mingo chief, lost his relatives—mother, brother and sister; not, however, by "Colonel Cresap," as he states in his famous speech, but at the hands of a party under the leadership of Daniel Greathouse. Logan's brother, who was among the slain was known as John Petty. His sister who was also killed had with her a child two months old. It was this child that was subsequently taken care of by William Crawford, as previously stated.

[4] Neither of these letters has been preserved. St. Clair gives thirteen as the number of Indians killed by Cresap and his men and by Greathouse and his party; but, it must be remembered that a portion of these were Shawa-

Cresap has lately been in the neighborhood of Pittsburgh, with intention it appeared to pursue the blow he had before struck, but Mr. Conolly sent a message to him forbidding him to attempt any thing against the Indians; this he has taken in high dudgeon, and declares publicly that what he did before was by Mr. Conolly's orders; so that it is to be hoped some of the devilish schemes that have been carrying on here will come to light. I ventured to say that an Indian war was part of the Virginia plan; I am satisfied it must at least be part of Mr. Conolly's plan, for he has already incurred such an expense by repairing the fort[1] and calling out the militia that I think it is impossible that Colony will ever discharge it unless disturbances be raised that may give his maneuvers the appearance of necessity.

It is scarcely possible to conceive the distressed situation of this country; one day the spirits of the people are raised a little, and some prospect of their being able to remain on their farms; the next a story worse than any they have heard before, and a thousand times worse than the truth, sinks them in despair; and those about Pittsburgh are still in a more pitiable state, being harassed and oppressed by the militia, who lay their hands on every thing they want without asking questions, and kill cattle at their pleasure; they indeed appraise them, when the owner happens to know of it, and give him a bill on Lord Dunmore, which is downright mockery.

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nese; so that the story that thirteen *Mingoes* were to be revenged for by Logan, so current in history, is a fiction; besides, it is well known, that he and his braves put to death more than that number of Virginians before his wrath was appeased.

[1] St. Clair has here reference to Fort Pitt, which Conolly had taken possession of, changing the name to Fort Dunmore—which name, by the way, was never acquiesced in by Pennsylvanians. After the fortification had been dismantled by order of the British government, in 1772, it was taken charge of by Edward Ward, a half-brother of Col. Croghan, who had control of the grounds until Conolly with his militia took possession sometime in the spring of 1774. In 1777, Ward's deposition was taken at Pittsburgh, a part of which was in the following words:

"The deponent further saith that upon the evacuation of Fort Duquesne, by the French, on the approach of the British army General Forbes, by one of the Deputy Agents of Indian Affairs, made a request to the chiefs of the Six Nations for permission to re-establish a fort at the same place, for the purpose aforesaid, and to prevent the French from returning, which was granted; a fort executed and garrisoned, which continued in the possession of the British troops till the year 1772, when it was evacuated by them and taken posssession of by the deponent, who occupied the same till taken possession of by Major Conolly, in 1774, with the Virginia militia."

From what I saw it was evident to me that the country must very soon be totally evacuated unless some thing was done to afford the inhabitants the appearance at least of protection. I therefore consulted with some of the inhabitants of Pittsburgh, and Mr. Mackay, Mr. Smith, Colonel Croghan, Mr. Butler and myself entered into an association to raise victuals, and pay a ranging company of one hundred men for one month, to which a number of the inhabitants, as I came down, readily acceded, and I think in a few days we will have it completed. We flattered ourselves indeed that your Honor if you approve the measure, would take such measures with the House as would release us from the expense; but as you may probably want a formal requisition to lay before the House, I have acquainted you with it in another letter. One thing further I had in view: the inhabitants of Pittsburgh propose stockading the town:[1] when that is done should your negotiation with Lord Dunmore miscarry, throwing a few men into that place would recover the country the Virginians have usurped.

I beg pardon for so long a letter, and yet I believe I should have given you more but that I am detaining Mr. [John] Montgomery, who charges himself with forwarding this to your Honor. I have only to request that you will please to give us your directions as soon as possible.

P. S.—An affair that has given me much trouble and vexation had like to have escaped my memory, the murder of a Delaware Indian, Joseph Wipey, about eighteen miles from this place. It is the most astonishing thing in the world the disposition of the common people of this country; actuated by the most savage cruelty, they wantonly perpetrate crimes that are a disgrace to humanity, and seem at the same time to be under a kind of religious enthusiasm, whilst they want the daring spirit that usually inspires. Two of the persons concerned in this murder are John Hinkson and James Cooper. I had got information of their design some time before they executed it, and had written to Hinkson, whom I knew to be a leader amongst them, to dissuade them and threaten them with the weight of the law if they persisted; but so far from preventing them, it only produced the inclosed letter.[2] The body was discovered hid in a small run of water, and covered with stones. I immediately sent for the coroner, but before he had got

[1] The town was not stockaded as proposed. although considerable work was done toward it.

[2] This letter has not been found.

a jury together the body was removed, so that no inquest could be taken. I have issued warrants on suspicion, but they are so much on their guard I doubt they can not be executed. Your Honor will please to consider whether it may be proper to proclaim them;[1] it is most unlucky at this time. The letter may perhaps be made use of as evidence.

Mr. McKee had not time to transcribe the speeches of the Indians, but in a few days I shall probably receive them, and will forward them by the first opportunity. Nobody offered the arrest they have threatened me so much with.

ARTHUR ST. CLAIR TO GOVERNOR PENN.

LIGONIER, *May* 29, 1774.

Sir:—The panic that has struck this country, threatening an entire depopulation thereof, induced me a few days ago to make an excursion to Pittsburgh to see if it can be removed, and the desertion prevented.

The only probable remedy that offered was to afford the people the appearance of some protection. Accordingly Mr. Smith, Mr. Mackay, Mr. Butler, and some others of the inhabitants of Pittsburgh, with Colonel Croghan and myself, entered into an association for the immediate raising an hundred men, to be employed as a ranging company, to cover the inhabitants in case of danger, to which association several of the magistrates and other inhabitants have acceded and in a very few days they will be on foot.

We have undertaken to maintain them for one month, at the rate of one shilling and a sixpence a man per diem: this we will cheerfully discharge, at the same time we flatter ourselves that your Honor will approve the measure, and that the Government will not only relieve private persons from the burden, but take effectual measures for the safety of this frontier, and this I am desired by the people in general to request of your Honor.

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[1] The Governor of Pennsylvania, in accordance with the suggestion made by St. Clair, did "proclaim them." His proclamation offering one hundred pounds for their apprehension was dated July 28, 1774. There is, however, no evidence extant that either were ever arrested for their supposed participation in the killing of the Delaware Indian. Hinkson finally left the Western country.

GEORGE CROGHAN TO ARTHUR ST. CLAIR.

June 4, 1774.

Sir:—The frequent reports brought from Hanna's Town, of two hundred men being raising there, has alarmed Captain Conolly very much, and though I told Mr. J. Campbell the whole reason and intention was no more than to have a number of men to scout between the river Ohio and of inhabitants down to Ligonier, in order to prevent the flight of that part of said country; and in case of great necessity that those men would be offered to act with the Virginians for the general defense of the country.

Now, as both Conolly and Campbell know this measure is the only one to stay the people from flying, and see that the country will condemn Conolly and his officers for not pursuing the same measure, they want to make it appear in another light, and that the intention is to invade the rights of Virginia.

Now, the greatest caution and prudence is necessary, and I request that you will station those parties to scout back of the settlements between Turtle Creek and Ligonier, which was our intention of having them, and take care that no threats against Virginia be made use of by any person concerned, as, since Mr. Jo. Campbell came up, I see the design is to create a fresh difference between Governor Penn and Lord Dunmore, which ought to be avoided with the greatest care. Since Campbell came up affidavits are taken of every information that is brought up, and spies employed; though when he was informed of the murders committed on the Indians, he never took any measures to apprehend them. He has made two attacks on me, by letters sent by a sergeant and twelve men, which letters I answered, but would not gratify him to send them by his party.

The truth is, they found this difference likely to be made up by the Indians, and find that nothing but misrepresenting our measures, and drawing on a fresh dispute between the Government of Pennsylvania and Virginia, can keep this man in command; wherefore I have determined to go to Williamsburg myself, and represent the state of the country, as soon as I hear the event of our last messages to the Indians, by the deputies, which I believe will be in five or six days, and I flatter myself entirely satisfactory to every well-wisher of the peace and tranquillity of the country.

Before I go you and I must have a meeting, that you may be able to inform the Governor what I am going about; but I would have you settle the scouting party so as to act with prudence, and give

no cause for suspicion of any design against Virginia, before you come up.

ARTHUR ST. CLAIR TO GOVERNOR PENN.

LAUREL HALL, *June* 7, 1774.

Sir:—When I had last the honor to write to you, I acquainted you with a plan that had been fallen upon to raise some men for the defense of this country. The day before yesterday about forty marched from Hanna's Town to Turtle Creek, where they would be joined by another party. The number I do not exactly know, but it is intended that that post should be sixty men strong; and a number were, at the same time, engaged for the other necessary posts, so that the whole will form a chain of rangers on our frontier. The subscribers requested me to take them under my direction, and in consequence I did give them orders which I will send to your Honor by the first opportunity—now I have not time to copy them; and, as I know the gentleman who carries this, I came here on purpose to see him, for should this matter go farther, he has connections in town that have weight with the House. Mr. Croghan's views I do not pretend to see, but this you may be assured of, he is at present a friend to this country, and if it depends on him we shall yet have no war; hitherto it has been my opinion we would have no war; I now begin to think otherwise; but my reasons for thinking so depend on such circumstances as can scarce be communicated. The most alarming one, however, is the retreat of the Moravian Minister. A great town of the Delawares has been, in some measure, civilized by these people, and spiritual guides in all countries have ways of knowing the intentions of their flocks;[1] another is, that on Sunday last a council was intended with the Delawares and Six Nations at Mr. Croghan's, but the day before they went off to prevent a party of Shawanese, as they say, from falling on the white people. A little time will show whether that was their design or not. Mr. Jennings, the late sheriff of Northampton, who is now here, will, I believe, be in town. It is not improbable he knows more than he discovers to me. He is engaged in the Indian trade, and his partner is

[1] Reference is here made to the Moravian missionary establishments among the Delawares, upon the Tuscarawas River, in what is now Tuscarawas county, Ohio, under the charge of David Zeisberger. But this minister had not "retreated," as St. Clair supposed, and his converts were still at the villages of Gnadenhütten and Schönbrunn.

beloved by all the Indians. Your Honor will judge if you should see him.

I will not give your Honor any more trouble at present; and in truth I am so fatigued with riding that I doubt much if what I write is legible; but it is necessary your Honor should be acquainted with what is passing here, and I am not fond of sending expresses.

P. S.—In a very particular manner our soldiers are directed to avoid every occasion of dispute with the people in the service of Virginia.

GOVERNOR PENN TO ARTHUR ST. CLAIR.

PHILADELPHIA, *June 7th*, 1774.

Sir:—I have received your letter of the 29th of May, by express, inclosing your speech to the Indians, and think it an extraordinary letter. I shall consult my council upon the propriety of issuing a proclamation for apprehending him,[1] which is a measure I dare say they will advise.

I am much pained to find your country is in so terrible a situation as you represent it, and think you have acted very wisely in entering into an association to raise men, which I hope will quiet the minds of the people and answer the purpose of keeping them from totally leaving the country.

You may depend upon my doing every thing that lays in my power, to relieve you from the expense of maintaining the company of men you mention. You will receive as soon as possible two hundred muskets with powder and lead, which you will dispose of in the best manner to such persons as will return them when they are of no further use to them.

Those members of Assembly who live in town, approve much of my doing every thing that may be necessary for your protection and have sent summonses to all the members that live within twenty miles of the town to meet on Friday next to consult upon what will be proper to be done immediately; and if by any further intelligence from your county it should appear necessary, I shall then call the Assembly.

Wagons with the arms and ammunition will set off this afternoon or early to-morrow morning. They will be consigned to Mr. Montgomery at Carlisle who will be desired to forward them to you.

[1] Reference is here made to John Hinkson and James Cooper, who were charged by St. Clair with having killed Joseph Wipey, the Delaware Indian.

Mr. Lesley has taken the charge of packing them up and has delivered me the inclosed account of what he is to put up.

ARTHUR ST. CLAIR TO GOVERNOR PENN.

LIGONIER, *June* 8, 1774.

Sir:—Since I wrote to you yesterday I have received two letters[1] from Mr. Croghan, which I now inclose. Though he seems to say that peace may be continued, I believe it is not his sentiments; and the circumstance of his going to Williamsburg, whatever design he may avow, is to be out of the way of danger: for he dare neither trust the white people nor the Indians.

We have a certain account of some mischief having been done up Cheat River. Eight or nine people are killed; but whether it is only designed as revenge, or is really the beginning of a war, we can not yet judge;[2] I shall, however take earliest opportunity to inform you of what passes.

ARTHUR ST. CLAIR TO GOVERNOR PENN.

LIGONIER, *June* 12, 1774.

Sir:—In my last letter I had the honor to inform you, that in consequence of the ranging company which had been raised here, there was reason to hope the people would return to their plantations and pursue their labors; and for some time, that is, a few days, it had that effect; but an idle report of Indians having been seen within the party, has driven them every one into some little fort or other, and many hundreds out of the country altogether. This has obliged me to call in the parties from where they were

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[1] Only one of these letters—that of June 4, 1774, previously given—has been preserved.

[2] It was both, as it proved. The "mischief" spoken of was the work of Logan, the Mingo chief, in revenge for the killing of his relatives at Baker's Bottom, opposite the mouth of Yellow Creek, on the 30th of April, previous. It was on Dunkard's Creek, about ten miles from the mouth of Cheat River, on the west side of the Monongahela, that the irate chief began his work of death—began, in fact, "Lord Dunmore's War." Logan had with him a small number of Mingoes and Shawanese from Wakatomica, an Indian town upon the Muskingum, near what is now Dresden, Muskingum county, Ohio. At this time, about ten persons were killed. The whole country was in forts; that is, what was left of them on either side of the Monongahela—the greater part having gone over the mountains for safety.

posted, and have stationed them, twenty men at the Bullock Pens, twenty men at Turtle Creek, thirty at Hanna's Town, twenty at Proctor's, and twenty at Ligonier; as these places are now the frontier towards the Alleghany, all that great country betwixt the road[1] and that river being totally abandoned, except by a few who are associated with the people who murdered the Indians, and are shut up in a small fort on Connymack [Conemaugh], equally afraid of the Indians and officers of justice.

Nothing can be more surprising than the dread the people are under, and it is truly shameful that so great a body of people should have been driven from their possessions without even the appearance of an enemy; for certain it is, as yet, no attempt has been made on what is understood to be Pennsylvania, nor any other mischief done than the killing the family on Whitelick Creek, which I informed you of before, and which, from every circumstance, appears rather to have been private revenge than a national stroke. A fresh report of Indians being seen near Hanna's Town, and another party on Braddock's Road, set the people agoing again yesterday. I immediately took horse and rode up to inquire, and found it, if not totally groundless, at least very improbable; but it was impossible to persuade the people so, and I am certain I did not meet less than a hundred families, and I think two thousand head of cattle, in twenty miles riding.

The people in this valley still make a stand; but yesterday they all moved into this place, and I perceive are much in doubt what to do. Nothing in my power to prevent their leaving the country shall be omitted, but if they will go I suppose I must go with the stream. It is the strangest infatuation ever seized upon men; and if they go off now, as harvest will soon be on, they must undoubtedly perish by famine, for spring crop there will be little or none.

By a letter from Mr. Mackay, of yesterday, I had a very extraordinary piece of intelligence, "that Lord Dunmore had empowered Mr. Conolly to settle a line of jurisdiction with the Pennsylvania magistrates." This, it seems, he gives out himself, but it is too absurd to be believed. It would give much pleasure to the friends of Government in this part of the country, to hear that

[1] The two principal roads leading out of Pittsburgh, at that date, eastward, were "Forbes' Road" and "Braddock's Road." Leaving Fort Pitt by the first-mentioned route, the traveler would reach the Bullock Pens, in seven miles; Hannastown, is something over thirty; Ligonier, in fifty-six; and Bedford, in about one hundred miles. It was this road that St. Clair refers to. Braddock's Road was to the south of this.

your commissioners had succeeded in that business, as it seems to be the only thing that can restore us peace and order.[1]

A very little time will discover the intentions of the Indians, and if they should proceed to further hostilities, I will give you notice by express, if it appears to be necessary.

P. S.—I have just heard that Mr. Conolly has sent a party of militia down to Wheeling, with orders to fall on every Indian they meet, without respecting friend or foe.[2]

ARTHUR ST. CLAIR TO GOVERNOR PENN.

LIGONIER, *June 16th*, 1774.

Sir:—There is very little alteration in the affairs of this country since my last, which was a few days ago, only we have a certain account of two more people being killed by the Indians, one Mr. McClure, and Kincaid, the person for whom you lately issued a special commission of the peace. They, it seems, were leading a party of forty men to join Capt. Conolly at Wheeling, and were attacked by four Indians who made their escape without so much as being fired at.[3]

Before this accident Mr. Conolly had determined to march from

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[1] On the 12th day of May, 1774, James Tilghman and Andrew Allen, commissioners of Pennsylvania, appointed to meet Lord Dunmore for a conference with regard to the Boundary Troubles, left Philadelphia, and arrived in Williamsburg on the 19th following. The business was soon opened; but, after a conference which lasted until the 27th of that month, it ended in nothing whatever being accomplished; Lord Dunmore declaring that in no event would he yield jurisdiction over Fort Pitt, which put an end to the meeting. St. Clair, however, had not received, at the date of the above letter, information of the failure of the commission.

[2] Particulars of the mishap which befel this party are given by St. Clair, in his letter to Penn, of June 16, 1774, which follows.

[3] "June 13th [1774]. We have this morning received Certain accounts from Ten-Mile Creek, (which Empties into the Monongahela ten miles above Redstone Fort) that on the 11th Inst. Francis McClure was killed & one Samuel Kinkade badly wounded. These men were heading a Party in Pursuit of Logan, McClure as Captain & Kinkade Lieut., and Oweing to their bad Conduct, they advanced some considerable distance ahead of their men and were discovered by Logan, when the Party came up they found their Captn kill'd & Lieut wounded; part of them stayed to take care of the wounded, and the Rest pursued the Indians."—*Devereux Smith to* ——. From this it would seem that St. Clair was mistaken in supposing the party were marching to join Conolly at Wheeling.

Ft. Pitt, (which he now calls Ft. Dunmore,) with three or four hundred men he had embodied for the purpose of chastising the Shawanese, to erect forts at Wheeling[1] and Hockhocking[2] to overawe the Indians and from thence to carry war into their own country; of this he was pleased to inform me by letter,[3] and to desire I would act in concert with him. You may be assured, sir, I shall be cautious of taking any step that may have the most distant tendency to draw this Province into active share in the war they have had no hand in kindling, but I have since received accounts that the above murders instantly changed the plan, and Mr. Conolly remains in garrison.

'Tis said some of his parties discovered a very large party of Indians crossing the Ohio below Wheeling. If that be true, as it is not improbable, we may expect soon to hear of much mischief being done, as there is not the least doubt of several small parties being out at this time.

'Tis some satisfaction the Indians seem to discriminate betwixt us and those who attacked them, and their revenge has fallen hitherto on that side of the Monongahela, which they consider as Virginia,[4] but lest that should not continue, we are taking all possible care to prevent a heavy stroke falling on the few people who are left in this country. Forts at different places so as to be more convenient, are now nearly completed, which gives an appearance of security for the women and children, and with the ranging parties, which have been drawn in to preserve the communication, has in a great degree put a stop to the unreasonable panic that had seized them, but in all of them there is a great scarcity of ammunition, and several messengers have returned from below without being able to purchase.

I am very anxious to know whether the ranging companies are agreeable to your honor or not, both because the expense of continuing them will be too heavy for the subscribers, and that I am every day pressed to increase them. This I have positively refused to do till I receive your Honor's instructions, and I well know how averse our Assemblies have been formerly to engage in the de-

[1] The site of the present city of that name, in West Virginia.

[2] The Hockhocking (frequently written Hocking) enters the Ohio River on the right, in the present State of Ohio, two hundred and three miles by course of the latter stream below Pittsburgh.

[3] It is a matter of regret that this letter has not been found. In the end, the plan mentioned was carried out.

[4] That is, on the west side.

fense of the frontiers, and if they are still of the same disposition, the circumstance of the white people being the aggressors will afford them a topic to ring the charges on and conceal their real sentiments.

Last night I received petitions from several different parts of the county, which I have now the honor to transmit to you by Doctor McKenzie from Pittsburgh.[1] The disturbance in this country has ruined his business, but should the Province think of raising

[1] Two, only, of the Petitions have been found, but this is a matter of little importance, as it will be seen by the following that they were all substantially alike:

[I.]

"PITTSBURGH, 14*th June*, 1774.

"To the Honourable John Penn, Esq'r, Governour and Commander in Chief of the Province of Pennsylvania, and of the Counties of Newcastle, Kent, and Sussex upon Delaware. The Petition of the Inhabitants of Westmoreland County, Humbly Sheweth,

"That there is the greatest Reason to apprehend that this part of the Country will be immediately involved in all the horrors of an Indian War, That our Circumstances at this Critical Conjuncture, are truly alarming. Deserted by the far greater part of our neighbours and fellow subjects, unprovided with places of strength to resort to, with Amunitions, Provisions, and almost every other necessary Store, Our houses are abandoned to pillage, Labour and Industry entirely at a stand, Our Crops destroyed by Cattle, Our flocks dispersed, and the minds of our people distracted with the terrors of falling, along with their helpless and unprotected families, the immediate victims of Savage Barbarity.

"In the midst of these scenes of Desolation and ruin, next to the Almighty, we look up to your Honour, hoping from your known Benevolence and Humanity, such Protection and Relief as to your Honour shall seem meet.

"And your Petitioners as in Duty bound will Pray. Æneas Mackay, Devereux Smith, William Butler, James O'Hara, Samuel McKenzie, John Ormsby, John McCallister, Andrew Robeson, Edward Thompson, William Evins, William McClellan, William Lea, Frederick Fenny, John Henery, Christopher Miller, John Stewart, Richard Carson, David Sample, Thomas Galbraith, William Elliott, Ar. St. Clair, James Pollock, Benjamin Setter, James Carnahan, John Chillton, John Carnahan, Peter Eckley, Edward Murray, William McConnell, James Kyll, Benjamin Coe, Joseph Kyll, John Work, Robert Patterson, Reuben Powell, Peter Coe, Michael Huffnagle, Abel Fisher, and others."

[II.]

"FORT SHIPEN, AT CAP'N JOHN PROCTORS.

"To the Honorable John Penn, Esquire, Governour and Commander in chief of the Province of Pennsylvania, and Counties of New Castle, Kent, and Sussex upon Delaware. The Petition of the Inhabitants of Westmoreland County Humbly Sheweth,

troops, he would be glad I believe to be employed. I can, sir, recommend him to your Honor, as an expert surgeon and gentlemanly man. He has served as surgeon in the navy.

I was mistaken in saying two people were killed on Ten Mile Creek: McClure was killed, and Kinkaid wounded; however, it would have been no great matter if he had been killed, as he had accepted a commission in the service of Virginia, soon after the notice you had been pleased to take of him at the request of his father-in law, Col. Wilson. I am afraid there are some more of our Virginia friends who do not play us fair, but it is not a time at present for purgation.

Unless your Honor should forbid me, I shall continue to write to you in this manner, whatever occurs, as it is the only way I have at present to show you that I am with the greatest respect, your obedient servant.

P. S.—For any thing that has escaped me, I take the liberty to refer you to Doctor McKensie.

The day before yesterday I had a visit from Major Ward. He informs me that Mr. Croghan set out for Williamsburg the day before, to represent the distresses he says of the people of this country. At the same time he informed me that the Delawares had got notice of the murder of Wipey, and that Mr. Croghan had desired him to come to me on that occasion; that he advised that they

"That there is great Reason to fear that this part of the Country will soon be involved in an Indian War. That the Consequences will most probably be very striking; as the Country is in a very defenceless state, without any Places of Strength, or any Stock of Amunition or Necessary Stores.

"That the abandoning the Country, must be attended with total Ruin to great numbers who are now in an easy Situation, but almost distracted with the apprehension of seeing their Helpless Infants fall a Sacrifice to Savage Cruelty, and this will certainly be the event unless they meet with some protection.

"In these Circumstances, next to the Almighty, they look up to your Honour, and hope you will take their Case into Consideration, and afford them such Relief as to your Honour shall seem meet.

"And your Petitioners as in duty bound will Pray.

"Lot Darling, Andrew Woolf, Gorg Hedingbau, Samuel Sloan, William Caldwell, Robert Roulston, William Allison, William Cortny, John Patrick, Benjamin Coohra, James Gammel, James Forsyth, Robert Taylor, John Leslie, William Anderson, George Henry, John Proctor, David Maxwell, William Hughs, Ilias Pettet, and others."

should be spoken to and some small present made to them as condolence and to cover his bones, as they express it. I do not well know what to do; such a present as some few of us would be willing to contribute for, might be thought unworthy of the Province, and such an one as might come up to my idea, would be great presumption to offer. This however is certain, the Delawares are still friendly and it may perhaps prevent a general war if they can be kept in temper. I believe I shall go to Ft. Pitt, however, and will consider well of it.

Æneas Mackay to Arthur St. Clair.

Pittsburgh, *17th June*, 1774.

My Dear Sir:—I have the pleasure to inform you that Butler,[1] Blain,[2] and several other traders, are just arrived with their skins, guarded by three Shawanese chiefs, and our greatest dread is now that the militia will attempt to kill or otherwise abuse these principal men, as they are so easy to come at; however we have some trusty hands to lead them through the woods to Col. Croghan's, which we look upon to be a place of safety. The traders inform us that they have not been under confinement at all, and that they have been exceedingly well treated by all the Shawanese.[3] We will have no war yet, unless our neighbors will force them to it.

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[1] Richard Butler. He, in company with his brother William, was engaged as a trader, at this period, with the Shawanese. They had been doing a large business for a number of years, from Pittsburgh. It may be here mentioned that these brothers took an important part in the Revolution, and that Richard was a Major-General in the Indian war which followed that contest.

[2] Ephraim Blaine.

[3] Richard Butler, after his arrival at Pittsburgh, gave an interesting account of his escape from the Indian country. It was in substance this: On hearing the news of the killing of the Mingoes by Greathouse and his party at Baker's Bottom, on the 30th of April, three men and a boy, who were Mingoes, and one Shawanese, set off to the Hockhocking, with an intent to revenge the deed upon the traders there. On hearing of this, the Shawanese head men sent four of their own people and one Mohican to preserve Butler and the residue of the traders at that point. This was faithfully done; for when the war party came to the camp of the Pennsylvanians, they were met by the others, who prevailed on them to return home. When Butler and the other traders were ready to start for Pittsburgh, the Shawanese chief, Cornstalk, sent his brother to escort the whole of them to Pittsburgh, although, before they left, the report that Logan and his friends had taken up the hatchet against the Virginians in revenge for his relatives slain, reached the Shawanese before their departure. The Indian escort, composed

P. S.—Mr. Butler informs me, he has a speech for the inhabitants of the forks of the Two Rivers, meaning our Province; and Blain has a speech to deliver to Mr. Connolly as representative for the Big Knife, so that I hope you will be up before the speeches will be delivered.[4]

JAMES TILGHMAN TO ARTHUR ST. CLAIR.

PHILADELPHIA, *June 20th*, 1774.

Sir:—The Governor has received your dispatches by Mr. Hooper and Mr. Jacobs who had by packet from Mr. Elder. I just take this opportunity by a person going off to-day, to let you know that we could not bring my Lord Dunmore to any reasonable temporary lines. We offered the Monongahela which he would not agree to; so that the peace and quiet of the country must in a great measure depend on the confidence of those in command on both sides till we can get orders from home to have the boundaries of Penn'a settled, which Lord Dunmore assured us he would use every endeavor to expedite. I find you have raised some rangers to encourage the people to continue their settlements; great care should be taken that they give no offense or umbrage to the Indians, who should be made sensible that nothing is intended, but to keep the people to the settlements, unless the Indians should oblige them to act offensively. It seems as if there were no good understanding between Croghan and Connolly. I do not know how sincere Croghan may be, nor would I judge uncharitably, but his sentiments are just.

We had some intimation when at Williamsburg and I have heard since I came home that Lord Dunmore has interested himself in the lands about Pittsburgh. I wish you would inquire into that

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of one Shawanese, one Mingo and a Mohican, proved faithful to their trust and delivered their charges in safety at Pittsburgh.

The fears of Mackay that the militia would "attempt to kill or otherwise abuse" the three Indians, were well-founded. It required great caution and considerable trouble on the part of the traders and Colonel Croghan to protect them, so intense was the excitement among the Virginians at Pittsburgh against savages in general at the time. On their way home, the Mohican was actually wounded, near the mouth of Beaver, by a scouting party; however, it is not certain that they had knowledge of the pacific intention of these Indians.

[4] The speech brought in by Butler has not been found. The one intrusted to Blaine was directed to Croghan and Conolly. It was from the chief, Cornstalk. He sent his good intentions to the Governors of Pennsylvania and Virginia; hoped that peace would be maintained, and that no more Indians would be killed.

matter, and transmit me what intelligence you can gain of it. The Governor will write you by the first opportunity. He is out of town to-day and knows not of this.

Conolly wrote Lord Dunmore a very flattering account of his expedition against the court house for which we are informed he got a sharp reprimand instead of the applause he expected. When we applied for the discharge of the magistrates his Lordship told us he had already given orders for that purpose.

Lord Dunmore told us he would instruct his people to be very pacific and inoffensive, and not to give an occasion of difference.

Arthur St. Clair to Governor Penn.

Ligonier, *June* 22, 1774.

Sir:—In my last I informed you of Mr. Croghan setting out for Williamsburg, since which I had a letter from him from his own house. He therein informed me that he found the country so much alarmed at his going down, that he chose to return, and trust his business to letters, and desired to see me as soon as possible. Accordingly I set out for Pittsburgh the 17th inst., and had the happiness to find two of the principal traders arrived there with a great quantity of peltry, and that they had been conducted there by some of the Shawanese chiefs, and that the rest of the traders, with their horses and skins, were got as far as the Newcomer's Town, under the protection of another Shawanese party.

The traders inform us that they have met with no ill treatment from the Shawanese; but, on the contrary, they were at the greatest pains, to protect them from the Mingoes, who had suffered most from the white people, and who came to their town several times, with the intention to murder them. It seems they did not think it prudent to bring the Shawanese to Pittsburgh, but conducted them from some distance below that place, through the woods to Colonel Croghan's. Mr. Conolly ordered out a party of forty men to make them prisoners, as he says.

The people of the town were alarmed at seeing a party march out the route they took, and suspected they were intended to attack a party of our people stationed at the Bullock Pens, about seven miles from thence, which it seems has some time been threatened, and acquainted me with what they feared. I immediately waited on Mr. Conolly, and insisted, in direct terms, he should tell me if he had any such design. He assured me he had not, but that, as

the Shawanese had committed depredations on his Majesty's subjects, he had ordered out that party to make those prisoners who had escorted the traders; and that might have been his real intention; but I am convinced those who were to put it in execution would not have made prisoners. We put it out of their power to do either, by sending them over the river.

Your Honor will judge from this circumstance that the crew about Fort Pitt (now Fort Dunmore), are intent on a war, for were not that the case, honor, generosity, gratitude, every manly principle, must have prompted them to be kind, and afford protection to those poor savages, who had risked their own lives to preserve the lives and property of their fellow-subjects. But why need I mention this circumstance? One at least as strong is, that John Drinning, who publicly acknowledged, or rather boasted, of having killed the Indians, with Mr. Cresap, is one of Mr. Conolly's lieutenants, and is at the present time out somewhere with the command of a party to take scalps, from friends I suppose; a murderer, I am sure, will never meet an enemy on fair terms.

I mentioned something of a condolence in my last, and as the Shawanese were up, I suffered myself to be pursuaded by Mr. Croghan to collect a small present of goods for that purpose, which was on Sunday morning to have been divided and sent to the three nations, the Six Nations, Shawanese, and Delawares; but Mr. Connolly's frolic prevented it that day. Next morning, the Indians, being some Six Nations, and some Delawares, were brought down to Mr. Croghan's, and were shown the condolence, and acquainted that it was ordered for them by you, and that when their chiefs arrived they would be spoken to, and the present delivered, and a messenger was sent after the Shawanese to acquaint them likewise. As the Indians themselves made a distinction betwixt us and our neighbors, it may perhaps be a means of keeping peace in our quarter at least. I hope your Honor will not be offended at my taking this upon myself. The value of the goods is but trifling, not exceeding thirty or forty pounds. I have inclosed a list of them, but the person from whom I got them neglected to affix the prices.

Whatever may be Mr. Croghan's real views, I am certain he is hearty in promising the general tranquillity of the country; indeed, he is indefatigable in endeavoring to make up the breaches, and does, I believe, see his mistake in opposing the interests of your Government; and I doubt not but a very little attention would render him as serviceable as ever. Real friendship you must not expect, for, by his interest alone he is regulated, yet he may be useful,

as by and by you will probably want to make another purchase. I purposely gave him an opportunity of opening a correspondence with me, which he embraced, and from what I can see, he would be glad to be on better terms with your officers than he has been; but this is only conjecture.

With this, your Honor will receive an extract from Mr. McKee's journal of all the transactions with the Indians, from the beginning of the troubles, as also another of Mr. Connolly's advertisements.[1] I know not well what he means by it, but I believe his design is to distress the Indian trade.

It is true what I mentioned about the boundary. Mr. Connolly read me a part of a letter from Lord Dunmore on the subject. He says the demands of the Pennsylvanians were so extravagant that he could do nothing with them, but that he (Connolly) may settle a line of jurisdiction with the magistrates of Westmoreland, ten or twelve miles eastward of Pittsburgh, or a more convenient distance, and cautions him at the same time not to give just cause of offense to the magistrates acting under the authority of this Province. I know not how the magistrates were to settle lines.

I received your Honor's favor of 7th inst., and am happy to inform you the panic is in some measure over. The ammunition has not yet come to hand, but a quantity arrived from Carlisle which eased the people's minds a little, but the damage to the country by the desertion of the people and the loss of the Spring crop is very great, and if any thing should happen to interrupt the harvest we must have an absolute famine. This I hope will not be the case.

Logan is returned with thirteen scalps and a prisoner, and says he will now listen to the chiefs.[2]

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[1]Conolly's advertisement was in these words:

"Whereas the Shawanese have perpetrated several murders upon the Inhabitants of this Country which has involved this promising Settlement in the most calamitous distress; and whereas I have good reason to believe that certain imprudent people continue to carry on a correspondence with, and supply the said Enemies with dangerous Commodities to the infinite prejudice of His Majesty's subjects, and expressly contrary to an Act of Assembly prohibiting such unwarrantable intercourse: These are therefore in His Majesty's Name, strictly to require and command all His Majesty's Subjects, to take notice hereof and to deport themselves as the law directs, as they may be assured that a contrary conduct will draw on them the utmost severity thereof.

"Given under my Hand at Fort Dunmore this 18th June, 1774.

JOHN CONOLLY."

[2]It has been taken for granted that he did so listen, and that he then

ARTHUR ST. CLAIR TO GOVERNOR PENN.

LIGONIER, *June 26th*, 1774.

Sir:—I have the honor to transmit a memorial from the inhabitants of Pittsburgh to your Honor, with some remarks upon Mr. Conolly's conduct in support of it, which came to my hands a few minutes ago.[1] It is most certain, sir, they are most injuriously

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buried the hatchet, having slain just as many of the "Long Knives" as the Virginians killed of Mingoes. But his rest was only temporary; he afterward penetrated a considerable distance into Virginia—he and his braves killing as they went. Up to the last of June, or to the time of the date of the above letter, he had already taken sixteen scalps.

[1] The following are the Memorial and Remarks referred to by St. Clair:

[MEMORIAL.]

"PITTSBUGH, *June* 25, 1774.

"To the Honorable John Penn, Esq., Governor and joint Proprietor of the Province of Pennsylvania, etc.

"The memorial of the subscribers, in behalf of themselves and the remaining few inhabitants of Pittsburgh who have adhered to the Governor of Pennsylvania, humbly sheweth: That your memorialists have suffered in an unprecedented manner by the arbitrary proceedings of Doctor Conolly, since the commencement of his tyrannical Government at Pittsburgh. The principal facts we shall beg leave to lay before your Honor, as followeth: Soon after the return of the magistrates of this place from Staunton jail in Virginia, Mr. Conolly being extremely enraged that Mr. Mackay should acquaint Lord Dunmore with his tyrannical behavior, took all opportunities to affront and use Mr. Mackay ill, so that in a few days after he ordered Mr. Mackay's outhouses to be pulled down, and the materials to be carried to his garrison; and when Mr. Mackay complained of such oppressive measures, he was threatened by Doctor Conolly to be sent in irons to Williamsburg.

"Mr. William Butler, (one of the subscribers,) and an eminent trader at this place, has been cruelly treated by Mr. Conolly, nay, was threatened to be shot down, for daring to refuse carrying arms at Mr. Conolly's militia array, etc. That your memorialists are of opinion that Mr. Conolly has taken all the pains in his power to foment the disturbance between us and the Indians, for several reasons, particularly when a number of the traders arrived here lately from the Shawanese towns, escorted by three Shawanese chiefs, who were sent to the care of Colonel Croghan, till a handsome present was made for them, by the traders for their fidelity, Doctor Conolly ordered out forty-one of his militia to take them at all events, and to send them to his guard house, which hellish plot being discovered, Mr. Butler, and some other friends, conveyed the Indians and their presents over the river, just as the guards surrounded Mr. Croghan's house, for which Mr. Butler has been severely threatened.

"That a number of the subscribers, etc., have been very severely treated

treated. The only piece of news from above, since my last, is, that Mr. Conolly sent two parties down the river in pursuit of the Shawanese who escorted the traders, who intercepted them at Beaver

by Mr. Conolly for our adherence to the Pennsylvania Government, which, for brevity sake, must be omitted.

"The premises considered, your memorialists most earnestly request your Honor will fall upon some speedy method to relieve our distresses, and to send us directions, as soon as possible, how to act on this very critical occasion.

"For a further explanation of our distresses we beg leave to refer your Honor to the enclosed remarks, which are absolute facts.

"Æneas Mackay, Frederick Fany, William Evans, Devereux Smith, Robert McCully, William Amberson, John Ormsby, George McCully, William Hamilton, Richard Butler, John Shannon, James Smith, William Butler, Gabriel Walker, John Irwin, James O'Hara, John Walker, Robert Elliott, James Fowler, Benjamin Elliott, Richard Carson, Joseph Spear, Alexander Wayne, Joseph Carrel, Andrew Robinson, Ralph Nailer, Stephen Groves."

[Remarks.]

"Pittsburgh, *June 25th*, 1774.

"The Distress'd Inhabitants of this Place have just cause to Charge their present Calamity & Dread of an Indian War, Intirely to the Tyrannical and unprecedent Conduct of Doctor John Connolly, whose design, as we conceive, is to better his almost desperate Circumstances upon the distress of the publick and the Ruin of our Fortunes, as will appear from the following Facts:

"1st. On the 25th day of January last, a number of disorderly persons assembled themselves here in Consequence of his advertisements, (as militia) who, when dispersing, wantonly or maliciously fired upon some friendly Indians, in their Hutts on the Indian Shore, which Conduct, together with So unexpected an Appearance of so many People in Arms at a time, that they expected no Hostile Intention on our parts, greatly alarmed them, as appeared by Complaint made by them at a Council with Alexander Mc [Kee], Esq'r, Indian Agent, and some of the Inhabitants of this Place, a few days after.

"2ndly. Michael Cresip [Cresap], in vindication of his own Conduct, alledges that it was in Consequence of a Circular Letter from said Connolly, directed to the Inhabitants of the Ohio, that he murthered the Indians, and that in a manner that Savage Ferocity could scarce equal & in Cold Blood, without the least Provocation, amongst whom was some Delawares that had been employed by Mr. William Butler to Carry Goods & tend to the Relief of his brothers, who was at that time in the Indian Country, all of which property they have been deprived of to a Considerable amount; also, every part of said Connolly's conduct to our friendly Indians convinces us that he means to force them to a war, as he both Refuses to protect & endeavors to murder those that, at the Risque of their lives Came with our Traders to protect them & to deliver assurances to the publick, which can be produced if required.

Creek, fired on them, and wounded one, and then ran off in the most dastardly manner. What may be the consequence God knows, but it is well if the traders do not suffer; their horses and peltry are not yet arrived.

"3dly. A large body of Armed men broke open Mr. McKay's & Mr. Smiths Back-yard Gates & Rescued the Villian Rielly, who was sworn constable for Westmoreland County at that time, and was confined for abusing said McKay in his own House; five of those men presented their Guns at Mr. McKay & Mr. Smith, also one of the Party struck at Mr. McKay with his Gun and broke it into pieces, whilst another presented his rifle through his Parlour window, Swearing that he would shoot down Mrs. McKay if she did not immediately set open the doors of her House, upon which she fled, but was Immediately assaulted by one Aston (a Captain in said Connolly's Appointment) with a drawn Sword, who stabbed her in the Arm. Mr. Spear was also Abused & Scratched by said Aston, at the same time.

"4thly. Said Connolly, with an Armed force of two hundred men, surrounded the Court House, &c., &c.

"5thly. He sent Æneas McKay, Devereux Smith, & Andrew McFarlane, Magistrates, under an Armed Guard to Stan-town [Staunton] jail, in Virginia, then proceeded to shoot down our Cattle, Sheep and Hogs, takeing by force of Arms any part of our property he pleases, also Pressing our Horses without applying for them or rendering any satisfaction to the sufferers for so doing.

"6thly. He sent an Armed Guard to Town to Plunder the House of Mr. Devereux Smith, but was prevented by Mr. William Butler, at the Risque of his life.

"7thly. He, Connolly, with his whole Force, came to the House of Mr. McKay & Broke open his Gates, & Pulled down a Log Stable & Sheep house, threatening to Pull down his Dwelling House if he thought proper; he came again, accompanied by one of his Officers, to Mr. McKays & abused him in a Blasphemous, outrageous manner, threatening to send him in Irons to Virginia, next day.

"8thly. He sent an Armed Guard to Town, with a General Search Warrant, to search every House in Town, without Exception, for the Effects of a man that died the evening before in their Fort, that some of themselves had Robbed his Corpse off. In the Course of their Search they Broke Open a Chest in a Mans house, that bears a Good Character here, and took out several Articles, and at the same time Insulted the owner.

"9thly. He sent a party who Robbed Mr. Joseph Spears's Carriers of One Horse load of Gun Powder about Six miles from Town, which was sent by said Spear for the use of the Inhabitants of this Country, if necessity required; thus Robbery was committed by a Party headed by the afforesaid Aston who beat and Insolently abused the Person who had said Powder in Charge, when he Demanded a Receipt for the same.

"These are but a few of the many Distresses we labour under, and without Protection & Speedy Redress, cannot long support ourselves under such Greiveous Persecution & Tyranny."

Mr. McFarlane has just arrived from Virginia, and reports that four companies are on their march to Pittsburgh. I think he must be mistaken, both as their militia law is expired, and that it is not an easy matter to conduct so large a body through an uninhabited country, where no magazines are established. Any occurrences worthy of your notice shall be intimated by every opportunity.

Governor Penn to Arthur St. Clair.

Philadelphia, *June* 28, 1774.

Sir:—The accounts which you have transmitted of the temper of the Indians, and the murders they have already perpetrated, are truly alarming, and give every reason to apprehend that we shall not long be exempt from the calamities of a savage war. The desertion of that country in consequence of the panic which has seized the inhabitants, on this occasion, must be attended with the most mischievous effects, and prove ruinous to the immediate sufferers, and distressing to the Province in general. Every measure, therefore, should be attempted to stop the progress of this evil, and to induce those who have already gone off, to return to their habitations; and, I must rely on you to exert all your prudence and activity for this purpose. The steps which have already been taken appear to me very proper, and I have no doubt, but that you will continue your endeavours to restore the drooping spirits of the people, and inspire them with a resolution to stand their ground, at least till they are satisfied of the intentions of the Indians towards this Province. You may assure them that Government sensibly feels the distresses of their situation—that it will be attentive to their interests, and afford them every assistance and protection in its power to give. With this disposition, I have issued writs for convening the Assembly, on the 18th of next month; and shall immediately on their meeting, lay this matter before them, and have reason to expect that such measures will be adopted as may effectually enable the Government to extend to them a relief, adequate to its wishes, and their wants. In the mean time I shall give orders for such further supply of ammunition to be sent up as will be sufficient for the present occasion.

I have written to Sir William Johnson, informing him of the intelligence we had received of these transactions, and requesting his interposition with the Six Nations, to use their influence with the Shawanese and Delawares, to prevent further hostilities on their

part, and to assure them of the sincere intentions of this Government to continue their pacific disposition towards all our Indian brethren. I have also written to Lord Dunmore, complaining of Conolly's outrageous and tyrannical behavior at Pittsburgh, and representing the dangerous tendency his military operations may have to involve the Colonies in a general Indian War.

P. S.—My Commissioners who attended Lord Dunmore, could not induce him to come into any reasonable temporary line of jurisdiction, and therefore things must remain in the disagreeable situation of interfering jurisdictions. In this unhappy situation I am satisfied, you and the other magistrates will act a prudent part. It is impossible in such a case to give particular directions. With respect to the keeping up the rangers you have raised for the security of the inhabitants, I shall recommend it to the Assembly to defray the expense that shall accrue in that necessary measure; and I can not have the least doubt that they will approve of what has been done on this occasion, as also the continuance of the same forces, until their sentiments can be known.

R. L. HOOPER TO ARTHUR ST. CLAIR.

[*No date.*][1]

Dear Sir:—Yesterday I forwarded three letters for you by Mr. Ross[2] of Pittsburgh, and now I am in hopes of sending you the resolves of council last evening which was held in consequence of your letters, etc., by Doctor McKinney. I have hunted Mr. Tilghman faithfully to day, but can not meet with him. I am now going in search of him to get the Governor's letter for you; but I will first tell you that the Assembly is called to meet the 18th of next month, and a considerable quantity of powder and lead is ordered to be sent up immediately; and this is all—except the full approbation of your conduct—and it gave me great pleasure to hear one of the gentlemen of the council express his sentiments of you on this occasion. I think there does not remain a doubt but your measures will be adopted by the Governor and Assembly, and your requests fully answered, but

[1] The letter, by referring to the time when the Assembly of Pennsylvania was to meet, shows that it was written some time in June, 1774.

[2] Alexander Ross. He was, for a number of years, engaged largely in trade with the Indians from Pittsburgh, in connection with Alexander McKee. He was, on the 11th of January, 1774, commissioned a justice of the peace of Westmoreland County, Pennsylvania, as previously indicated.

the delaying time must be of very bad consequence to the country. I intend to take up a certain Bond if I can, but as yet, I have not had it in my power. I shall be ready on every occasion to serve you and the inhabitants. You know I am diligent and active, and perhaps you may have it in your power to turn the eyes of these people on me. I have had frequaint conversation with Mr. Tilghman, who is friendly.

I have just seen Doctor Smith who says an express is to be sent off to you. I can not find the Secretary—he is attending the ball.

ARTHUR ST. CLAIR TO GOVERNOR PENN.

LIGONIER, *July 4th*, 1774.

Sir:—I have the honor to inclose the last piece of Indian Intelligence, which came by Captain White Eyes a few days ago, and am very happy that affairs have so peaceable an aspect,[1] yet I can not suppress my fears that it will soon be interrupted, as a large body of Virginians are certainly in motion. Colonel Henry Lewis is ordered to the mouth of Kenhawa to build a fort there; and Major McDonald with about five hundred, is to march up Braddocks road and down to Wheeling to build another there; and Cresap, with three others, are appointed to raise ranging companies. With such officers as Cresap, no good can be expected, so that it is very doubtful all attempts to preserve the tranquillity of the country will be fruitless.[2]

[1] The intelligence brought by White Eyes was, in effect, that he was returned from transacting the business which he had been sent upon by his brethren, the English; and that he now had the satisfaction to tell them that he had succeeded in his negotiations with all those tribes of the several nations of Indians whom he had since seen and conferred with, upon the unhappy disturbances which unfortunately had arisen in the Spring between the foolish people of both parties, and that he had found all the nations fully disposed to adhere to their ancient friendship and the advice of their wise men.

[2] In a proclamation issued by Lord Dunmore, April 25, 1774, he recognized that Pittsburgh and its dependencies were "in some danger of annoyance from the Indians," and he ordered and required "the officers of the militia in that district to embody a sufficient number of men to repel any insult whatever," referring not only to the Indians, but to the Boundary Troubles as well.

Early in May, William Crawford, President of the Court of Westmoreland County, under Pennsylvania appointment, having accepted a captain's commission from Lord Dunmore, embodied, up the Monongahela and Youghiogheny, one hundred men, and proceeded down to Chartiers' Creek to

The men that have been raised here we have thought proper to continue another month, as the harvest will, by that time, be over. They have orders to assist and protect the people in the different quarters where they are posted, and I hope by that means that it will be secured.

The arms and ammunition are not yet arrived, but I hear they will reach that place to-morrow or next day.

Last week Mr. 'Conolly issued an order to prevent any skins being removed from Pittsburgh, till they paid duty as in Virginia.

There has been some appearance of the old seed of the Black Boys, a number of the people had assembled to stop Mr. Somons's goods, but I had got notice of it and sent a party to protect them, and have issued warrants against them. Their ring-leader will certainly be taken this day.

William Smith to Arthur St. Clair.

Philadelphia, *July 5th*, 1774.

Sir:—The proceedings of Conolly are shocking and a high disgrace to the Government from which he pretends his authority, as well as to this Government, for suffering such flagrant acts within its known jurisdiction. No pains shall be spared you effectual and immediate relief. When any thing falls in the way, Dr. McKenzie will

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guard the people while they got their stock away. He then went down the Ohio as far as Grave Creek to watch the motions of the Indians, but, seeing none, returned home with his command. St. Clair seems not to have been advised of this, the first expedition down the Ohio, in "Lord Dunmore's War."

It will be remembered that early in June, Conolly proposed to send a considerable force down the river to build a stockade at Wheeling, and another at Hockhocking (St. Clair to Governor Penn, June 16th, ante). Captain William Crawford headed the force, which reached Wheeling without accident, and commenced the erection of a fort there. Meanwhile, Lord Dunmore planned two expeditions: one to march down the Kanawha, under Col. Andrew Lewis, to erect a fort at its mouth, and the other under Col. Angus McDonald, to build one at Wheeling (which had already been anticipated by Conolly; and the work was actually begun by Crawford).

"The Virginians, from their conduct, appear determined on a war. Colonel Lewis is supposed to be at the Canawes [mouth of the Great Kanawha] with 1500 men and several parties have gone from this place to join him. Major McDonald, Mr. Cresap and others, are expected here shortly, who, it is said, are going down the river [Ohio] to build forts and station men at different places."—*Æneas Mackay to Joseph Shippen, Jr., from Pittsburgh, July* 8, 1774.

not be forgot. Something concerning your Fort Pitt affairs will be published from time to time, as we can produce intelligence.

JAMES WILSON[1] TO ARTHUR ST. CLAIR.

CARLISLE, *July 7th*, 1774.

Dear Sir:—I was favored with your letter[2] by Mr. Anderson. My connection with the county of Westmoreland, and the regard I have for some valuable friends there, lay me, in my opinion, under an indispensable obligation to do them every little service in my power. The sentiments of the gentlemen who joined with me in sending up the ammunition,[3] are, I believe, upon this subject, the same. We only did our duty, therefore, upon that occasion. It will always give me a very sensible pleasure to testify these sentiments; and if any opportunity shall occur in which you think I can be of the least use, I shall esteem it friendly in you to give me notice of it.

The Governor has summoned the Assembly to meet on the 18th of this month. What measures that body will adopt in order to secure and protect the frontiers of the Province, it is impossible to foretell.[4]

In the interior parts of the Province the public attention is much engrossed about the late conduct of the Parliament with regard to America,[5] and the steps which the Colonies ought jointly to take to maintain their liberties; against which, to say the least of the matter, a very dangerous blow seems to be aimed. A general Congress

[1] Native of Scotland, lawyer of distinction, and afterwards signer of Declaration of Independence, etc.

[2] This letter has not been found in the St. Clair Papers.

[3] Supplies sent to Westmoreland for use of the rangers raised by St. Clair to protect the frontiers.

[4] When the Assembly met, Governor Penn communicated the facts set forth in the foregoing correspondence, asked that an appropriation be made to meet expenses incurred in arming the rangers, and that some method be devised for accommodating the Indian troubles. Appropriation made by the Assembly, and the Governor advised to renew the peace with the Indians, and offer to act as a mediator between the Indians and Virginia. A reward of one hundred pounds was offered for apprehending John Hinkson and James Cooper for the murder of the friendly Indian, Joseph Wipey.

[5] Meetings to express sympathy with Boston were held in June at Lancaster, Chester, and other interior points.

from all the different Provinces will certainly be appointed. With regard to the propriety of entering into a non-importation and non-exportation agreement, the opinions of the people in this Province, as well as the opinions of those in the other Provinces, are not, as far as I can learn, unanimous.

A meeting of deputies from the several counties in this Province is to be held at Philadelphia on the 15th inst., in order to concert the preparatory steps to a general Congress.[1] Letters from the committee of the city and county of Philadelphia are, I presume, sent up to you, informing you of this.

Please to offer my best compliments to Mrs. St. Clair.

ARTHUR ST. CLAIR TO GOVERNOR PENN.

HANNA'S TOWN, *July* 12, 1774.

Sir:—On Friday last I was honored with your letter of the 28th ult., and I have now the satisfaction to acquaint you that the panic seems entirely over, and that numbers of people are returning daily.

It must be very grateful to every person concerned, as it is in a very particular manner to me, that their endeavors on this occasion has met with so full approbation from your Honor, and will most certainly induce them to exert themselves on future ones. I had yesterday an opportunity to acquaint them, as also a very respectable body of people who were assembled here in consequence of a letter from the Committee of Philadelphia, of your determination to afford them every necessary assistance and protection. I read to them that part of your Honor's letter, and they received it with great satisfaction and thankfulness.

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[1]The meeting on the 15th was attended by the distinguished citizens of Pennsylvania: John Dickinson, Joseph Reed, Thomas Fitzsimmons, and Thomas Mifflin attended from Philadelphia; James Wilson, Robert Magaw, and William Irvine from Cumberland. The last two served as Colonels under St. Clair during the war. James Wilson was a member of the committee to prepare instructions to the delegates appointed to attend a general Congress. The Assembly, on the 22d, voted that a Congress of Deputies ought to be held "for obtaining redress of American grievances, ascertaining American rights, upon the most solid constitutional principles, and for establishing that union and harmony between Great Britain and the Colonies, which is indispensably necessary for the welfare and happiness of both."

I shall probably have occasion to write you again to-morrow, as I had, yesterday, a letter from Mr. Croghan,[1] desiring a conference on matters of great importance to the Province, which he would not trust in writing. I believe, however, it is a proposal to open some trading place; that is, to form a town some where up the Alleghany, as the trading people must leave Pittsburgh. Hinkston,[2] with about eighteen men in arms, paid us a visit at court last week, and, I am very sorry to say, got leave to go away again, though there was a force sufficient to secure two such parties at the sheriff's directions. I had got intelligence that they were to be there, and expected to be joined by a party of Cresap's people, for which reason the ranging party that were within reach had been drawn in, but none of the Virginians appeared. It is said a commission has been sent him from Virginia; certain it is, he is enlisting men for that service.

Arthur St. Clair to Governor Penn.

Ligonier, *July 17th*, 1774.

Sir:—The business Mr. Croghan had to communicate was this: That the Virginians are determined to put a stop to the Indian trade with this Province, and that Messrs. Simons, Campbell, and Conolly have obtained an exclusive privilege of carrying it on, on the frontiers of Virginia. He recommends the laying out of a town up the Alleghany at the Kittanning, to which the traders might retire, as they will certainly be obliged to abandon Pittsburgh, and from which the trade might be carried on to as much advantage, as the distance from thence to Kuskuskies[3] is much the same as from Pittsburgh, and a very good road. He further recommends the building of a small stockade there, to afford them protection in case of a war. The Indians will certainly quit Pittsburgh, as it is at the risk of their lives they come there, to which I was an eye-witness.

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[1] See St. Clair's letter of the 17th, to Governor Penn, following.

[2] This is the same Hinkston that was charged with being one of the party who murdered the Delaware, Joseph Wipey.

[3] A Delaware Indian town, of the Monsey tribe or clan, situated at the junction of the Shenango and Mahoning rivers, in what is now Lawrence County, Pennsylvania. The place was nearly north-west from the site of the proposed new town at "the Kittanning," upon the Alleghany—the spot where the present Kittanning, county seat of Armstrong County, is located.

Croghan further says, that unless somebody is sent up by the Government to speak to the Indians very soon, that we shall see no more of them, and that the Delawares, who are still friendly, will be debauched.

I beg you to excuse this incoherent scrawl, as I am obliged to be held up whilst I write it.

Hinkston has left the country.

JOHN CONOLLY TO ARTHUR ST. CLAIR.

FORT DUNMORE,[1] *July 19th*, 1774.

Dear Sir:—A report, which has too generally prevailed in this quarter, of the pacific disposition of the Indians, has unluckily lulled the inhabitants into supineness and neglect, the effects of which have been dismally experienced on the 13th inst., upon Dunkard Creek, where six unfortunate people were murdered by a party of thirty-five Indians. I have also received a letter from Colonel Lewis, acquainting me that the Shawanese had attacked a body of men near to his house, and had killed one and wounded another. Whatever may be said of the cause urging the Indians to these steps will be little to the advantage of these suffering people; some immediate steps most undoubtedly ought to be pursued to check their insolent impetuosity, or the country in general will be sacrificed to their revenge. The people of the frontiers want nothing but the countenance of Government to execute every desirable purpose, and your Province appearing backward at this critical juncture will most indubitably be highly displeasing to all the western settlers. I am determined no longer to be a dupe to their amicable professions, but, on the contrary, shall pursue every measure to offend them; whether I may have the friendly assistance or not of the neighboring country will, I expect, depend much on your just representation of matters.

ARTHUR ST. CLAIR TO JOHN CONOLLY.

LIGONIER, *July 22d*, 1774.

Sir:—I received your favor of the 19th, yesterday, by Doctor

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[1] The new name given by Conolly to Fort Pitt. He not only had possession of the fort, with a body of Virginia militia, as he termed them, but had made considerable repairs upon the fortress.

McKenzie, and am extremely sorry for the misfortunes that have happened upon Dunkard Creek.

It is very true, the assigning this or that cause for the inroads which the Indians are frequently making will be of no manner of advantage to the sufferers; but I think the security into which the people had fallen arose, not so much from an idea of the pacific disposition of the Indians, as that the great armed force sent down the river would effectually cover them; in that expectation they were certainly wrong; it was an effect could never follow from such a cause.

I agree with you, something ought to be done to prevent the depredations the Indians may still make upon the inhabitants; that is, ample reparation ought to be made them for the injuries they have already sustained, and an honest open intercourse established with them for the future. This, I imagine, would be found a more cheap, easy, and expeditious manner of re-establishing the peace of this country than any offensive measures whatsoever; for, be assured, the rest of the nations will not sit tamely by and see a people who have long been aiming at taking the lead amongst themselves cut off, or even much depressed, by the English.

The councils of this Province will, I hope, continue to be founded in justice, whether that may be displeasing to the western settlers or not; but you are certainly wrong to imagine my representations have any influence in the matter. I shall, however, represent matters as they occur to those in Government in the light they appear to me, as I have done hitherto, and have uniformly declared that I saw not the least probability of war, unless the Virginians forced it on. The different maneuvers up and down and across the river have now probably brought that event about; who may see the end of it God only knows.

ARTHUR ST. CLAIR TO GOVERNOR PENN.

LIGONIER, *July 22d*, 1774.

Sir:—For some days by-past we had a flying report that some people were killed upon Dunkard Creek, on the 15th instant, but that a story of that kind should come so slowly through a country exceedingly on the alarm, induced me to give no credit to it, and to endeavor to prevent its gaining credit in the country. I considered it as raised on purpose to prevent the execution of Conolly's orders to Cresap not to annoy the Indians, which I knew had been



given, but it was put beyond a doubt yesterday by letters from Mr. Mounby, Mr. Mackay, and the inclosed deposition.[1]

Mr. Mackay writes me the friends of Pennsylvania are determined to abandon Pittsburgh, and to erect a small stockade somewhere lower down the road (I suppose about Turtle Creek,[2] where he has a fine plantation), to secure their cattle and effects till they see further what is to be done.

I had a letter from Conolly yesterday, in a style of familiarity I should not have expected, but of itself a very extraordinary one; if you should think it worth your while to look over it, I have inclosed it, and a copy of my answer.[3]

I am still sanguine enough to hope this Province will escape the mischiefs of a war, as all the operations of the Indians are evidently aimed at the Virginians, and seem designed to show them how much they despise the notion of their carrying the war into their own country. They have, however, a number of men at Wheeling, and Conolly was to march this day to reinforce them. One of his parties who had crossed to the Indian side fell in with the last of our trader, peltry, escorted by some Delawares. They took the trader and the Indians prisoners, and carried them to the mouth of Beaver Creek, where their captain (Hogland) lay. He was excessively enraged to see them alive, and they were kept all night in that state of suspense that every moment would be the last; in the morning, however, they discharged them, on the trader's giving a bond of five hundred pounds, to satisfy Captain Conolly that the

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[1] The following is the deposition referred to:

"(*Copy*) *July* 15*th*, 1774.

"Personally appeared before me George Willson, a justice of the peace, John Pollock, David Shelvey and George Shervor, and made oath on the Holy Evangelist, that they were personally present in the Corn Field on Dunkard Creek, where the late Murder on the 13th Instant happened, and saw the corpse that was Buried, who ware sadly Massacred, and Scalpted and farther sayeth not.

"Sworn to before G. Willson.

"N. B.—The above is incorrect, but I give it you as I got it, (that is,) nine persons were working in a field, four was killed and sadly mangled, 3 escaped, the other two is missing. Cresaps is in Chace of them, but they had a day's start of him."

[2] Turtle Creek flows from the north-east into the Monongahela, a short distance beyond Braddock's field, in Alleghany County, east of Pittsburgh.

[3] See the two previous letters—Connolly to St. Clair, and the latter's reply.

Indians were Delawares. I took the trader's deposition on it when last at Pittsburgh, which I also inclose.

I was very ill when I wrote last, of a bilious fever, but am happily recovering. I can not well recollect what I wrote, as it was not copied, it being Sunday and my clerk abroad; but unless matters are likely to be soon settled about Pittsburgh, it will be absolutely necessary to erect a town at the Kittanning; the trade must else take its course by the lakes, which will carry it quite away from this Province, and the communication with Philadelphia will in time become very easy that way, and may now be done with very little land carriage. There is an old trading path from thence to Frank's Town,[1] on the Juniata, and another to the head of the West Branch of Susquehanna.

I have distributed the arms all over the country in as equal proportions as possible.

Captain Crawford, the President of our Court, seems to be the most active Virginia officer in their service. He is now down the river at the head of a number of men, which is his second expedition. I don't know how gentlemen account for these things to themselves.[2]

Æneas Mackay to Arthur St. Clair.

Pittsburgh, *July* 25, 1774.

Dear Sir:—The last accounts brought in here from the Indian country by Captain White Eyes I have transmitted to you yesterday by express. I have there informed you that you should be furnished with White Eyes's speech as soon as it could be procured from Captain McKee, from whom we have since obtained a copy, which will be delivered to you by Richard Butler, who is kind enough to go to Ligonier at the request of Messrs. Spear, Smith, and myself, as well with these papers as consult you about other matters that we are all equally interested in.[3] You know Mr. But-

[1] The site of an Indian village, in the present county of Huntingdon, Pennsylvania.

[2] Reference is here made to William Crawford, at that time, as before mentioned, President of the Court of Westmoreland County. He was, at this date, busy in erecting a fort at Wheeling.

[3] See letter of St. Clair to Governor Penn, July 26, 1774, following.

ler to be both a man of sense and a faithful Pennsylvanian; therefore his reports are to be depended on. We are of opinion that it is absolutely necessary that immediate application should be made to Government in favor of the Delawares, that some steps may be taken to reward the fidelity of that people, especially such of them as will undertake to reconnoiter and guard the frontiers of this Province, which they say they will do, from the hostile designs of the Shawanese; and as by that means they will be prevented from following their own occupations, it would be no more than right to supply their necessary wants, while they continue to deserve it so well at our hands.

There is nothing but the dread my family are in of the Indian's approaching this place in my absence that would prevent my going in person to see you at this time, in your present dangerous indisposition. I hope to hear by the bearer on his return of your getting the better of your disorder.

ARTHUR ST. CLAIR TO GOVERNOR PENN.

LIGONIER, *July* 26, 1774.

Sir:—I have enclosed a letter I received last night from Mr. Mackay, of Pittsburgh, together with the speeches and intelligence brought by White Eyes, and a deposition respecting some Indians having been seen in the country.[1] I thought them of consequence

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[1] The "speeches and intelligence," referred to by St. Clair, were as follows:

I.

[WHITE EYES'S SPEECH.]

PITTSBURGH, *July* 23, 1774.

We are glad to hear from you the good speeches which you have now spoken to us, and it also gave us great pleasure to hear from our brethren of Pennsylvania, when they reminded us of that ancient friendship made by our wise forefathers, which they have at this time handed to us, desiring us to take fast hold of it.

Brethren, Sir William Johnson, with our uncles, the Five Nations, the Wyandots, and all the several tribes of Cherokees, and Southern Indians, have spoke to us of peace and friendship; and you, our brethren of Virginia, have likewise desired us to be strong in holding fast the chain of friendship; and we now tell you that we strictly observe to do it. And now, brethren, I inform you that we will sit still here at our towns, Kakelellama-

to be quickly communicated to you, and have forwarded them by express, as it was quite uncertain when a private opportunity might

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peking, Gnaddenhutten, and Tupickcong, upon the Muskingum, to hold fast that chain of friendship between you and us.

Brethren, you desired us that the road between us and you might be kept clear and open, that the traders might pass and repass safe, which we also have done, and we wish that it may continue further. We desire, therefore, that you will not suffer your foolish young people to lie on the road to watch and frighten our people, by pointing their guns at them when they come to trade with you; for some of our people have been so scared that they came home and alarmed our towns, as if the white people would kill all the Indians, whether they were friends or enemies. (A string of white wampum.)

Brethren of Virginia, we now see you and the Shawanese in grips with each other, ready to strike; and we do not know what to say between you further; you will be the best judges yourselves of what is to follow, as we can do no more to reconcile you. But in the struggle between you, when you have thrown down the Shawanese, brethren, we desire you to look no further, nor set down there, but return to the Kenhawa or south side of the Ohio, the place that you then rise from; and when you have so concluded this dispute, brethren, we will expect to hear from you, that we may acquaint all other Nations of it, but hope that you will be strong, brethren, and renew the ancient friendship with all other Nations, when you have ended your dispute with these people. (A string of black wampum.)

[Intelligence received from Captain White Eyes:]

On my return to Newcomer's Town with the speeches you charged me with, I found that several parties of Shawanese had set out to war against you, contrary to their promise before to the Chiefs of the Delawares, who desired me to return and inform you of it, as it would be to no purpose to treat further with them upon friendly terms, but that they should be informed of your speeches; they came forwarded by two of your people.

Brethren, we have now to acquaint you that the Shawanese are all gone from Wagetomica to assemble themselves at the Lower Towns; if there was one yet remaining we would tell you. But as this is not the case, and some of our people may be yet on their way up from amongst them, we would have you consider and cross to them from the mouth of the Big Kenhawa, as our women and children may now be frightened when you come near them, and the Shawanese are all gone.

Brethren, one of the Shawanese that has headed a party against you, has sent us word that he was going to strike you, and when he had done it, he would then blaze a road from the place he would do the mischief to Newcomer's Town, by which he would see whether the peace was so strong between the whites and the Delawares as they pretended. Keesnateta has likewise sent us word that he now saw his grandfathers, the Delawares, had thrown them away, for which reason they were now rising to go away, though, he said, he was sure no other Nation had done it; and that it had been an ancient custom with their Nation, that when they left any place in

offer. All prospect of accommodation with the Shawanese and Virginians is certainly over for some time, but yet it does not appear they have any hostile intentions against this Province. The engaging the service of the Delawares to protect our frontiers would undoubtedly be good policy, if it did not cost too dear. I am afraid, however, they will be very craving, but as they have offered it, it should not be altogether overlooked. At the same time their friendship should be secured on as easy terms as possible.

I doubt, with the utmost prudence that can be exerted, but these Indian disturbances will occasion a very heavy expense to the Province. The necessity of establishing some place of security for the trade (if it is considered as advisable to carry it on at all), is in-

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the manner they were doing, whoever remained behind them, they always turned about and struck them.

Brethren, the day we got into Newcomer's Town a party was discovered, whose intentions were to come to Fort Pitt to put Colonel Croghan and Alexander McKee, with Guyasutha, to death, and also waylay us, which we passed; as by killing us, they say, no more news will be carried between the white people and the Indians. I could inform you of a great deal more, but these are the most material occurrences and facts, which you may depend upon.

My brother is lately come from the Wabash Indians, who told him they would expect to hear the truths of the accounts from that quarter on his return; and I have sent a message by him to them, desiring them not to listen to the Shawanese, who would only endeavor to draw them into troubles and leave them by themselves, which had been their constant practice.

[Mr. Croghan addressed Captain White Eyes as his particular friend.]

Brother, I now speak to you as a friend to both parties, your Nation and the English, and not by any particular authority, and I am convinced from the speeches you have now delivered, that your Nation has the sincerest intentions of preserving entire that friendship subsisting between you and us; and I observe from your intelligence that the Shawanese are withdrawn from one of their towns in your neighborhood, which is an evident proof that they do not mean to be friends with you or us; therefore, brothers, I would have you consider well whether you would not in the present circumstance think it prudent for some of your people to accompany ours when they go to chastise the Shawanese, in order to enable them to make a proper distinction between our friends and our enemies.

[Captain White Eyes' answer to Colonel Croghan:]

I am glad to hear you, and I will consider what you have said, but cannot immediately return you an answer. I will send your message to our Chiefs at Kaskaskia, and as soon as I have their sentiments and advice will speak to you, which I expect in two days; in the meantime, you may be assured that their sentiments will not deviate from that strict friendship subsisting between us.

creasing daily. A small parcel of goods which Mr. Spear has sent to one of the Delaware towns has enraged the commandant at Pittsburgh to an exceeding degree, and he threatens "the persons who carried them shall be tried for their lives on their return." I mentioned the Kittanning; it is certainly a proper place, both on account of some natural advantages of situation with regard to the interior part of the country, and that its being in one of your manors, the settlers would have an opportunity of procuring lots on easy terms; at the same time it would not be foreign to your interest. I find, however, they—the traders at Pittsburgh—would wish to fix upon some place nearer that town, for which I can see no reason, unless they imagine the property they leave behind them will be more under their eye, or which, I think more probable, Mr. Croghan directs them to some spot where he has a right, and which may serve his interest; for though I believe he is zealous in the service of the public at present, he will never lose sight of his own particular interest. If they do remove, I will endeavor to persuade them to the Kittanning at once; but if they are unwilling, your ordering a town to be laid out there, and a small stockade to be built, will effectually determine them before they have gone far in another settlement.

Captain White Eyes and John Montaur are preparing a party to join the Virginian militia if they cross the river to attack the lower Shawanese; and I have been solicited to order some of the rangers to join them. This I have positively refused, and have sent orders to the person intended, on no account whatever to attempt to pass either of the rivers. So far from joining the Virginians, who have taken such pains to involve the country in war, it would, in my idea, be not improper that the Shawanese should know this Government is at peace with them, and will continue so, provided they do not infringe it themselves, and that a boundary be given them, the doing mischief on the east side of which would be considered a declaration of war and bring all the weight of this Government upon them.

We begin to be impatient with respect to the rangers; their second month is just expiring, but whilst the country is in such commotion, and the harvest not yet got in, they can not be dismissed. I have not the least fears about the expense, and the Association may safely depend on the generosity of the Government, more especially as they have such assurances from your Honor of your approbation of the measure, and your assistance towards relieving them from the expense.

P. S.—If you should think proper to allow some presents to be

made the Indians, I would be very glad the sum were specified. I am very little acquainted with Indian affairs, and I do not trust Mr. Croghan too much; he has been used to make expenses, and would not be very sparing where he thought he had the purse of a Province to make free with, and too great parsimony might spoil all. I have agreed with the express for six shillings a day. Mr. Croghan says he expects some of the Six Nations to join White Eyes' party.

GOVERNOR PENN TO ARTHUR ST. CLAIR.

PHILADELPHIA, *6th August*, 1774.

Sir:—I have received your letters of the 22d and 26th ulto., inclosing several depositions and letters relative to the present situation of affairs in Westmoreland.

As I find by all intelligence you have from time to time communicated to me, that the Shawanese, as well as the Delawares, have discovered a strong aversion to entering into a war, either with Virginia or this Province, and, on the contrary, have given repeated proofs of their sincere disposition to live in peace and harmony with both colonies, I have, with the advice of my council, thought it expedient to send messages to those tribes, expressing the great concern of this Government at the late unfortunate disturbances between them and some of His Majesty's subjects belonging to the Colony of Virginia, at the same time declaring our resolution to preserve the treaties of peace and friendship existing between us inviolate, and earnestly advising the Shawanese not to strike the people of Virginia, as they, as well as the people of this Province are all subjects of one and the same great King, who will be as much offended at any injury committed against any one part of his subjects as another, but to exert their best endeavors to settle the differences that have arisen between the Virginians and them, and to continue to live in friendship with all His Majesty's subjects.[1]

[1] The messages to the Shawanese and Delawares were in these words:

[TO THE SHAWANESE.]

"*By the Honorable JOHN PENN, Esquire, Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the Province of Pennsylvania, and Counties of Newcastle, Kent, and Sussex, on Delaware.*

"*A Message to the Chiefs and Warriors of the Shawanese Indians.*

Brethren:—When I had heard that you had taken care of our traders, and had sent some of your young men to conduct them home in safety, it made my heart glad, because I was satisfied that you kept fast hold of the

As to the proposal of engaging the services of the Delawares to protect our frontiers, I would only just observe that it is a matter

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chain of friendship which was made between our forefathers, and renewed by us, and you may be assured that I shall always remember this instance of your kindness, and that I shall hold fast that end of the chain which is in my hands, so long as you hold yours. But, brethren, it gives me great concern, and my heart is grieved to hear of the difference between you and our brothers, the people of Virginia. If any of the wicked people of Virginia have murdered any of your people, you should complain of it to the Governor, and he will have them punished. You should not, in such cases, take revenge upon innocent people who have never hurt you. It is a very wicked thing to kill innocent people because some of their countrymen have been wicked and killed some of you.

"Brethren, if you continue to act in this manner, the people of Virginia must do the same thing by you, and then there will be nothing but war between you. Consider, brethren, that the people of Virginia are like the leaves upon the trees, very numerous, and you are but a few, and although you should kill ten of their people for one that they kill of yours, they will at last wear you out and destroy you. They are able to send a great army into your country, and destroy your towns, and your corn, and either kill your wives and children or drive them away Besides, brethren, the Virginians, as wel as our people and you, are children of the Great King who lives beyond the great water; and if his children fall out and go to war among themselves, and some of them are wicked, and will not make peace with the others, he will be very angry, and punish those who are in fault. Therefore, brethren, let me advise you to forget and to forgive what is past, and to send to the Governor of Virginia, and offer to make peace.

"I shall write to the Governor of Virginia, and endeavor to persuade him to join you in mending the chain of friendship between you, which has been broken, and to make it so strong that it may never be broken again; and I hope, brethren, if he be willing to do this good thing, that you will be of the same mind, and then we shall all live together like friends and brothers."

"*Given* under my hand and the lesser seal of the said Province, at Philadelphia, the sixth day of August, in the year of our Lord, 1774."

[To the Delawares.]

"*By the Honorable JOHN PENN, Esquire, Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the Province of Pennsylvania, and Counties of Newcastle, Kent, and Sussex, on Delaware.*

"*A Message to the Chiefs and Warriors of the Delaware Indians.*

"*Brethren:*—I was grieved at my heart when I heard that some of our foolish young men had killed our brother, Joseph Wipey, and that the Virginians had killed some ot your people below Fort Pitt. I was fearful that you would suffer your young men to take revenge upon our innocent people, but when I heard that you had a good heart, and viewed these things in their proper light, and that you remembered the chain of friendship made by our forefathers, and would not take revenge upon us for what the Vir-

in the present situation of Indian affairs too delicate for me to intermeddle in.

Since my last letter to you, I have considered of what you mentioned in a former letter, and now repeat, respecting the establishment of some place of security for carrying on the Indian trade, as you say that Pittsburgh will certainly be abandoned by all our people; and I am now to acquaint you that I approve of the measure of laying out a town in the proprietary manor of Kittanning, to accommodate the traders and the other inhabitants who may choose to reside there; and, therefore, inclose you an order for that purpose. But I can not, without the concurrence of the Assembly, give any directions for erecting a stockade or any other work for the security of the place which may incur an expense to the Province.

With respect to the continuance of the two hundred rangers in the service, it must altogether depend upon the intelligence we re-

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ginians or some of our foolish young men had done, it gave me the greatest satisfaction, and made my mind easy.

"Brethren, you may depend that so long as you are inclined to peace and friendship you shall find me in the same mind, for why should we fall out and go to murdering one another for what our foolish young people do, and what neither of us approve of? In such cases, let us endeavor to find out such foolish young me and punish them for their wickedness. I have offered a reward of fifty pounds apiece for those two wicked people, who, it is said, murdered Joseph Wipey, and, if they can be taken, I shall do every thing in my power to have them punished.

"I am very sorry to hear that your grandchildren, the Shawanese, have a difference with our brothers, the Virginians, and I wish I could make them friends. I shall write to the Governor of Virginia, and recommend it to him to endeavor to make peace with them; and I would advise you to go to the Shawanese, and persuade them to forget every thing that is past, and make up all their differences with the people of Virginia, so that we may all live together in peace and quietness, like friends and brothers, for what can they get by being a war with one another? whoever of them gets the best, both will be very much hurt.

"Brethren, I live a great way from you, and have a great deal of business to do with my people at home, otherwise I would go to see you, and shake hands with you, and smoke a pipe with you under the tree of peace, as we and our forefathers used to do. By all means, brethren, be strong, and keep fast hold of one end of the covenant chain, and you may be assured I will keep fast hold of the other, and when any of our people are so wicked as to kill any of yours, or do you any harm, let me know it, and I will do every thing in my power to have justice done.

"*Given* under my hand and the lesser seal of the said province, at Philadelphia, the sixth day of August, in the year of our Lord 1774.

ceive of the situation of our affairs with the Indians. At present I think it very improper to discharge them; and it is not improbable that if the commotions between the Virginians and the Indians should not soon be at an end, it may be necessary to keep them on foot for the protection of our people till the meeting of the Assembly on the 19th of September.

I herewith send to your care the messages above mentioned, with a belt of wampum accompanying each, and desire you will engage some trusty, intelligent person to carry them, and interpret the messages to the Indians. A young man of the name of *Elliot*, who has been trading at the Shawanese towns, and lately came from thence, has offered his services to carry any messages from Government to the Indians, and may probably be a very proper person to employ on this occasion. He was to leave this place yesterday, on his return to Westmoreland. I should be glad to have his deposition taken as to what he knows respecting the late disturbances between the Virginians and the Indians, from the beginning of them.

You hint something in your last letter about making presents to the Indians, but though such a step at some future convenient time might be useful and proper, I am of opinion it would be very unadvisable under the present circumstances.

Arthur St. Clair to Governor Penn.

Ligonier, *August* 8, 1774.

Sir:—I am just returned from Pittsburgh, where the Pipe, Guyasutha, and the White Mingo are arrived, and bring favorable accounts from the Indian Nations about the lakes. They say they are all disposed to continue in friendship with the English; but the Wyandotts, the Hurons, and the Tawas have been waivering. The Shawanese had applied to them, and it was so long that they heard nothing from our people, that they were inclined to assist them, but these chiefs have persuaded them to sit still, and to send to the Wabash Indians to be quiet likewise; so that it is probable they arrived amongst them in a favorable time.

Some deputies from the Six Nations are also arrived. They have brought a very large belt to Mr. Croghan and Mr. McKee, informing them of the death of Sir William Johnson, and of their intentions, notwithstanding, to adhere firmly to the treaties subsisting betwixt the English and them, and to endeavor to retain the other Nations in peace. They also have sent a belt by these deputies to

the Delawares, and to the Wabash Confederacy, recommending it to them to remain in peace, and to inform them that though their great friend is dead, the council-fire kindled by the English and them continues to burn as bright as ever; such is their mode of expression. From these circumstances it is to be hoped that the fracas with the Shawanese will blow over without any very bad consequences, though that depends upon others, which must be brought about in a very little time, as five hundred of the Virginians are marched to destroy Wakatomica, the town the Shawanese lately abandoned.[1]

Should these meet with any check, which is not improbable, some of the Western Nations will certainly join them; but if they return without, and are satisfied with destroying that town, matters may probably be made up; but I doubt they will not stop there, as you see by the inclosed copy of a letter from Lord Dunmore to Mr. Conolly, which accidentally fell into my hands, that his Lordship is very full of chastising them; and the twenty-fifth of next month is fixed for attacking the great Shawanese town on the Scioto. Your Honor will please to take notice, that the hint I gave you before of a design to interrupt the trade of this Province, however improbable it might appear, was not without some foundation.

Mr. Hanna returned from Philadelphia yesterday, and gives an account that the Assembly have provided for the men that were raised for the defense of this county to the tenth instant, or longer if necessary, and that he himself is appointed Senior Captain, ab initio, Mr. Caret the next, and a number of others who have never served an hour. The last part of his intelligence I gave no credit

[1]In July, 1774, Major Angus McDonald arrived over the mountains, with a considerable force of Virginia militia, which, when embodied with those already raised in the West, amounted to seven hundred men. McDonald went down to Wheeling, in order to take command, as there the whole force rendezvoused. A stockade fort (Fort Fincastle) was erected under the joint directions of Major McDonald and Captain William Crawford.

On the twenty-sixth of July, about four hundred men, having left Wheeling, arrived at the mouth of Fish Creek, on the east side of the Ohio, twenty-four miles below. Here they determined to move against the Shawanese villages upon the Muskingum River, in what is now Muskingum county, Ohio. The men were led by Major McDonald. Captain Crawford remained at Fort Fincastle. The expedition proved successful. Wakatomica, near what is now Dresden, Ohio, and other Shawanese towns, were destroyed, and considerable plunder secured. This was the first effective blow struck by Virginia troops in Lord Dunmore's War.—*Butterfield's Washington-Crawford Letters*, p. 96.

to, as he has no commission, nor any letters from any person about Government; and I do imagine, that as the command of them had been originally committed to me, without giving me some intimation of it. Nor is it reasonable that these men should take rank of the officers who have, in former wars, faithfully, as I am told, served this Government. Trifling as this affair is, it is likely to create much uneasiness; but I am certain your Honor will not allow those who have done no service, to rob those who have, of their just reward; besides, the Association is bound to pay those they employed. I must own I have been remiss in not fully informing your Honor who they were; but I beg you to reflect upon the severe sickness I have just passed through. Some of them, had there been the least prospect of its being a permanent affair, I should not have recommended to you; but we were under the necessity of employing such people as had influence amongst the mob and could get the men; and you will please to consider that it is by such acts that they must still be managed, as there are no laws by which obedience or discipline can be enforced. I have told Mr. Hanna peremptorily, that I should retain the direction of the troops till I had your orders to the contrary; and I fondly hope this explanation will not disoblige you.

Notwithstanding what I said to Mr. Smith on the subject of joining the Virginians, he thought proper to join a small party of Delawares and Mingoes, with eight men, in the character of volunteers, and proceeded to Wheeling. The Virginia detachment had marched two days before they arrived; and Captain Crawford, who commands them (the President of our Court), told him it would fatigue them too much to overtake the party, and that they had better return, which accordingly they did; and by what I learn from him, they seemed equally jealous both of him and the Indians.

I can recollect nothing else at present, and your Honor may propably think I might have spared a great part of what is already written.

Arthur St. Clair to Governor Penn.

Ligonier, *August 25th*, 1774.

Sir:—Agreeable to your request, I now enclose you the depositions of some of the inhabitants of Pittsburgh, respecting the treatment they have met with from the Virginian officers.[1] Not any of

[1] From the 22d to the 24th of August, inclusive, St. Clair took depositions of seven residents of Westmoreland County—James Fowler, Samuel St.

the persons who saw the Shawanese after they had been fired upon on their return, are now there, so that I would not inquire into that circumstance.

The message to the Delawares, with the belt of wampum, I delivered to some of their principal chiefs, at Mr. Croghan's, on Sunday last. Mr. Croghan and Mr. McKee were of opinion it would, perhaps, be taken ill by the Six Nations that they were not included. I therefore took the liberty to add them in the address to the message, and had a fair copy made out and given to them with a belt. They were received seemingly with great satisfaction by both, and they declared the firmest purposes of remaining in peace themselves, and restoring it between the people of Virginia and the Shawanese. At the same time I acquainted them with your orders for erecting a trading place at the Kittanning, for which they are very thankful, as they are in want of many things already, and can not come to Pittsburgh and purchase; and a number of them will probably be there on Monday next, which is the time I have appointed for laying out the town. Mr. Spear and Mr. Butler set out this day with their goods and other effects.

Instead of sending the message to the Shawanese by a white man, I procured the Pipe, a faithful and sensible Delaware chief, to go and acquaint them with the message his nation had received from your Honor; that you had recommended it to them to speak to the Shawanese not to strike the Virginians, and that he had seen a message and belt for them, which, if they were well disposed, some of their people might come and receive it at Appleby. I thought this the most advisable way, as the people at the fort are extremely jealous of any person going amongst them, and had threatened the young man you mention to go with them; and some proposals of accommodation, I understand, have been made them by Mr. Conolly, to which, if they should not listen, they would be very apt to allege it was owing to their hearing from this Province.

It is impossible to tell what will be the consequence of the Virginia operations. I still hope they will not be able to bring on a war. I think Lord Dunmore must soon see the necessity of peace.

Clair, Æneas Mackay, William Amberson, John Shannon, Richard Butler, and George Ashton. They recount the annoyances they and others had suffered because of Conolly's oppressive acts—such as pressing of horses from their owners, threatening to send various parties in irons to Virginia, searching houses, assaults upon Pennsylvanians, killing of sheep and hogs, and taking other property, confinenent of citizens in Fort Dunmore, and other outrages.

The season is now far advanced, and the country is exhausted of provisions. Should another body of men be drawn together, they could not be supported; and I believe their last exploit has not given them much stomach for another. There was, indeed, such confusion amongst the troops, and dissension amongst the officers, that had they met with any number of the enemy, they must certainly have been cut off. Preparations, however, are making, and his Lordship is hourly expected. The 10th of August, which was the time your Honor fixed for keeping up the rangers, was passed before your letter reached me; but as you were pleased to say their standing till the 19th of September would depend upon that intelligence you might receive from Captain Thomson and myself, we thought it best to continue them, being both of opinion that, at this time, it was very necessary, it being, in some measure, the crisis of the dispute with the Shawanese; and that great numbers of people are now gone down to bring back their families, which they removed when they thought themselves in more immediate danger.

I am sorry I troubled your Honor with my foolish grievances. I hope I shall always feel the spirit of the station I may be called to act in; but particular circumstances, I believe, had, in that case, set it rather too much on edge. I will not often offend in the same manner. I must do Mr. Caret the justice to say he is a very good man, and would fill that or most other places with reputation.

An express arrived a day or two ago from Detroit. Mr. Conolly had applied to the commanding officer at that post to stop the trade with the Shawanese; but this he refuses, both as they have no prospect of war, and that for such a step he must have the orders of the Commander-in-Chief at least. He says all the Indians in that country seem to be peaceably disposed. A letter by the same messenger, from a merchant at Detroit to a merchant at Pittsburgh, gives a quite contradictory account of matters; says the Indians in that country will all join the Shawanese; that some of them have come in from the frontiers of Virginia, and have brought scalps; that the general rendezvous is appointed on the Wabash, and that they expect but a very short time to have any intercourse with them, and desires him to write to Simons, at Lancaster, not to send the goods he had ordered.

This moment I have heard from Pittsburgh that Mr. Spear's and Mr. Butler's goods, that were going to Appleby, are seized by Mr. Conolly's orders; and that Mr. Butler, with three young men, his assistants, are in confinement in the common guard-house; and that a woman who kept house for Mr. Butler has been drummed all around the

town, for the great crime of going to see him in his distress. This is a degree of tyranny and oppression beyond every thing that has yet happened. I shall be able to give you a more circumstantial account to-morrow, when Captain Thomson will be here, who, I understand, was present when it happened. It will oblige me to put off my journey to Appleby, as all my stores, provisions, etc., were with Mr. Butler's goods.

Arthur St. Clair to Governor Penn.

Ligonier, *August* 27, 1774.

Sir:—The very extraordinary news from Fort Pitt, that I mentioned in my letter of the 25th, proves too true. Captain Thomson was there, and informs me that Mr. Butler was not only made a prisoner, but treated with every instance of insult and abuse. The crime it seems they are charged with, is a suspicion of trading with the enemy Indians; but for this there can not be the least foundation, as their destination was no secret, and I had given public notice, in writing, of the design of laying out a town up the river, and the time when. It seems this is the act of Captain Aston, Conolly being gone to meet Lord Dunmore; but, in truth, it is the act of Mr. Campbell, who is their Counsel-General, and whose plan the removing any of the trade from Pittsburgh broke in upon. Captain Thomson offered any security they pleased to demand, but they would accept of none, and for some time would not permit any of their acquaintance to visit them, and jostled Mr. Smith and Mr. Mackay out of the fort in the most insulting manner imaginable. The treatment these people have met with, for a length of time, has been sufficient to break their spirit; but it has not succeeded, and those at that place, who are friends of this Province, will meet me at Appleby to-morrow, and are making up another cargo, that they may have something to keep the Indians easy that will be there.

Æneas Mackay to Arthur St. Clair.

Pittsburgh, *4th Sept.*, 1774.

My Dear Sir:—On my return to this place, last Friday evening, I received the disagreeable information of two friendly Delaware Indians being massacred on their way from this place to Mr. Croghan's, in cool blood, by notorious villians that premeditated the matter before hand, and stationed themselves behind brush near the road-

side upon the occasion. It is impossible to discover the murderers at this time, and much more so to bring them to condign punishment, because they have all the force and power the place can afford in their favor, but there is strong presumption for pointing out the perpetrators by name.

Happily for this place, about an hour after the murder was committed, Lieut.-Colonel Angus McDonald,[1] of Virginia, arrived here, with a small party escorting stores for the intended expedition against the Shawanese, and was greatly exasperated at the authors of that cruel murder, and exerted himself both as an honest man and a man of experience and judgment, in order to repair the damage done to our friendly Indians, and promised them further satisfaction on my Lord Dunmore's arrival here, who is expected here in a few days. Colonel McDonald has no other business to detain him here at this time, but his own humane disposition to protect both the friendly Indians and the unhappy inhabitants of this place from the insults of the militia, so long the oppressors of this quarter, now under the command of George Aston, and I may say Walter Graham, two of the greatest miscreants that ever drew the breath of life, except the black gang that are influenced by their example and counsel. Because Col. McDonald signifies his disapprobation of their hellish plots and conduct, he is hourly insulted and threatened by them, as well as we are, although their superiors in every degree. Matters must soon come to a crisis, for, notwithstanding the repeated acts of tyranny we have already experienced, what we now feel far surpasses all.

We dare not venture to enjoy the comfort of peaceable rest or sleep at night for fear of our houses being broke open about our ears, and our persons maltreated. As to poor Mr. Butler, he looks upon himself in hourly danger of his life, although still confined in their common guard-house, and Col. McDonald is greatly distressed that it is entirely out of his power to render him the least relief, for they will obey no orders from him, and the very advertisements he put up on the gates of the fort, offering £50 reward to any person that would discover the murderers of the Indians, although given in charge by himself to the officers then upon guard, and also to the sentries then upon duty, these advertisements were pulled off and destroyed in the same night.

I am greatly concerned to hear that Mrs. St. Clair is so indisposed. I hope by this time she found relief, which, I pray God, may be the

[1] It would seem by this that McDonald had been promoted from major to lieutenant-colonel, after his arrival in the West.

case. My Lord Dunmore is expected here about the middle of this week, when I wish, from my heart, Mrs. St. Clair's state of health, and other circumstances, would admit of your waiting on his Lordship.

ARTHUR ST. CLAIR TO JOSEPH SHIPPEN, JR.

LIGONIER, *October* 17, 1774.

Sir:—Having accidentally met with my friend, Mr. MacKay, at this place, I take the liberty to introduce him to you. He has an answer to the messages the Governor sent to the Shawanese and Delawares not unfriendly, but which you will very well understand.[1] Mr. MacKay is one of the magistrates that was sent to Virginia. He is a warm friend to this Government, and has some idea of his own importance. I wish you would please to introduce him to the Governor, and let him tell his story. I need not tell you how far a little attention will go with people of a certain character; but this you may depend on, he is an upright, honest man. Excuse my mentioning it, but these gentlemen's expenses on that Virginia trip should certainly be paid them. I know, however, he will not mention it, nor would he forgive me if he knew that I had done it. I don't know how it is, but I am very apt to get into matters I have no sort of business with, and which, indeed, does not become me.

ARTHUR ST. CLAIR TO GOVERNOR PENN.

HANNA'S TOWN, *November* 2, 1774.

Dear Sir:—A hasty opportunity just offers whilst we are in an adjourned court, and as the person is returning, I will beg the favor that you will send us the last taxation and insolvent acts, neither of which we have, and have occasion for at this present juncture, and our board can not do business without the taxation act.

We have no news of Lord Dunmore that can be depended on, since his departure from Hockhocking for the Shawanese town; but a report prevails that Colonel Lewis has been attacked at the mouth of the Kenawha, and had one hundred and twenty men killed and wounded, notwithstanding which he got the better of the Indians.[2]

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[1] The answer here mentioned has not been found.

[2] Lord Dunmore left Williamsburg, Virginia, July 10, 1774, for the frontiers, reaching Fredericksburg on the fifteenth, and Winchester some days after. Here he remained some time, to get in order as many men as possi-

I hope I shall soon be able to send you some authentic intelligence of the operations of the Virginia troops, and request you will ex-

ble for service against the savages. Such as were raised in the counties of Frederick, Berkeley, and Dunmore, were put under command of Adam Stephen as Colonel. About the end of August, they marched for Pittsburgh, accompanied by his Lordship. In September, while Dunmore was in the last mentioned place, he succeeded in getting together a few individuals of the different nations of Indians living beyond the Ohio River, to hold a treaty with them. They promised to meet him at the mouth of the Hockhocking River to make peace. Captain William Crawford had returned home from building the fort at Wheeling, and having received a Major's commission, again moved down the Ohio, this time at the head of five hundred men. He marched by land, while Lord Dunmore, with seven hundred men, floated down the river. The army reached Wheeling, September 30th, and Crawford was dispatched with his detachment of five hundred to erect a stockade at the mouth of the Hockhocking—Dunmore arriving with the residue of the army in time to take part in its construction. Meanwhile, Colonel Lewis, with the southern division of the army, was moving down the Great Kanawha. It had been determined by his Lordship to have that officer, on his arrival upon the Ohio, move up stream and join him at the mouth of the Hockhocking. The savages who, at Fort Pitt, promised to meet Dunmore down the Ohio, with additional members of their respective tribes, failed to arrive. Only two chiefs made their appearance, and both these were Delawares. But that nation, it was well understood, was not hostile; so no treaty could be made with the enemy.

At this time, Dunmore was ignorant as to whether Lewis had reached the Ohio or not, a message sent by him having arrived at the mouth of the Great Kanawha in advance of that officer. Another express was thereupon dispatched, which, on the eighth of October, found him at Point Pleasant (the mouth of the Great Kanawha), where he arrived two days previous. But it was impossible for him to move up the Ohio to meet Dunmore, on account of the non-arrival of supplies and ammunition, and of a portion of his troops. Meanwhile, scouts had been sent to Dunmore by him, who returned on the thirteenth, with an order from his Lordship to march directly toward the Shawanese towns on the Scioto, and join him at a certain point on the way. Governor Dunmore now put his division in motion for the same destination. On his way to the Indian villages, he was overtaken by a courier from Lewis, acquainting him with the hard-fought battle of the tenth of October, at Point Pleasant, where his army contended all day long with a large force of Shawanese and other savages, only to claim the victory at nightfall, after a severe loss in killed and wounded. On the seventeenth, Lewis crossed the Ohio, and took up his line of march for the Scioto, to join Dunmore.

His Lordship was met, before he reached the Indian villages, with a deputation from the enemy, anxious for an accommodation; for a peace had already been conquered by the Virginians, at a sacrifice of many valuable lives, in the battle at Point Pleasant. So the Governor found little difficulty in arranging for a treaty. But the arrival of Lewis and his gallant troops,

cuse this scrawl, which I am obliged to make, surrounded by a number of not the best bred men you ever saw, one of whom is peeping over my shoulder.

The proclamation has done some good already.[1]

ARTHUR ST. CLAIR TO GOVERNOR PENN.

LIGONIER, *December 4th*, 1774.

Sir:—The war betwixt the Indians and Virginians is at last over. I promised myself the pleasure of giving your Honor the earliest account of its issue, but I have not yet been able to get at a true state of the Treaty of Peace; a peace, however, is certainly made with the Shawanese, one condition of which is the return of all property and prisoners taken from the white people, and for the performance of it they have given six hostages.[2] The Mingoes that live upon Scioto did not appear to treat, and a party was sent to destroy their towns, which was effected, and there are twelve of them

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fresh from the red field of conflict, breathing revenge against the savages, was an element difficult to control. However, no order of Dunmore was intentionally disobeyed by Lewis, who was commanded to return to Point Pleasant. A peace was negotiated by Dunmore with the Shawanese, which put an end to the war.—*Butterfield's Washington-Crawford Letters*, p. 96–99.

[1] This was dated October 12, 1774, and was intended to counteract the effect of one issued by Lord Dunmore, at Pittsburgh, September 17th. (See letter from St. Clair to Penn, December 4, 1774, post.) It required all persons west of the Laurel Hill to retain the settlements made under the Province of Pennsylvania, and to pay due obedience to the laws of that Government; also, all magistrates and other officers were to proceed as usual in the administration of justice, etc.

[2] The treaty was entered into at what was called "Camp Charlotte," in what is now Pickaway county, Ohio, whither Lord Dunmore had marched his army from the mouth of the Hockhocking. The Shawanese villages were in the immediate vicinity. The terms of the agreement were these: The Shawanese were to give up all the prisoners in their possession ever taken by them in that and previous wars with the white people; also, all negroes and all the horses stolen or taken by them since the war of 1763. No Indian, for the future, was to hunt on the east side of the Ohio, nor any white man on the west side, as it was acknowledged that it had been the cause of disturbances. As a guarantee that the Shawanese would perform their part of the agreement, they gave up four of their chief men to be kept as hostages, who were to be relieved yearly, or as they might choose.

now prisoners in Fort Pitt.[1] It is probable, from these circumstances, we shall have no more trouble with them, and things have come to

[1] The Mingoes did not like the terms agreed upon between Lord Dunmore and the Shawanese, though their chief, Logan, sent in his acquiescence in his world-renowned speech. But his clan determined to run away, and thus avoid giving their assent to the agreement. What happened them is best related by one who took part in pursuing them:

"The Shawanese have complied with the terms [of the treaty], but the Mingoes did not like the conditions, and had a mind to deceive us; but Lord Dunmore discovered their intentions, which were to slip off while we were settling matters with the Shawanese. The Mingoes intended to go to the lakes [Lake Erie], and take their prisoners with them and their horses which they had stolen.

"Lord Dunmore ordered myself, with two hundred and forty men, to set out in the night. We were to march to a town about forty miles distant from our camp, up the Scioto, where we understood the whole of the Mingoes were to rendezvous upon the following day, in order to pursue their journey. . . .

"Because of the number of Indians in our camp, we marched out of it, under pretense of going to Hockhocking [where Fort Gower had been erected] for more provisions. Few knew of our setting off anyhow, and none knew where we were going to until the next day. Our march was performed with as much speed as possible. We arrived at a town called the Salt-Lick Town [within the present limits of Franklin county, Ohio], the ensuing night, and at daybreak we got around it with one-half our force, and the remainder were sent to a small village half a mile distant. Unfortunately, one of our men was discovered by an Indian, who lay out from the town some distance by a log, which the man was creeping up to. This obliged the man to kill the Indian. This happened before daylight, which did us much damage, as the chief part of the Indians made their escape in the dark; but we got fourteen prisoners, and killed six of the enemy, wounding several more. We got all their baggage and horses, ten of their guns, and two white prisoners. The plunder sold for two hundred pounds sterling, besides what was returned to a Mohawk Indian that was there. The whole of the Mingoes were ready to start, and were to have set out the morning we attacked them. Lord Dunmore has eleven prisoners and has returned the rest to the nation. The residue are to be returned upon compliance with his Lordship's demands."—*Major William Crawford to Washington, in the "Washington-Crawford Letters,"* p. 54–56.

The destruction of the Salt-Lick Town, by Major Crawford, was the only actual fighting done by that part of the army which was under the command of Lord Dunmore in person. It was the last fighting done by Crawford until the Revolutionary War came on, in which he took an active part; but, in leading a force from Western Pennsylvania and North-western Virginia, in 1782, against the hostile Wyandots upon the Sandusky river, he was taken prisoner and tortured to death by the Delawares, within the present limits of Wyandot county, Ohio.—*Crawford's Campaign Against Sandusky.* By C. W. Butterfield. Cincinnati: Robert Clarke & Co., 1873.

a much better end than there was any reason to have expected. But our troubles here are not yet over. The magistrates appointed by Lord Dunmore, in this country, seem determined to enforce the jurisdiction of Virginia, and have begun with arresting one of your Honor's officers.

The 12th of November, Mr. Conolly sent a warrant for Mr. Scott to appear before him, or the next justice, to answer for a number of offenses committed by him under a pretended authority from Pennsylvania. The warrant Mr. Scott did not choose to pay any regard to, and the same evening a number of armed men came to his house to take him by force to Fort Burd.[1] There he found Lord Dunmore, Mr. Campbell, and Mr. Penticost, ready to sit in judgment upon him. Much passed amongst them, but the event was that he was obliged to enter into recognizance, with two sureties, to appear at the next court, to be held at Pittsburgh, for the county of Augusta, on the 20th day of December, if the court should happen to be held there that day, or at any further day, when the court should be held there, to answer for having acted as a magistrate of Pennsylvania, contrary to Lord Dunmore's proclamation,[2] or

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[1] Fort Burd, it will be remembered, was at Redstone, now Brownsville, Pennsylvania.

[2] Lord Dunmore's proclamation was, in effect, that the rapid settlement made to the westward of the Alleghany Mountains by His Majesty's subjects within the course of a few years had become an object of real concern to His Majesty's interests in that quarter; that the Province of Pennsylvania had unduly laid claim to a very valuable and extensive quantity of His Majesty's territory, and the executive part of that Government, in consequence thereof, had most arbitrarily and unwarrantably proceeded to abuse the laudable adventures in that part of His Majesty's dominions, by many oppressive and illegal measures in discharging of their imaginary authority, and that the ancient claim laid to that country by the Colony of Virginia, founded in reason upon pre-occupying, and the general acquiescence of all persons, together with the instructions he had lately received from His Majesty's servants, ordering him to take that country under his administration; and as the evident injustice manifestly offered to His Majesty, by the immoderate strides taken by the Proprietors of Pennsylvania, in prosecution of the wild claim to that country, demanded an immediate remedy, he did thereby, in His Majesty's name, require and command all of His Majesty's subjects west of the Laurel Hill to pay a due respect to his said proclamation, thereby strictly prohibiting the execution of any act of authority on behalf of the Province of Pennsylvania, at their peril, in that country. A counter proclamation was issued by Governor Penn, October 12, 1774. (See the previous letter—St. Clair to Penn, November 2, 1774.)

be committed to jail. He chose the recognizance, the circumstances of his family and health rendering the other very inconvenient.

There is no doubt that the recognizance is in itself a mere nullity, but, after what has been done already, it is hard to say what may not be attempted, and it is very certain the people Lord Dunmore has clothed with authority pay little regard to the rules of law or the dictates of reason. It would be exceedingly satisfactory if your Honor would please to give us directions for our conduct, and this case of Mr. Scott requires it particularly. I have wrote to Mr. Wilson,[1] of Carlisle, for his advice, fearing it would be impossible to know your mind in proper time, and for the necessary legal steps. I believe he may be depended on, but it is very doubtful if his answer can arrive before the time they have appointed for their court; at any rate, we must endeavor to prevent a trial until you can have an opportunity of writing, if it should be by removing the indictment to Williamsburgh.

I account it a fortunate circumstance that they began with Mr. Scott, who, with a great deal of firmness, possesses a good share of natural understanding. In the course of an examination, which continued near two hours, he told Lord Dunmore that he had only one short answer to all his questions, which might save his Lordship a good deal of trouble, "that he acted under commission from your Honor and in obedience to your proclamation." His Lordship was pleased to reply, that you had no right to give any such commission or authority to issue such proclamation. Mr. Scott told him that was a matter of which he was not a proper judge, and would abide by the consequences.

I am sorry to be obliged to give your Honor so much trouble on so very disagreeable a subject, but I hope the time is not far distant when it will be put to an end.

ARTHUR ST. CLAIR TO GOVERNOR PENN.

HANNASTOWN, *Dec. 18th*, 1774.

Sir:—Being this far on my way to Pittsburgh, I found a constable from Virginia here who had made two men prisoners by virtue of a warrant from Major Smallman. The offense they had been guilty of, it seems, was assisting the constable in executing a judi-

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[1] James Wilson, lawyer, and intimate friend of St. Clair's. In a letter *ante*, he is referred to as having made an argument in behalf of the claims of Pennsylvania.

cial warrant. Mr. Hanna had committed the constable, which I could not help approving of; but as there is some danger of his being rescued by force, I have advised the sending him to Bedford, or, at least, the sheriff should remove him to some other place privately.

The Court, it is said, will certainly be held at Pittsburgh on the 20th. I am personally threatened, but I promised Mr. Scott to be there at that time, to give him some countenance, at least, if I can not give him assistance at his trial. I had the honor to give you an account of his arrest a short time ago.[1]

Your Honor will judge from these circumstances what a shocking situation we are in; to add to the distress of which, the militia are plundering the people within the neighborhood of Pittsburgh of the very subsistence for their families.

I met with this opportunity of writing accidentally, and would not let it slip, as I thought it of consequence that you should be early acquainted with what is passing.

JAMES CAVET TO ARTHUR ST. CLAIR AND OTHERS.[2]

PITTSBURGH, *May* 13, 1775.

Gentlemen:—I am sorry that it is so much in my power to doubt the Governor's attention to this unhappy country. We have not

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[1] In his previous letter of December 4, 1774.

[2] The time between the date of this letter and the previous one was largely taken up in the Western Country with stirring events, caused by the conflict of jurisdiction between Pennsylvania and Virginia concerning which so much has already been given. The proceedings of the Pennsylvania Provincial Council for one day, will give an idea of the troubles that beset the trans-Alleghany region during the winter of 1774–75:

"At a Council held at Philadelphia, on Wednesday, 25th January, 1775, present, the Honorable JOHN PENN, Esq., Governor; William Logan, Andrew Allen, Benjamin Chew, Edward Shippen, Junior, and James Tilghman, Esquires.

"The Governor laid before the Board two papers delivered to him by Captain St. Clair, which were read, and are as follows, viz:

"*Westmoreland County,* ss:

"Before us, Robert Hanna and Arthur St. Clair, Esqs., two of His Majesty's Justices for Westmoreland county, personally appeared Samuel Whitesill, keeper of the jail of the said county, and, being duly sworn, according to law, deposeth and saith, that, on this instant, 24th of December, a number of armed men came to the jail of said county, and ordered him to open the prison doors, and turn out a certain William Thomas then

had, since our confinement, the least account from him, and I think it is beyond doubt he got our packet. Our express is returned, and he says he gave the letters to Doctor Plunket, at Susquehannah, who would certainly send them. Our situation, and that of the well-affected inhabitants of this place, is become almost intolerable; it is impossible for any person to conceive the cruel mode of proceedings at this place, unless those who are unhappy to be eye-witnesses thereof. Mr. Smith, in particular, will, (if not by some means prevented), in a short time be absolutely ruined. Mr. Hanna and myself will, at this court, be confined in the guard-room of Fort Dunmore, if we don't give bail, and God knows whether it will

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in his custody on sundry executions; that he believes a certain William Christy and Simon Girty, who seemed to be officers, from their dress, were at the head of their party. That he, this deponent, refused to deliver his prisoner, or open the door where he was confined; that they then talked of throwing down the house, and stripping off the roof, on which he (this deponent) being afraid of ill consequences, both to his person and property, did open the door to allow the prisoner to speak to the party, and one of them rushed in, seized him, and dragged him out, and also turned out a certain William Dawson, who was likewise in his custody on execution; and and that it was Conolly himself who laid hands on Thomas and dragged him out; and further saith not. SAMUEL WHITESILL.

"Sworn and subscribed, December 24, 1774, before us.

"ROBERT HANNA,
"ARTHUR ST. CLAIR."

"*Whereas*, I am well informed that certain persons, by written instructions, directed to different people through this country, under the denomination of collectors, are apparently authorized to break open doors, cupboards, etc., and to commit sundry acts of violence, in order to extort money from the inhabitants, under the appellation of taxes; these are therefore to acquaint all His Majesty's subjects, that, as there can be no authority legally vested in any persons, for such acts, at this juncture, that such attempts to abuse public liberty are unwarrantable, and that all persons have an undoubted natural, as well as lawful right to repel such violence, and all His Majesty's subjects are hereby required to apprehend any person whatever, who may attempt the seizure of their effects, in consequence of such imaginary authority, to be dealt with as the law directs.

"Given under my hand at Fort Dunmore, this, 30th day of December 1774. JOHN CONOLLY."

"Captain St. Clair, appearing at the Board, and representing that William Crawford, Esquire, President of the Court of Westmoreland county, hath lately joined with the Government of Virginia in opposing the jurisdiction of Pennsylvania in that county, the Board advised the Governor to supersede him in his office as justice of the peace and common pleas. A supersedeas was accordingly ordered to be issued."

be in our power so to do, for we are informed by some of our friends that none other will be acceptable but those who will come into open court and swear they are worth whatever sum is in the recognizance, and no doubt it will be an enormous sum. Mr. Smith was this day taken with a writ of one hundred thousand pounds damages. But I need not descend into particulars; every part of their conduct appears that they not only want the jurisdiction of this quarter, but also to rob every man of his property.

And, gentlemen, it is by your friends here thought advisable that the sheriff, with a party of fifty men, or thereabouts, should come up and take us who are in confinement, and also as many of these rascals as possible, as there will be no strength to oppose you, there being but eighteen men in Fort. It is surprising what a pusillanimous temper must prevail amongst the people in general to suffer the peace and welfare of a whole country to be destroyed by such a handful of villains. But let the people be called upon by the sheriff, and certainly they will not refuse to come. If such a step be thought best, it ought to be managed with secrecy and dispatch. Pray send off the express by Tuesday night to us with advice, for if we are not taken off we must give bail, if it can be had, and the thoughts of so doing is no small mortification after hanging out so long. I have no time to say any more, but acknowledge myself your humble servant.

P. S. I must beg your pardon and patience also, for writing so long an epistle, but I had almost forgot to acknowledge the receipt of your favor of the 9th, and also to inform you that Mr. Scott is bound by the sheriff to appear here next court, and I suppose will share the same fate of Hanna and myself.

Arthur St. Clair to Joseph Shippen, Jr.

Ligonier, *May* 18, 1775.

Dear Sir:—I yesterday received the enclosed letter from Mr. Cavet, with the contents of which I request you will make the Governor acquainted.[1] You see Hanna and he are very uneasy, which is really not to be wondered at, as they have been now upwards of three months in confinement, for paying obedience to his Honor's proclamation, and have not had a single line from any person about government, or any direction how to conduct themselves. The Governor in these times must be occupied by objects of much greater

[1] See the previous letter—Cavet to St. Clair, May 13, 1775.

magnitude; but I wish he could spare a few minutes for their affairs, which is truly a business of the last consequence to them, threatening them with no less than absolute ruin.

We have an account that Lord Dunmore has been obliged to abandon his government; it is the only piece of good news that has reached us since the disputes with Great Britain took so serious a turn; but I doubt the truth of it.

The Pittsburgh Court is now sitting; whether they do business or not, I have not heard. The proposition for the relief of Cavet and Hanna, though I believe it practicable enough, I would do nothing in without the Governor's concurrence, as it might be attended with serious consequences.

Yesterday, we had a county meeting, and have come to resolutions to awe and discipline, and have formed an Association, which I suppose you will soon see in the papers. God grant an end may be speedily put to any necessity for such proceedings. I doubt their utility, and am almost as much afraid of success in this contest as of being vanquished.

Arthur St. Clair to Governor Penn.

Ligonier, *May* 25, 1775.

Sir:—An express from Pittsburgh, with despatches for your Honor, having called here this morning, I embrace the opportunity to inform you that a commission is come up from Virginia to collect the Colony duty on all peltries exported from that place, and that notice has been given to the traders there to conduct themselves accordingly. I think they will find some way to evade paying it, and those that are not yet come in will certainly carry them past. 'Tis a shocking thing that people should be obliged to such shift, and the trade of the Province be destroyed, by the obstinacy and caprice of one man. I flatter myself, however, it will not be of long continuance. Lord Dunmore's seizing the magazine has raised such a ferment that he will not probably visit the frontiers soon,[1] and by the prorogation of his Assembly, the invasion law, under which it seems the garrison of the fort was kept up, will expire; I think the ninth of next month is its period, and I am informed Conolly is preparing to decamp.

[1] Before news arrived of the battle of Lexington, Lord Dunmore had ordered (April 21st) the powder belonging to Virginia to be taken from the public store at Williamsburg, and placed on board an armed vessel in the river. This caused great excitement, which was increased by the news from Lexington.

We have nothing but masters and committees all over the country, and every thing seems to be running into the wildest confusion. If some conciliating plan is not adopted by the Congress, America has seen her golden days; they may return, but will be preceded by scenes of horror. An association is formed in this county for defense of American liberty. I got a clause added, by which they bind themselves to assist the civil magistrates in the execution of the laws they have been accustomed to be governed by.[1]

Hanna and Cavet are still pressing me to do something for their relief, and are very desirous they should be brought off by force; their project was, that writs should be issued against them, and that the sheriff should take a posse with him and bring them away, and make prisoners at the same time of their persecutors. I believe 'tis very practicable, but I gave them to know that without positive directions from your Honor I would advise no such step, and that I thought you would not direct any that might have a tendency to embroil the Provinces. However, it is no wonder that they are uneasy; they have been long confined, and must have suffered considerably by it.

Lord Dunmore has issued a proclamation, disclaiming the proceedings of the surveyors in taking entries of lands, and ordering them to return the money received for them, but has spared their names; but I have seen none of them; they were spirited away, it seems, as fast as they appeared.

If the Fort should be evacuated next month, pray, sir, would it be proper to endeavor to get possession of it, or to raze it? That may possibly be done by themselves.

Mr. Conolly has sent out for some of the principal men of the Indians to come and receive the prisoners, and the Pittsburgh committee has petitioned the General Congress to hold a treaty with the Western tribes.

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[1] This clause was the fourth one, and read as follows:

"*4th.* That we do not wish or advise any innovations, but only that things may be restored to, and go on in the same way as before the era of the Stamp Act, when Boston grew great, and America was happy. As a proof of this disposition, we will quietly submit to the laws by which we have been accustomed to be governed before that period, and will, in our several or associate capacities, be ready when called on to assist the civil magistrates to carry the same in execution."

This was the first step taken by St. Clair as a Revolutionary patriot. It shows a conservative spirit, and an unwillingness to do any thing that might tend to anarchy or violations of just laws.

VALENTINE CRAWFORD TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.[1]

JACOB'S CREEK, *June* 24, 1775.

Dear Sir:—I am very sorry to inform you I received a letter from Mr. Cleveland, of the seventh of June, wherein he seems to be in a good deal of distress. Five of the servants have run away, and plagued him much. They got to the Indian towns, but by the exertions of one Mr. Duncan, a trader, he has got them again. He has sent three of them up by a man he had hired, with a letter to my brother William or myself, to sell them for you; but the man sold them himself somewhere about Wheeling, on his way up, and never brought them to us. He got £20 Pennsylvania currency for them, and gave one year's credit. This was very low, and he did not receive one shilling. This was contrary to Cleveland's orders, as the latter wanted to raise some cash by the sale to purchase provisions. I think it would be advisable, if the men they are sold so low to are not good, to take them from them, and sell them again. But the man shall not be stopped for want of money, for I will furnish him, and will assist Mr. Simpson in getting started as quick as possible with his canoe and provisions. Mr. Cleveland left some corn at Mr. Simpson's when he went down, and I will get him some flour to load his canoe.

Mr. Cleveland sunk a canoe going down, and lost five or six casks of corn and several other things. James McCormick and Charles Morgan found a bag of clothes and several other things, a few days after, as they were going down the river. They delivered them to Mr. Cleveland again, as they knew they belonged to his company, by some papers they found in the bundle.

Cleveland does not mention of his getting any but the three servants he sent to be sold, but Mr. Duncan told me yesterday, at Fort Dunmore, that he got the whole five who ran away. Dr. Craik's manager has had very bad luck; for, in the canoe that was sunk, he lost all his papers. He was much at a loss to find his land, or at least, to find the corner trees; but I have sent him all the plats and junctions I had from the doctor; and lest a letter I have written to the latter should miscarry, you can inform him of that fact. I hope to be down in Fairfax as soon as ever I reap my harvest, and will then settle all my accounts with you.

We have chosen committees out here, and are raising an independent company—regulating matters the best we can; but an un-

[1] The reason why this letter is here inserted, is given in a note to the next letter—St. Clair to Shippen, July 12, 1775.

happy confusion happened the other day. The Pennsylvanians came to Fort Pitt with the sheriff and about twenty men, and took Major Conolly about midnight, and carried him as far as Ligonier, the very night before we were to have the talk with the Indians.[1] Several of the Pennsylvania traders, by the Indians' story, were endeavoring to put ill into their minds. On Major Conolly being taken, the people of Chartier's came in a company and seized three of the Pennsylvania magistrates, who were concerned in taking off Conolly — George Wilson, Joseph Spear, and Devereux Smith. They were sent in an old leaky boat down to Fort Fincastle under guard. Our court,[2] however, had no hand in this. It was done by a mob or set of Conolly's friends who live on Chartier's Creek.

The members of our committee wrote a very spirited letter to the gentlemen of the Pennsylvania committee, demanding Conolly back. All signed it, and sent it with an express. On its receipt, they immediately sent Major Conolly back. Things now seem to be a little moderated. I believe the Indians want nothing but peace; but it seemed to alarm them very much to hear our great man was stolen. Indeed, it alarmed us all, as Major Conolly was the man that had transacted all the business with them before. No other person was so able to settle business with them as he. I hope you will excuse the length of my letter.

P. S.—Please give my compliments to Mr. Lund Washington. Tell him his people are well, and in a very good way to make a good crop of corn.[3]

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[1] In the treaty made at "Camp Charlotte," in October, 1774, between Lord Dunmore and the Shawanese, it was arranged that a supplemental treaty should be held in the ensuing spring, at Pittsburgh. His Lordship was to inform the chiefs by a message when it would suit him to meet them there, to settle some minute matters that could not well be attended to at the first meeting. Trouble with the Colony put it out of the power of Dunmore to again visit Fort Pitt. So Major Conolly was deputed to take charge of affairs with the Indians. Only a few Delawares and Mingoes could be induced to attend upon his call. While engaged in preparations to have a "talk" with the assembled chiefs, he was arrested as above stated.

[2] That is, the Courts of West Augusta—a Virginia Court held at "Fort Dunmore," Pittsburgh—the justices being appointed by the Virginia Government. The records of this Court have been preserved. In the fall of 1776, the District of West Augusta was separated from Augusta County, and three counties—Yohogania, Monongalia and Ohio—erected out of it. The Court of West Augusta was continued as the Court of Yohogania, but the place of its meeting was removed from Pittsburgh.

[3] From *The Washington-Crawford Letters*, pp. 101, 108.

Arthur St. Clair to Joseph Shippen, Jr.

Ligonier, *July 12th*, 1775.

Dear Sir:—In my last I gave you an account of the taking of Mr. Conolly, and mentioned some of the consequences I apprehended from it.[1] They have since been disagreeable enough to Mr. Smith, Mr. Speare, and Colonel Wilson, who were immediately made prisoners by way of reprisal, and sent off in a flat to Wheeling, where they were detained till the news of Conolly's return, and in the mean time were exposed to every species of insult and abuse. An attempt has since been made to carry off the sheriff, but miscarried, which probably saved us another visit at court, as they found we were provided for them, but I have certain information that process is in the hands of the Virginia sheriff against our sheriff and many of the magistrates, and the Committee at Pittsburgh have resolved that Lord Dunmore's proclamation respecting the country west of Laurell Hill shall be complied with, so that we may expect fine work.

Whilst Connolly was at my house endeavoring to procure bail, I treated him with a good deal of civility, by which, with the help of a cheerful glass, I got at some of his designs. He is immediately to go England with White Eyes and some other Delaware chiefs, to solicit for them a confirmation of the country which they now live in, great part of which is within the bounds of this Province, and Lord Dunmore is to back it with all his interest. They are to represent to the King's ministers that they have received the Christian religion, have got notions of property, and in a great measure changed their way of life, and can not change their place of abode as they have heretofore done, and which they must again do if Pennsylvania is allowed to extend beyond the Ohio. Ridiculous as this may appear, I thought proper to mention it, for though the Proprietary's rights can not be injured by any such proposal, it may raise difficulties in the way of a future purchase or further settlement of the Province. Lord Dunmore has also some design on the Islands in Delaware, and he (Conolly) has been procuring all the information he could respecting them; if you please acquaint the Governor if you think it worth while.

[1] The letter referred to has not been found. In its place is given the one preceding—Valentine Crawford to George Washington, June 24, 1775—covering, as to Conolly's arrest, the same ground, probably, as the missing one from St. Clair.

I have not a word to say about public matters, the people are all mad, and I hate even to think of the consequences. Heaven restore peace to this distracted country!

WILLIAM SMITH TO ARTHUR ST. CLAIR.

BEDFORD, *Sept. 4th*, 1775.

Dear Sir:—I have just seen yours of the 2d inst. to my brother. Copies of the calculations by Mr. Rittenhouse and myself, signed with our names, were sent to Virginia. I wish I had known that they would have been of any use on the present occasion.[1] But you know the line or parallel to Delaware, at five degrees distant, crosses the Ohio near the mouth of Charles Creek,[2] and includes Fort Pitt, near six miles—of this there can not be the least shadow of a doubt. If the Virginia delegates choose to attend to this point, we shall enable Mr. Wilson to satisfy them at Philadelphia. In the meantime, it is but just that the possession of Fort Pitt should continue where it was before, viz., under the government of Pennsylvania.

The Indians, I hope, will have no applications about land matters made to them now. This is not the time for such things.

I am sorry you have had such a bad look-out for foreign flour. I wish it may fall in my way as I go down to hasten some. God grant that the Indians may be persuaded to a strict neutrality, and may not Britons on either side ever employ Indians against Britons, or make them a sort of arbiters of our differences, if it be possible to avoid it.[3] Mr. [John] Ormsby contracted with Messrs. Fisher, Carmick, and myself, in the year 1770, for some lands. We have long since paid his order to Capt. Little for every acre surveyed, agreeably to the contract, and he sent us down the conveyances as made to himself from the persons in whose name the lands were taken up, but when we sent him the conveyance he ought to make to us, he neglected executing it. I inclose a copy for him to execute, and I beg you will get it done, and take the acknowledgment, and send it carefully to my brother. I hope Mr. Ormsby will not decline fulfilling his contract, or force us to any disagreeable measures. We have paid the surveyor, and fulfilled our part in every respect.

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[1] Why St. Clair was desirous of obtaining these copies, appears evident in his letter to Governor Penn, of September 5, 1775, hereafter given.

[2] Chartier's Creek.

[3] Reference is here made to a treaty with the Indians to be held at Pittsburgh on the 10th of that month.

THOMAS SMITH TO ARTHUR ST. CLAIR.

BEDFORD, *Sept. 5th*, 1775.

Dear Sir:—I am just favored with yours, and am sorry it is not in my power to comply with your request; but I have neither of the papers or calculations you mention. I have just asked my brother (who is here), and he has none of them with him. How far it might be expedient in one point of view for the Congress, YET to settle even temporary boundaries, might, perhaps, deserve some *consideration*. If such a thing could be done with propriety, it would be of the greatest utility to the peaceable inhabitants in your county, and I have always thought, since the dispute began, that it was set on foot by a designing tool, with a more insidious view than was at first generally imagined, viz., in order to set the Colonies at variance with one another. Could it be viewed in that light, it would at present have a greater tendency to a speedy settlement amongst the *people themselves* of a temporary boundary, without the interposition of the Congress, than any other argument that could be used. If they shall judge it proper to intermeddle in the matter at all, and if the Virginia delegate has a real intention of settling it in any reason, the Monongahela will be greatly in favor of the Virginia, even by Mr. Hooper's map, which I have before me, but which I can not venture to send up without his permission, and since he made that map, which is done by actual survey of the Monongahela, he has got the camps of Delawares, by which it appears that Fort Pitt lies three or four miles farther east than he has placed it. By comparing his map and your and Rittenhouse's lines, Fort Pitt is at least four and at most not much above six miles within this Province, as nearly as I can recollect the distance you made it. Mr. Hooper may be considered as an undoubted authority on the side of Virginia. I believe he is a gentleman of candor and veracity, and you know he was a warm and violent *Croghanite* at the time when he made it. I am going to the woods to-morrow morning. I need not tell you that I write now in haste.

P. S. There is not one barrel of flour in or about town, and Mr. O'Hara requests you would endeavor to supply yourselves, which he thinks you can now, after the rain, easily do.

ARTHUR ST. CLAIR TO GOVERNOR PENN.

PITTSBURGH, *September 15th*, 1775.

Sir:—Curiosity led me to this place, to be present at the treaty with the Indians, which was appointed for the 10th instant, and that I might have it in my power to give you the earliest notice if any thing happened that appeared necessary for you to be apprised of. The treaty is not yet opened, as the Indians are not come in, but there are accounts of their being on their way, and well disposed.[1] We have, however, been surprised with a maneuver of the people of Virginia that may have a tendency to alter their disposition. About one hundred men marched here from Winchester, and took possession of the Fort on the 11th, which has so much disturbed the delegates from the Congress that they have thoughts of removing to some other place to hold the treaty. They did every thing in their power to prevent their coming to the Fort, but to no purpose.[2] This step has already, as might naturally be expected, served to exasperate the dispute between the inhabitants of the country, and entirely destroyed the prospect of a cessation of our grievances, from the salutary and conciliating advice of the delegates of the respective provinces, in their circular letter;[3] and they are so sensible that, if something is not soon done to prevent it, the dispute must end in open violence; that they have warmly recommended to the Congress, without loss of time to direct a temporary

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[1] Efforts were made, in 1775, to hold a treaty with the Western Indians, at Pittsburgh. It was proposed that the meeting should take place September 10th. To forward the movement, Capt. James Wood was sent beyond the Ohio to various tribes, inviting them to Pittsburgh at that time. The object was conciliation, and to obtain their neutrality. The result to the 15th of September is detailed above.

[2] On the 11th of September, Captain John Neville took possession of Fort Pitt, for the purpose, avowedly, it seems, to "cover and protect the border," in the event hostility should be brought on in the Western country with the Indians, at the instigation of the British. The fears expressed by St. Clair, and entertained by others, seem not to have been well founded. Neville took no part in the boundary controversy.

[3] The continued collisions and disorder at Pittsburgh could not fail to attract the attention of all the patriotic citizens of the two States, and on the 25th of July, 1775, the delegates in Congress united in a circular urging the people in the disputed region to mutual forbearance. The circular had these words: "We recommend it to you that all bodies of armed men, kept up by either party, be dismissed; and that all those on either side who are in confinement, or on bail, for taking part in the contest, be discharged."

line.[1] It may be necessary, if that measure meets with your approbation, to furnish some of your delegates with the draughts and calculations respecting the western extent of the province. I take the liberty to mention this, that, supposing agreeable to you, the proper officer may be directed to supply them; that the Congress may have it in their power to take the matter up, with a prospect of at least no disadvantage to the Province. I am sensible, Sir, this is out of my way; but the regard I have for your interests, and the gratitude I feel for your favors, must plead my excuse, as they are my only motives.

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[1] Although Congress took no authoritative action to settle the boundary between the two States, mutual forbearance during the opening scenes of the Revolution had the effect to allay the excitement concerning the conflict of jurisdiction. This continued until 1779, when proceedings were commenced which, finally, ended in an amicable arrangement and the completion of the boundary line. But an element of discord was already removed by the disappearance of Conolly from Pittsburgh. On the 8th of June, 1775, Lord Dunmore abandoned his palace in Williamsburg, and took refuge on board a man-of-war. On the 25th of July, Conolly left "Fort Dunmore," on a visit to his Lordship, already plotting in the interests of the mother country against the colonies. He never returned; his rule was at an end, greatly to the relief of South-western Pennsylvania. St. Clair, who had so ably championed the interests of Pennsylvan a, was soon called to take part upon a broader stage of action. This letter closed his correspondence with Governor Penn.

THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR.

CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN ST. CLAIR AND WASHINGTON, SCHUYLER, REED, WILSON, AND OTHERS.

RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED AT HANNASTOWN.

Word reached the inhabitants of the western part of Pennsylvania, in the second week of May, 1775, of what the patriots of Lexington and Concord had dared for liberty on the memorable 19th of April, and they met at Hannastown, on the 16th, to take into consideration the alarming situation of the country. The following resolutions, drawn up by Arthur St. Clair, Esq.,[1] were unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That the Parliament of Great Britain, by several late acts, have declared the inhabitants of the Massachusetts Bay to be in rebellion, and the ministry, by endeavoring to enforce those acts, have attempted to reduce the said inhabitants to a more wretched state of slavery than ever before existed in any state or country. Not content with violating their constitutional and chartered privileges, they would strip them of the rights of humanity, exposing lives to the wanton and unpunishable sport of a licentious soldiery, and depriving them of the very means of subsistence.

Resolved, That there is no reason to doubt but that the same system of tyranny and oppression will (should it meet with success in Massachusetts Bay) be extended to other parts of America; it is therefore become the indispensable duty of every American, of every man who has any public virtue or love for his country, or any bowels for posterity, by every means which God has put in his power, to resist and oppose the execution of it; that for us we will be ready to oppose it with our lives and our fortunes. And the better to enable us to accomplish it, we will immediately form ourselves into a military body, to consist of companies to be made up out of the several townships under the following association, which is declared to be the Association of Westmoreland County:

[1] The conservative and temperate character of this declaration at Hannastown, to which no exception was taken by any person present on that occasion, was in harmony with the loyalty of the views St. Clair held at that time. These are more fully set forth in a letter written by him a year later to Lieutenant-Colonel Allen. See p. 875.

Possessed with the most unshaken loyalty and fidelity to His Majesty, King George the Third, whom we acknowledge to be our lawful and rightful King, and who we wish may long be the beloved sovereign of a free and happy people throughout the whole British Empire: we declare to the world, that we do not mean by this Association to deviate from the loyalty which we hold it our bounden duty to observe; but, animated with the love of liberty, it is no less our duty to maintain and defend our just rights (which, with sorrow, we have seen of late wantonly violated in many instances by wicked ministry and a corrupted Parliament) and transmit them entire to our posterity, for which we do agree and associate together:

1st. To arm and form ourselves into a regiment or regiments, and choose officers to command us in such proportions as shall be thought necessary.

2d. We will, with alacrity, endeavor to make ourselves masters of the manual exercise, and such evolutions as may be necessary to enable us to act in a body with concert; and to that end we will meet at such times and places as shall be appointed either for the companies or the regiments, by the officers commanding each when chosen.

3d. That should our country be invaded by a foreign enemy, or should troops be sent from Great Britain to enforce the late arbitrary acts of its Parliament,[1] we will cheerfully submit to military discipline, and to the utmost of our power resist and oppose them, or either of them, and will coincide with any plan that may be formed for the defense of America in general, or Pennsylvania in particular.

4th. That we do not desire any innovation, but only that things may be restored and go on in the same way as before the era of the Stamp Act, when Boston grew great and America was happy. As a proof of this disposition, we will quietly submit to the laws by which we have been accustomed to be governed before that period, and will, in our several or associate capacities, be ready when called on to assist the civil magistrate in carrying the same into execution.

5th. That when the British Parliament shall have repealed their late obnoxious statutes, and shall recede from their claim to tax us, and make laws for us in every instance, or some general plan of union and reconciliation has been formed and accepted by America, this our Association shall be dissolved; but till then it shall remain

[1] Conditions mentioned by St. Clair in his letter to Lieut.-Colonel Allen as alone justifying taking up arms. See p. 375.

in full force; and to the observation of it, we bind ourselves by every thing dear and sacred amongst men. No licensed murder! No famine introduced by law!

Resolved, That on Wednesday, the twenty-fourth instant, the township meet to accede to the said Association, and choose their officers.[1]

Colonel St. Clair to President of Congress.

March 25th, 1776.

Sir:—I observe that, in the vote of Congress for raising five battalions in Pennsylvania, there is no provision made for surgeons' mates, sergeant-majors, or quartermaster-sergeants. I beg leave to represent to you that each of these officers is very necessary to a battalion. Part of a battalion may frequently be detached to a

[1] The Assembly of Pennsylvania, on the 30th of June, 1775, passed an act creating a Council of Safety, whose duties were the raising of troops, furnishing supplies, etc., for defense. On the 18th of July, the Council recommended the enrolment of all able-bodied men into regiments or battalions, with proper officers. Agreeably to this, the militia of Westmoreland county were enrolled, and Arthur St. Clair was elected Colonel. September 26th, Council ordered £100 to be sent to Westmoreland county towards the payment of arms, accoutrements, etc.

At a meeting of Council, November 29, 1775—"The commissioners and assessors of Westmoreland county returned the order sent them some time past, signed by Benja. Franklin, or Michael Hillegas, Esq., Treasurer of this Board, for one hundred pounds, dated 29th September last, and informs this committee that they have purchased from Colonel St. Clair 100 firelocks for the use of said county, at 40s. each; for the payment of them they have drawn an order on this Board for two hundred pounds; this Committee informed them by letter that they would take the said firelocks for the use of the armed boats, and requested they would get new ones made for their county, agreeably to the Resolve of Assembly.

"*Resolved*, That the committee of accounts do pay Colonel St. Clair two hundred pounds, and take his note, conditioned to return said money, in case the above mentioned firelocks are not delivered to this committee; an order was accordingly drawn in his favor on Thomas Wharton and others, the committee of accounts, for said sum of two hundred pounds."

January 3d, 1776, Robert Morris, by direction of Congress, waited on the Council of Safety, and informed them that Congress "had received the recommendation of the eight gentlemen sent up yesterday, as suitable persons to fill the offices of Colonels, and that they agreed to appoint Arthur St. Clair, Esqr., Colonel of the 2d Battalion; John Shee, Colonel of the 3d Battalion; Anthony Wayne, Esqr., Colonel of the 4th Battalion; Robt. Magaw, Colonel of the 5th Battalion, of the four battalions of Pennsylvania troops to be raised for the Continental Service."—*Proceedings of Council.*

distance, where it may be impossible for the surgeon to attend them without neglecting the rest of the regiment. And as to mates being readily found in Canada, I do assure you it is scarcely possible to find a person that has any knowledge, either as physician or surgeon, in that country, some few excepted who have left the army and settled there. The duty of the adjutant would be insupportable without the assistance of a sergeant-major, and the quartermaster-sergeant is also very necessary, as not only the quarters or encampment of the corps falls under the quartermaster's direction, but the receiving and issuing the provisions and the care of all the regimental stores, which it is impossible one man can at all times execute; and these men ought to be acquainted with accounts.

I also beg leave to mention to you the necessity of providing tents for the troops in Canada. The season of year is at hand when they must occupy other grounds than they have been confined to in the winter, or be exposed to have their posts insulated, and, perhaps, carried by a force much inferior to theirs, were they encamped in one body, or in such manner as to be capable of supporting each other. And tents will become still more necessary, if there should be a necessity to attack Quebec in force, which may probably be the case.[1]

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[1] Soon after this letter was written, St. Clair started with his regiment to Canada. On the 12th April he was at Fort Edward, waiting for Lake Champlain to open so that boats could descend. He was detained until near the close of the month before he reached the command of Major-General Thomas. On the 10th of May his regiment was at Fort Deschambault. Three days before his arrival—May 7—a council of officers, presided over by General Thomas, had voted to retreat to the river Sorel. This was because of the reported arrival of several British vessels at Quebec, and the disgraceful flight of the American troops from before that place, who left three hundred sick, cannon and stores in the hands of the enemy. When General Arnold heard of this decision, he proceeded to Sorel to see if he could secure a reversal and a return to Deschambault, where there was still a considerable force. Colonel St. Clair reached the Sorel on the 16th May, and directly aided in preparing measures for the retreat of the army from Canada—a measure declared to be necessary by the Commissioners of Congress, unless there was speedy relief,-who wrote to the President of that body with great plainness. May 11th, Dr. Benjamin Franklin returned to Philadelphia to personally present the case to Congress. Samuel Chase and Charles Carroll, the other Commissioners, wrote from Montreal, May 17, to President Hancock, "we want words to describe the confusion which prevails through every department relating to the army. Your troops live from hand to mouth; they have, of late, been put to half allowance in several places, and in some they have been without pork for three or four days past. Although there is plenty of wheat and flour in the country, it was

GENERAL THOMPSON[1] TO COLONEL ST. CLAIR.

CAMP AT SOREL, *June* 2, 1776.

Sir:—You are immediately to proceed with the detachment under your command to Three Rivers, where you will endeavor to surprise

with difficulty that either could be procured a few days ago, for ready specie." "In our present critical situation, few, very few, will accept of the Continental paper money in pay. A prosperous turn in our affairs would, we think, give it a currency in that part of the country which we possess, the most valuable and plentiful in Canada. We think it impossible to subsist your forces in Canada in any other manner than by contract. . . . . . . Your Generals are now obliged to be contractors and commissaries; and your Commissioners, who have neither ability nor inclination, are constrained to act as generals. Such is the confusion which now prevails, and will prevail till a totally new arrangement takes place, and a strict discipline is introduced into the army; of the latter you must despair, unless soldiers can be enlisted for a term of years, or for the continuance of the war. The enlisting men for a year, or for a less time, occasioned the death of the brave Montgomery. The recent disgraceful flight is the principal source of all the disorders in your army. The sending soldiers into Canada, whose times expire in a month or two after their arrival, is only putting the Colonies to an amazing expense, to corrupt and disorder the rest. No duty must be expected from soldiers whose times are out, let their country stand ever so much in need of their services; witness the unfeeling flight and return, at this critical juncture, of all the soldiers, and a greater part of the officers, who are entitled to be discharged."

General Thomas was unable to ascertain the strength of his army, such was the confusion which enlisting men for a short time created. This officer was taken down with the small-pox, and removed to Chambly, where he died 2d June. Before the 27th May, however, he had, on learning of the arrival of reinforcements for the enemy, ordered Colonel Maxwell to retreat from Three Rivers to Sorel. He had also, without consultation with the other general officers, given orders for the removal of all the artillery and artillery stores from Sorel. These facts were communicated to the President of Congress by the Commissioners under date of the 27th May. They declared General Wooster, who had been invited by General Thomas to take command, as totally unfit to conduct the war, and advised his recall. The Commissioners added that there was no discipline among the troops, and could not be while short enlistments continued. "Your army is badly paid, and so exhausted is your credit that even a cart can not be procured without ready money or force. . . . . The army is in a distressed condition, and is in want of the most necessary articles—meat, bread, tents, shoes, stockings, shirts, etc. The greatest part of those who fled from Quebec left all their baggage behind them, or it was plundered by those whose times were out, and have since left Canada." They added that the

[1] See note 1, next page.

the enemy posted there, making prisoners of as many as possible, and cutting off all who oppose you; at the same time you will be careful to secure yourself a retreat. In executing this order, you will march to St. Francis River, where a sufficient number of bateaux will meet you, and from thence it is left to your own judgment, from the information you may receive, to proceed either by land or water to Nicolet, and from thence to Three Rivers, or directly from St. Francis to that place, in whichever way the design of your party may be best concealed. If you march to Nicolet, it will be proper to detach one or more bateaux, well armed, to watch the mouth of the lakes, and prevent any boats or canoes carrying intelligence.

Artillery, ammunition, arms, and public stores must be brought off, if possible; but should that be found impracticable, they are to be destroyed.

I need not point out to you the necessity of your business being

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army did not exceed four thousand; above four hundred were sick, and three-fourths had not yet had the small-pox. Such was the extreme want it was found necessary to seize flour by force, and give receipts for the quantity, for the payment of which they had pledged the faith of the United States. They had advised this step to prevent a general massacre. "We can not conceal our concern that six thousand men should be ordered to Canada, without taking care to have magazines formed for their subsistance, cash to pay them, or to pay the inhabitants for their labor in transporting the baggage, stores, and provisions of the army. We can not find words strong enough to describe our miserable situation. You will have a faint idea of it if you figure to yourself an army broken and disheartened, half of it under inoculation, or other diseases; soldiers without pay, without discipline, and altogether reduced to live from hand to mouth, depending on the scouts and precarious supplies of a few half-starved cattle and trifling quantities of flour, which have hitherto been picked up in different parts of the country."

[1] Brigadier-General William Thompson was a native of Ireland. He emigrated to America, and settled at Carlisle, Pa., where he died September 4, 1781. He was captain in the cavalry service during the French war in Canada, and made the acquaintance of St. Clair in that country at Quebec. He resided for a time at Pittsburgh, and was one of the purchasers of old Fort Pitt when it was abandoned by the British. In June, 1775, he was appointed colonel of a regiment of riflemen, joined the American forces at Cambridge, and, November 10th had a skirmish with the British at Lechmere Point. He was appointed brigadier in the Continental service, March 1, 1776; soon after succeeded Lee in command at New York, and in April was ordered to Canada to join General Sullivan, who had been placed in command of that department. He arrived before General Sullivan, and about the same time as St. Clair with his Pennsylvania reinforcements. When General Thomas was prostrated with small-pox, in the latter part of

executed with vigor, and that the most proper time for it is before day. I wish you success and honor.

May, General Wooster declining to assume the command, General Thompson, as the ranking officer, took charge of the forces. At this time the movement to Three Rivers, which was made under the order above given, was planned. The Canadians had variously reported the British, who had taken possession of that point after Colonel Maxwell had abandoned it and retreated to the mouth of the Sorel, as numbering not more than from three to eight hundred. This was a misstatement, but the movement would have been successful against a larger force, if a guide had not misled the Americans, so that when they arrived at Three Rivers it was broad daylight, and the enemy, who had been apprised of the attempt, were prepared for them. General Thompson was himself in command, having been sent by General Sullivan to reinforce St. Clair, and had the misfortune to be taken prisoner in the first action. He was permitted to return to Pennsylvania on parole, but it was two years before he was exchanged. A letter from him to St. Clair, after his return, will be found on page 379.

For an account of the battle of Three Rivers, the reader is referred to pp. 18—21 *ante.* The credit for the successful withdrawal of the American army from Canada, in the face of a superior British force, thoroughly appointed in every respect, is very largely due to General (then Colonel) St. Clair. The following extract from a letter of an officer at Fort George to his friend in New York, taken from the files of the *New Hampshire Gazette,* August 8, 1776, will give the reader a striking picture of the condition of the army as it withdrew to the Isle aux Noix:

"I never knew the fatigue of a campaign until I arrived at Canada. The most shocking scenes that ever appeared in a camp were constantly exhibited to view. When General Sullivan arrived in Canada, the army was torn in pieces by sickness and other unaccountable occurrences. A whole regiment was not to be found together. General Sullivan, with his usual activity and alertness, collected together a debilitated, dispirited army; tried the strength of the enemy, who were at least four to one, and performed one of the most remarkable retreats that was ever known. No person who was not present can conceive a tenth part of the difficulties attending it: the enemy at our heels; three thousand of our men sick with the small-pox; those who were most healthy like so many walking apparitions; all our baggage, stores, and artillery to be removed; officers, as well as men, all employed in hauling cannon, etc. Our loaded bateaux were all moved up the rapids six miles; one hundred of them were towed by our wearied men, up to their arm-pits in water. This was performed in one day and a half; our sick and baggage all safely landed at St. John's, and from thence to Crown Point, with the loss of only three cannon, which were but poor ones."

The fighting was done by Thompson and St. Clair, but General Sullivan, after the way was pointed out to him by St. Clair, showed great energy in the conduct of the movement towards Crown Point. Thence, by order of General Schuyler, the army retired to Ticonderoga.

THOMAS SMITH[1] TO ARTHUR ST. CLAIR.

PHILADELPHIA, *August* 3, 1776.

Dear Sir:—I was favored with yours by Colonel Allen, and I thank you for that unreserve with which you communicate your sentiments. I need not say that when I found what turn affairs were like to take in Canada, I was anxious for my friend. I felt for your situation before you wrote. I sincerely believe that the bad success there is owing to the cause to which you ascribe it in your letters to our common friend,[2] for he does me the honor to show me them sometimes; he is a fine fellow, but has enemies—created, I sincerely believe, by his superior talents. Their malice has hitherto been impotent; but they are such industrious, undermining, detracting rascals, that I hardly think they will rest till they have got him out,[3] and a ready tool in his place.

I have been in town ever since May. I was then chosen Representative for our county. Immediately on my coming to town I fell sick with a very severe bilious colic, which had well nigh done for me. I relapsed so frequently that I was obliged at last to undergo a very severe course of physic, which confined me for two months, and reduced me to a perfect skeleton; but I have every appearance of enjoying a more perfect state of health than I have for some

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[1] Thomas Smith, a native of Scotland, who came to America at an early age, and settled at Bedford, Pa., studied law and became distinguished at the bar. February 9, 1769, was appointed Deputy Surveyor, and soon after became Prothonotary, Clerk of the Court of Quarter Sessions, and Recorder of Bedford County. In 1775, was appointed Colonel of the militia, and in the year following was chosen a member of the State Constitutional Convention. In 1780, was elected a member of the Continental Congress. From 1791 to 1794, he was President of the Judicial District of Cumberland, Mifflin, Huntington, Bedford and Franklin Counties; and from 1794 to 1809, he was Judge of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania. He died in June of the last named year. Judge Smith was one of the most intimate friends St. Clair had; acted as his legal adviser, in which capacity he often told St. Clair he ought to choose him guardian to look after his finances—so liberal was St. Clair in all money transactions—and held the same political views. Although a member of the convention that framed the Constitution of 1776, he was never reconciled to some of its provisions, and afterward united with James Wilson and Arthur St. Clair in moving for a new Constitutional Convention.

[2] James Wilson, the distinguished statesman and jurist.

[3] Out of Congress. The opposition succeeded for a time, but Mr. Wilson was afterwards returned.

years. Hardly was I able to walk about when the convention met.[1] I was chosen one of them—a pretty solon you will say. No matter, we have now sat three weeks, and agreed upon the fundamental principles of our Government. They are somewhat singular, however. The most of us have not had our judgment warped in favor of any other, and not a sixth part of us ever read a word on the subject. We are only to have one Legislative branch, viz: the Assembly, who are to be chosen annually, and a rotation to take place every three years. Instead of having a Legislative Council, it seems we are to have a convention every three, five, or seven years,[2] (it is not yet settled which), who are to inquire into and supply defects, deviations or abuses in the Constitution. In what manner the executive and judicial are to be chosen I can not yet say, as we only settled the other points last meeting. I was in a small minority.[3] I believe we might have at least prevented ourselves from being ridiculous in the eyes of the world were it not for a few enthusiastic members who are totally unacquainted with the principles of government. It is not only that their notions are original, but they would go to the devil for popularity, and in order to acquire it, they have embraced levelling principles, which you know is a fine method of succeeding. Don't, therefore, be surprised if in the next letter I write to you, I should inform you that we had passed an Agrarian Law.

With regard to any thing in the civil line that may concern you, I hardly think the convention will do any thing, but it must rest over until the government is formed and the supreme executive appointed. Should any thing of the kind come upon the carpet while I am present, I hope you will not be overlooked. I am in hopes a temporary line between us and Virginia will be soon settled by the two conventions. I am one of a committee to confer with their delegates on the subject. They are authorized by their convention, and made the proposal—the bearer will inform you what line they proposed.

Mrs. St. Clair came soon to Bedford after I went up and before

[1] The State Constitutional Convention of 1776.

[2] The Council of Censors. The first was chosen by the electors of the State seven years after the adoption of the Constitution. St. Clair was elected from Philadelphia, and was one of the most active and influential members of it.

[3] Mr. Smith opposed the Constitution. He found fault especially with those clauses which put the legislative power in a single branch, and which restricted the power of the executive.

you went away. You know there is nothing coming in from the office; however, the bearer will mention that matter to you. I really wish to see you again. I have some reason to hope that you will soon be advanced to a higher rank.

PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS TO ARTHUR ST. CLAIR.

PHILADELPHIA, *August* 10, 1776.

Sir:—The Congress having yesterday been pleased to promote you to the rank of Brigadier-General[1] in the Army of the American States, I do myself the pleasure to enclose your commission, and wish you happy.

GENERAL ST. CLAIR TO THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

CAMP AT TICONDEROGA, *Sept.* 2, 1776.

Sir:—I received your favor of the 10th August, enclosing my commission as Brigadier-General, and return you thanks for the trouble you took to transmit it.

I am extremely sensible of the honor conferred upon me by the appointment, and it shall be my study to convince Congress that they have not misplaced their confidence.

My most respectful compliments wait upon Mrs. Hancock.

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[1] For some weeks prior to the 9th August, St. Clair had been commanding a brigade under General Gates, who had recommended his promotion in strong terms to Congress. On the 26th July, Colonel Matt. Ogden, in writing from Ticonderoga to Major Aaron Burr, said: "We are in great want of brigadier-generals—three at least; I mean for the men who are now here. General Arnold will command the water craft on the lake in person. There are three brigades commanded by the Colonels Reed, Stark, and St. Clair. The last of these, I sincerely wish, was appointed a brigadier by Congress. There is no better man. The other two have full enough already." The promotion of St. Clair was announced by General Washington in General Orders August 12th. His brigade was the fourth, and consisted of his own, DeHaas's, Winds's, Wayne's, and Nelson's independent regiments. The promotion excited the jealousy of Arnold who, although a brigadier, did not like to see any other officer of ability placed on the same plane with himself; and Colonel Maxwell, a very meritorious officer and friend to St. Clair, thought it hard he should be overlooked for the benefit of a junior officer. At this time the army at Ticonderoga numbered over nine thousand effective men. After the destruction of the fleet under Arnold, Generals Gates, Schuyler and Arnold called lustily for several thousand more troops. See correspondence of these officers with Washington (*Sparks*), and with President Hancock (*Force's American Archives*).

THOMAS SMITH TO GENERAL ST. CLAIR.

PHILADELPHIA, 22*d August*, 1776.

My Dear Friend:—I was favored with yours[1] last night by Captain Rippy. I now know by experience, what I always believed, that elevation does not make you forget your friends. You will, perhaps, be of opinion that I am not that sincere friend you take me to be, when I inform you that the intelligence you gave me on that head gave me far less pleasure than you supposed it would; the reason is, I knew it long before, for no sooner was you appointed Brigadier-General but our worthy friend Wilson communicated the agreeable news to me, upon which I wrote to most of our friends to whom I knew the news would give pleasure.

It is not your elevation alone that I congratulate you upon; but I can assure you, from undoubted authority, that your military character stands as high with Congress as that of any general on the continent, and I flatter myself that you have as good a chance for even a more elevated rank than that to which you are lately raised. Whatever has been said, or whatever may be said to the contrary, I think every man's own heart will tell him that self has a considerable share in the direction of all our thoughts and actions. I feel an instance of it upon this occasion, for though I do sincerely rejoice at the elevation of a much esteemed friend, yet I am not without my fears that I shall by that means be deprived of the pleasure which I enjoyed in the company of that friend.

I *feel* the truth of your sentiments with regard to the Constitution that we are about forming. In several sects of religionists in the different ages of the world, and in some even now, *inspiration* was supposed to have a considerable share in the direction of their actions, and they very gravely supposed themselves gifted with it. I believe we shall have the honor of first introducing the same doctrine into modern politics. A motion was made, without a blush, by a member, that whatever might require the consideration of the House might be printed before any resolve was passed upon it, for the use of the members, as several of them could read *print* better than writing. Our principle seems to be this: that any man, even the most illiterate, is as capable of any office as a person who has had the benefit of education; that education perverts the understanding, eradicates common honesty, and has been productive of all the evils that have happened in the world. In order that inspira-

[1] The letters of St. Clair to Judge Smith have not been found.

tion may be our only guide, every person who is to be chosen into any office that was formerly supposed to require some degree of human knowledge and experience to enable the person to execute it with justice—every such person, I say—is to be turned out before he can possibly acquire any experience—*e. g.*, in the form of government now debating in the House. The committee have brought in one article, that the justices of the peace shall be chosen by the people in the respective districts wherein they reside; turned out every seven years and a new set chosen in the same manner. We are not come to it yet, but by the complexion of the House I have reason to think it will pass. We are determined not to pay the least regard to the former Constitution of this Province, but to reject every thing therein that may be proposed, merely because it was part of the former Constitution. We are resolved to clear every part of the old rubbish out of the way and begin upon a clean foundation. You know that experimental philosophy was in great repute fifty years ago, and we have a mind to try how the same principle will succeed in politics! You learned fellows who have warped your understandings by poring over musty old books, will perhaps laugh at us; but, know ye, that we despise you.

The situation of this country, as well as that of *blind* Britain, must give great anxiety to every person who is not callous to the feelings of humanity. They seem to have been in the same situation for some time past with regard to their intellects as the builders of Babel were in respect of their [out]. God knows how the destructive dispute will end. I think the ruin of Britain is inevitable, and her existence as a powerful kingdom is near at an end. We will undoubtedly feel sorely the effects of the dispute; but I can not help being of opinion that, according to the course of human affairs, we must, in the end, prevail.

As to your verbal intelligence, you will have heard before this can reach you that part of it is true and part false, as is always the case. No news here. Mr. Woods came down last night. Your family are well—not increased when he came away.

As for myself, I have the honor to serve the public and receive nothing for it; but that it puts it out of my power to serve myself by going to the woods, for, as there is at present, and like to be through our great wisdom, a suspension of all law for a considerable time, nothing is to be done in that channel, and from the temper of the times no person has any security, let his conduct have been what it will, that he will not be superseded by any being of a day.

GENERAL ST. CLAIR TO LIEUTENANT-COLONEL ALLEN.[1]

TICONDEROGA, *September* 1, 1776.

Dear Sir:—This is my third to you since yours of the 25th of July. Whether the former have reached you or not is doubtful, as our communication seems not to be much more open than heretofore; how that happens, God knows, but certain it is few letters to or from this army get on.

I wish you had returned to the regiment. Though I well know your sentiments, I really expected you would have come back. "The osier keeps its footing when the oak is torn up by the roots." You know my way of thinking, and you know likewise the obligations I have to your family—obligations which no change of circumstances can ever cancel. But you will excuse me, my dear sir, when I say that I believe it would have been true policy to have given some way to the temper of the times.

If I remember rightly, there were two points on which we were perfectly agreed: First, that independence was not the interest of America if the liberties of America could be otherwise secured; Secondly, if foreign troops were employed to reduce America to absolute submission, that independence or any other mode was justifiable. There is now no doubt about the employment of foreign troops, which I own I think was the watchword to every man of property in America; for I doubt very much whether, if Great Britain should succeed by force, if much odds would be made by the lordly conquerors betwixt friends and foes, or if nature and for-

[1] William Allen, a Pennsylvania Loyalist, son of the Chief Justice of Pennsylvania, belonged to one of the wealthiest and most distinguished of the old families of that Province of the Penns, and, after the first year of the revolution, espoused the British cause. He was a lieutenant-colonel in the Continental service in the early part of 1776, and served under St. Clair in Canada. After the retreat of the Americans to Crown Point, he returned to Philadelphia, and, in common with other friends of the Penns at this period, concluded that the only safety for the country was in adherence to the mother country. He obtained leave to resign his commission in the Continental service, and, at the close of 1776, joined Lord Howe. He endeavored to enlist a regiment of Pennsylvania Loyalists in 1778, but he was disappointed. Less than three hundred joined him. His regiment took part in the defense of Pensacola against the French and Spaniards. He was in New Brunswick in 1783. In the letter above given, St. Clair, mindful of obligations to Chief-Justice Allen, endeavors to dissuade the son from the step which he had avowed it his purpose to take in the letter to which this is the reply.

eign avarice and rapacity would not be glutted with the indiscriminate spoil of both. I am persuaded many worthy men would not have wished times to go as they have done, because they thought it not consistent with the true interest of America, which might have long been happy in a regulated (not an absolute) subordination to Great Britain, amongst whom I think I may reckon your venerable father; but that fatal proceeding[1] has cast the die.

Do not, my dear sir, imagine my late promotion has altered my sentiments. I will own to you I am pleased, not flattered, with it. I have come to that time of life (and some how or other have always had a way of thinking what some people call philosophy, but it is nothing but constitution,) that puts me out of danger of that flutter and emotion that sudden and unexpected elevation gives some people. I assure you I would rather experience the heartfelt satisfaction of discharging one social duty, one debt of gratitude, than have as many "Honours" and "Excellencys" affixed to my name as would fill a quire of paper. To your father and brother, and Mr. Penn, I have obligations that I must ever feel—that I will never forget. You know I am a bad politician, but if you have not already taken too decisive a part, I can not say one word more about the matter; and when I reflect on your own good sense and the superior understanding and experience of many of your friends, it would be insolence to you to offer advice.

We have made this a very strong post. The old French lines are repaired; and redoubts upon redoubts constructed, and men enough to defend them. If they come we shall certainly give a good account of them. General Arnold is down the lake with the fleet, three schooners and a sloop, and, I think, ten gondolas, mounting in all above one hundred guns. The time is certainly near now, and I wish you were here to share the honour, for we shall certainly beat them. We shall make up for the Three Rivers; but wherever you are, my best wishes shall ever attend you.

Your baggage Major Scull takes to Albany—all but your bedding. Your mattress and blankets I let Mr. Clason have, his having been stolen one day out of the General's house; the rest I will keep; let me know the price, and the money shall be remitted for the whole. I thank you for the marquise. I will take all the care I can of it, and bring it with me when I return; if I return not, you do not

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[1] Many hoped for an honorable accommodation with the British government after a show of resistance, but the Declaration of Independence dispelled that hope.

want friends here who will do me the kindness to send it. Next time I will tell you all about the money.

Colonel Joseph Wood[1] to General St. Clair.

Philadelphia, *September* 3, 1776.

Dear General:—I this moment received yours of the 2d inst., and return you many thanks for your kind concern for my health, which I am sorry to say is not so well as I could wish or expect, considering the length of time, from so small a wound;[2] but one reason is, I can't get quit of the fever; two or three days I seem perfectly well, after that comes on an inflammation in my leg which spreads all over it, then I am forced to keep my bed five or six days, and bathe and poultice it, and so I go on. God knows when I shall have the pleasure of being in the field again. I long to be with you. I intend setting off next week, sick or well, making all the haste my health will permit. I am more easy that I have two such field officers as Craig[3] and Butler;[4] their commissions I have, and shall bring them with me. I hope they will do well—hope, did I say?—I am certain they will do every thing possible for the good of the regiment.

I am in doubt about our army at New York—a letter from an officer of rank this day says they are in want of ten thousand men; if so, the Lord have mercy on them all. The militia going and returning with such speed smells strong of cowardice, and dispirits

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[1] Joseph Wood succeeded St. Clair as Colonel of the Second Pennsylvania. He was commissioned as major, and was ordered to Canada with the first companies of the regiment, in January, 1776. He was promoted to lieutenant-colonel, vice William Allen, July 22, and colonel 7th September, 1776. He died in March, 1789.

[2] Wound received at the battle of Three Rivers.

[3] Thomas Craig, commissioned as captain in St. Clair's regiment, January 5, 1776; lieutenant-colonel, September 7, 1776; appointed colonel Third Pennsylvania Regiment, 1777. Died at the age of 92, January 14, 1832.

[4] Thomas Butler, third of the famous brothers who were conspicuous during the Revolutionary war. Was studying law with Judge Wilson when the war began, and enlisted a company for St. Clair's regiment, in which he obtained the majority. At the battle of Brandywine he received the thanks of Washington for gallantry, and at Monmouth he defended a defile in the face of a heavy fire while his brother, Colonel Richard Butler, withdrew his regiment. He was present at the defeat of St. Clair in 1791. He was born in Pennsylvania, 1754, and died at New Orleans, September 7, 1805.

the troops. I dined yesterday with five or six of the Congress; they think a few days will decide the matter one way or the other. It may, for us, but not for the enemy—they can retreat to their lines. You must know, before this, we have given up New York, and must do what they wish for—fight them in the open field. You know how we are provided for that. Some of our men are brave—must be to make a stand against double their numbers, and six times better armed. We can only hope that God will fight our battles, as in old times.

Mr. Wilson, with his lady, started for Carlisle to-day. He desired me to give you his best compliments, and, when he returns, will send you a letter a mile long, to make up for the short ones, or the very few he has wrote you.

God bless you. All the family join in good wishes for your prosperity in every form, but none more so than, dear sir, your affectionate friend, etc.

Colonel Robert H. Harrison to General Schuyler.

Newark, *November*, 26, 1776.—3 o'clock p. m.

Sir:—By command of his Excellency, I have the honor to transmit you the inclosed resolve[1] of Congress, the original of which this

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[1] *Resolved*—That General Washington be directed forthwith to order under his immediate command such of the forces, now in the Northern Department, as have been raised in the States of Pennsylvania and New Jersey, and that the commanding officer in the Northern Department be directed to apply to the Legislatures of the Eastern States, to afford him such assistance as they may stand in need of.—*Journals of Congress*, Saturday, November 23, 1776.

This resolution was in consequence of the movement of General Howe toward Philadelphia in force. General Washington had but few troops to interpose, and his situation was very critical. It was at this time that St. Clair was directed to join him with his brigade. Scarcely any halt was made at Albany. As soon as boats were procured St. Clair proceeded southward, but was intercepted by an order from General Lee to join his division, which was following in the rear of the British army, notwithstanding Washington had ordered him several weeks before to join him.

After the capture of General Lee (see p. 28), General St. Clair proceeded immediately to join General Washington. On the 10th December, we find the latter proposing to send him to command the New Jersey militia that had been recruited in that part of the State where General Lee had been operating. The time of service of General St. Clair's own troops being about to expire, and they promising to re-enlist for the war if furloughed, he permitted them to return home, and out of his own private funds supplied

minute came to hand; and I am to request you, in his name, to have the purport of it complied with, by sending down, with all possible expedition, the whole of the troops belonging to the States of Pennsylvania and Jersey which are in the Northern Department, to join the army under his immediate command. You will please to order them to fall in on the communication leading from New York to Philadelphia, at Brunswick, or between that and Princeton, and to direct their march by a back and secure route, that it may not be liable to be interrupted by the enemy. I have mentioned Brunswick, supposing and hoping that we shall be able to make a stand there; however, his Excellency begs you will direct the commanding officers of the troops to send him frequent expresses, to advise of their approaches, and by which means their destination may be explicitly pointed out. At present it is conjecture. It must depend on several circumstances. I have not time to add much, therefore shall only inform you that the enemy are in possession of Hackensack, and are now pushing this way.

JAMES WILSON TO GENERAL ST. CLAIR.

BALTIMORE,[1] *December* 30, 1776.

My Dear Sir:—With peculiar pleasure I congratulate you on the victory at Trenton.[2] I take it the tide is now turning, and will soon run high in our favor.

I have written to General Washington, recommending Colonel Irvine to a regiment, and Mr. Robert Smith (a young gentleman of great merit, who studied law with me), to a troop of horse. You will oblige me much by adding your influence to the recommendation, and by letting me know the result of it as soon as possible.

GENERAL THOMPSON TO GENERAL ST. CLAIR.

CARLISLE, *January* 11, 1777.

My Dear General:—This will be handed to you by your old and

some of the money necessary to pay expenses of re-enlistment. General St. Clair entered actively into the work of the campaign.

[1] Congress was holding sessions at Baltimore.

[2] For an account of the victories of Trenton and Princeton, and St. Clair's brilliant part in them, see pp. 30 to 44 of this volume.

very worthy friend, Major Dick Butler,[1] who longs much to see you. The bad treatment the Major and some other officers of the regiments have met with, requires the notice of every General in the army who wishes to serve his country, and as I know well your steady attachment to both your friends and country, make no doubt, when you are informed how matters stand respecting the officers in Colonel Mackay's regiment, but you will take such steps as will enable those who think themselves injured to vindicate their characters, and purge the army, as soon as possible, of those who have acted out of character as gentlemen and officers.

The good of the service has obliged me to make use of arguments with the Major and Mr. Huffnagle, to engage them to continue in the regiment after they can have a hearing before a court-martial. I must confess they have suffered much, but they must be prevailed on to continue, or the usefulness of the regiment will be lost. We both know the Colonel to be a good officer, and a man of strict honor and great goodness of heart, but it will be impossible for him alone to manage the regiment or get duty done, if the Major and Mr. Huffnagle leave him. From what I have been well informed of, I think some of the officers must go to the left about, and Huffnagle will make an excellent Major, and as the ranks of the captains are not yet fixed, it can't give any great uneasiness to them; but in case it should, I don't know any of them fit to be raised a step higher—two only excepted—that ought to mount a ladder.

My dear St. Clair, when last I had the pleasure of seeing you,[2] I even envied you the fatigues you had then to encounter. I now most heartily rejoice on account of your successes, and more and more wish to share the dangers and honors that may await you.

P. S.—If you can't possibly reconcile Butler and Huffnagle to stay in Mackay's regiment, you must see and provide for them in one of the new ones. Good officers must not be lost.

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[1] Richard Butler, the most distinguished of the fighting Butlers. He was soon promoted to be Lieutenant-Colonel of Morgan's rifle corps, and subsequently Colonel of the Ninth Pennsylvania. He was agent for Indian affairs in 1787–88, and in 1791 was commissioned a Major-General, commanded the right wing of St. Clair's army moving against the Indians, and was killed November 4, of that year.

[2] At the battle of Three Rivers, where General Thompson had the misfortune to be captured. He was permitted to go on parol, but the delay in his exchange bore hard on his spirits. He blamed Congress with it in a letter to St. Clair, written in April this year, in which he said that as he was not permitted to curse that body, he would turn his wrath against the Constitution of Pennsylvania, which he cursed with great heartiness.

JAMES WILSON TO GENERAL ST. CLAIR.

CARLISLE, *January* 14, 1777.

My Dear General:—It is long since I have had the pleasure of hearing from you; but am sensible that you have as good, if not better, reasons for not writing than ever I had. The active and glorious scenes in which you have lately borne a share are a sufficient apology to your friends for not being favored with your letters. It comforts me to hear of you when I can not hear *from* you.

I have enjoyed nine days at home; and in that time have seen my family increased by the addition of a fine young boy. The situation of public affairs is so interesting that I find myself incapable of fixing upon those tranquil pleasures in my library, of which I have often formed such fond ideas when perplexed and distracted with business.

While I can not forbear thinking of the public, I believe it will be best for me to continue acting in it (provided that can happen with propriety), and return to Baltimore as soon as I can leave Mrs. Wilson.

I feel very sensibly for General Mercer's misfortune; and for the loss the service will sustain in being deprived for some time of his valuable talents. I hope, however, he will recover and do well.[1]

Colonel Mackay and Major Butler will inform you of the very extraordinary proceedings of the Captains and subalterns in the Westmoreland regiment. They have gone so far as even to suspend the Major.[2] You know his worth and character. From all the accounts I have had from gentlemen upon whose judgments I can rely, I am satisfied that he has great merit as an officer; and that his merit has been the cause of the persecution raised against him. But I need not stimulate your own friendship for him.

These committee appointments play vengeance. If the Captains and subalterns succeed in this stroke against their Major, I have no doubt but that the next one will be aimed at the head of the Colonel. Indeed, I have good reason to conclude that this is part of the plan originally laid.

[1] This refers to the battle of Princeton, in the early part of which General Mercer was mortally wounded. As he was left in the care of the Quaker family named Clark, where he fell, his fate was not known at the time this letter was written.

[2] This is the same difficulty referred to in the letter of General Thompson. On account of appointments being made on recommendation of committees, the subordinate officers attempted to dictate who should be field officers.

GENERAL ARTHUR ST. CLAIR TO JAMES WILSON.

MORRISTOWN, *February* 10, 1777.

Dear Sir:—I was favored with a letter from you yesterday. I heartily congratulate you on the addition to your family. As Mrs. Wilson has recovered, such a nine days was worth an age. I wish it was possible that you could enjoy the tranquil pleasures of retirement, but it is not a time to think of them; and believe me, my dear friend, although it is not much to your taste, your figure is at least as respectable in public as amiable in private life.

Colonel Mackay is not yet come up, and I have just heard that he lies sick at Trenton, but I have made the General[1] acquainted with the confusion and the causes of it that prevails in that regiment, and I have no doubt that the authors will meet with their deserts.

This will be handed you by Major Ollendorf, an officer, I believe, of merit, and who, it seems to me, has been sent here upon a wild goose chase. Most of the foreigners that have yet been employed are mere adventurers, but I do not believe that in his case; he has behaved well here. After all this preface, I don't know what should follow, but it is next to impossible that an utter stranger, and one who has not the language of the country, should succeed in raising a corps, and the expenses attending frequent journeys are so much greater than the allowance that it can not but disgust those who have no attachments but the profession of a soldier. If some officers were appointed to him who have connections, his corps might be raised, and I am fully persuaded it would not be long before he would discipline them.

This moment I received yours of the 28th ultimo. I am very sorry that neither Colonel Irvine nor Mr. Smith have succeeded, which I informed you of before. The General does not choose to go so largely into the horse as Congress has empowered him; at least until he sees the regiments he has already officered nearly complete; when that happens, and more horse should be thought necessary, Colonel Irvine has, I believe, his promise, and I have it likewise for Mr. Smith; and the general has pleased to express uneasiness that application had not been made earlier.

The enemy are still in Jersey, but they have very little rest. We give them a brush every other day, and we are certain that they are in great want of both forage and provisions. They can not possibly stay here. But where will they go to? Perhaps to Dela-

[1] General Washington.

ware River. That is, however, my way of thinking; and had we somebody at the head of the army in New York, they would soon be obliged to go somewhere else; but I must not speak ill of my superiors, and indeed I do not know the man at all.

Major Ollendorf waits for this letter. I assure (you) I have not ceased to write by every opportunity. You will get them all by and by, and I shall continue to do so, for I know but few things in this world that gives me greater pleasure.[1]

Tom Smith is here, and I write this at Colonel Biddle's office, who sends a whole bundle of correspondence.

St. Clair Promoted for Gallantry at Trenton and Princeton.

Baltimore, *February* 22, 1777.

Sir:—The Congress having been pleased to promote you to the rank of major-general in the army of the United States, I do myself the pleasure to inclose your commission. Confident of your ardor in the cause of America, and of your attachment to her liberties, I am persuaded you will, on all occasions, show yourself every way deserving the honor your country has now conferred upon you.

With the warmest wishes for your health and prosperity, I have the honor to be, sir, your most obedient and humble servant,

John Hancock, *Pres't.*

You will please to acknowledge the receipt of this letter and commission.

Hon. Major-General St. Clair.

James Wilson to Major-General St. Clair.

February 20, 1777.

My Dear Sir:—Yesterday, Congress proceeded to the promotion of general officers. There was much difficulty and delicacy in settling the principles on which the promotions ought to be founded. I expressed my sentiments in favor of adhering to the line of action before marked out, but said that if it were proper to deviate from that line, you were the officer in whose favor the alteration ought to be made. Lord Sterling, General Mifflin, yourself, General Ste-

[1] The original letter is in the possession of Lewis J. Cist, Esq., Cincinnati.

phen, and General Lincoln were chosen major-generals. I need not express my satisfaction at your promotion. I feel peculiarly pleased that I have seen the event take place before I leave Congress.

I am exceedingly hurt that our deserving friend, General Thompson, was passed over. It is a misfortune sufficient to be a prisoner. I am, however, willing to believe that the only reason with many gentlemen for omitting him was an apprehension that a promotion would increase the difficulty of his exchange.

If you have not already engaged yourself, you will much oblige me by appointing Billy Bird your aid-de-camp. You will recollect that, when he first entered into service, I was solicitous he should be formed under you. You know, however, of his activity. He is young, but he is far from being perfect in sense and judgment. If he is not yet exchanged, I hope his exchange will soon take place. I have been informed that he has either obtained, or has a prospect of obtaining, a lieutenancy in the Light Horse. But I would, on every account, prefer what I now recommend him to.

I have good reason to believe, and think it not improper to hint, that the important command of Ticonderoga is destined for your next campaign.[1] I presage it a theater of glory.

Colonel Wayne[2] to President of Congress.

Ticonderoga, *February* 2, 1777.

Sir:—Inclosed is the return of this garrison, together with the appraisement and receipt for goods sent to the public store. You

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[1] Judge Wilson's prediction was correct. But, after St. Clair's promotion, and before his appointment to the Northern Department, he continued to serve under Washington. On the 10th of March, General Washington asked General Gates, who was in command at Philadelphia, to resume the office of adjutant-general, and notified him that he should send Major-General St. Clair to take his place. Gates was looking for something else; declined the place of adjutant-general, and on the 25th of March was appointed by Congress to the command of the Northern Department, in place of General Schuyler. On the 22d of May following, he was superseded by General Schuyler. General St. Clair had been selected to serve as second in command, but he did not leave his post at Philadelphia until General Schuyler's restoration.

[2] Colonel Anthony Wayne had been placed in command of the garrison at Ticonderoga in the latter part of the preceding November, with instructions to complete the fortifications. Little could be done at that, as the want

will observe that only two small regiments of militia have yet arrived to relieve the old garrison, and that the Second and Fourth regiments of Pennsylvania, whose times were expired near a month, have marched for Philadelphia; the Sixth regiment, belonging to the same State, will also march the 8th instant; their times expired the 9th of January, so that if troops don't shortly arrive, this garrison will be left very weak indeed. I have wrote timely and frequently to General Schuyler on the occasion, and have once more urged him to push up troops and provisions with all possible dispatch. I am sorry to say that this post has been much neglected, and unless speedy and vigorous measures are used in gathering in supplies, the season will be lost in which it can be done; and perhaps, after all the expense and trouble in endeavoring to render the post tenable, it will be left an easy prey to the enemy, owing to a lack of troops and supplies. I shall omit nothing in my power to guard against a surprise, and although our numbers are few, yet I am under no apprehension but I shall be able to maintain this post (unless provisions fail) until a sufficient reinforcement can have time to arrive. I hope soon to have it in my power to give you some information of the motions or intentions of the enemy in this quarter.

Colonel Anthony Wayne to Major-General Gates.

Ticonderoga, *February* 4, 1777.

My Dear General:—This garrison now consists of only four weak regiments—one Pennsylvania, one New Jersey, and two regiments of militia from the State of the Massachusetts Bay, amounting in the whole to about twelve hundred, sick and well. That from Pennsylvania will march the day after to-morrow; we shall then be reduced to nine hundred. I have not been able to prevail on the Eastern troops to stay one hour longer than the expiration of their time.

I have done every thing that lay in my power to render this post tenable, by surrounding the works with wide and good *abatis*.

I have also provided timber for the block-houses, which will be erected in a few days, and dropped the notion of pickets, as we

of clothing and hospital stores rendered the condition of the men so wretched as to preclude all other thought but that of trying to preserve life until spring should come.

could not man them. Cumberland Bay is yet open; otherwise we should, in all probability, have received a visit long since from the enemy, who, as I learn, had collected all the sleighs in Canada for the purpose.

I have a prospect of being soon reinforced from the eastward. In the present debilitated state of the garrison we can do little more than mount the proper guards, keep out the usual scouts, and find firewood, a stock of which I wish to have beforehand in case of an attack, which probably will not be before the lake breaks up, unless Cumberland Bay should close soon. I should esteem it as a particular favor if you could get me relieved, my health being much impaired. I have been necessitated to act as quartermaster, commissary, engineer and commandant, and worried with wretches applying for discharges or furloughs, *as you used to be*, until I am become a mere skeleton.

I am next to inform you that this post has been too much neglected, and I fear, notwithstanding all the expense and trouble we have had last summer and this winter to render it tenable, it will be left an easy prey to the enemy for want of proper supplies to maintain an army in the spring, owing to a supineness somewhere.

Present my most respectful compliments to General Washington and Generals Mifflin and St. Clair.

Colonel Anthony Wayne to General Schuyler.

Ticonderoga, *February* 4, 1777.

Sir:—I have the pleasure to inform you that an officer, with part of Colonel ———'s regiment, arrived here last evening from Number Four, and says the whole regiment, consisting of upwards of three hundred men, may be expected in two or three days. They are from the State of New Hampshire, and enlisted during the war.

They are coming at a very seasonable time, as the Sixth Pennsylvania Battalion are just about to leave the ground, and our garrison so debilitated that we were hard pushed for men to furnish the necessary guards, scouts, and fatigues.

I have a scouting party down the lake as far as Gilliland's Creek, where it is said some Indian tracks have lately been discovered. The enemy have given out that they intend paying us a visit, but that they can not do so unless Cumberland Bay shuts up; as yet it is open, and probably will continue so during the winter, unless there comes very severe weather indeed.

I have been necessitated to stop a number of sleighs to haul the abatis, treating them with kindness and paying them for their labour. I have heard no complaint, and conclude they are well content.

I have in view a project of driving piles across the channel opposite one of the redoubts, to which a boom may be fixed that will be a sufficient barrier against the enemy's vessels. This will require a good deal of labour.

If it should meet your approbation, please to order up one of the engineers to superintend the work.

I shall be able to communicate to him the plan and manner in which it may be executed.

COLONEL ANTHONY WAYNE TO GENERAL SCHUYLER.

TICONDEROGA, 23*rd March*, 1777.

Dear General:—It is the opinion of those who are best acquainted with Lake Champlain, that it will be navigable in the course of two or three weeks at farthest. It is, therefore, my duty to inform you that we have not more than twelve hundred men, sick and well, *officers included*, on the ground; four hundred of which are militia, whose times expire in ten days; nor from what I can learn, by the best authority, is there any probability of a sufficient number of troops arriving from the eastward, for a very considerable time, as few, if any of their regiments are near full, and great part of those who were enlisted have deserted or are straggling through the country. Add to this, that their officers seem seized with a general torpor (which can not be accounted for), especially at a time when every effort is absolutely necessary to push on the troops, and to give them some idea of duty and discipline previous to their entering into action.

I must beg, sir, that you would once more endeavor to rouse the public officers in those States from their shameful lethargy before it be too late. I do assure you that there is not one moment to spare in bringing in troops and the necessary supplies. The few men I have on the ground are put to hard, very hard duty; but they go through all with a ready cheerfulness, conscious of the pressing necessity.

Whilst I am writing, Mr. Adams, who lives at Lake George landing, has arrived almost spent. He, with Captain Baldwin of the Rangers, belonging to Stillwater, and twenty-one men, were made prisoners at Sabbath-day Point by a party of Cochnawago Indians and Canadians, amounting to about twenty, under the com-

mand of Captain McCoy, of the Regulars. Lieutenant Henry, with five others belonging to Colonel Van Schaick's regiment, are killed. Adams and two of the soldiers were taken last Wednesday afternoon. Captain Baldwin and the other prisoners were surprised and taken asleep, at the Point, about three o'clock the next morning. Lieutenant Henry defended himself with great bravery for a considerable time, dangerously wounding two of the Indians with his navy. He at last fell, worthy of a better fate. Adams says he informed him of another party hovering round this post; but, if that was true, I believe they would not have mentioned it. He further says that the Indians came by the way of Omergotchy, and that he was set at liberty on account of being weakly and a former acquaintance of Captain McCoy, who also informed him that the enemy are collected at St. John's, Chambly, and Montreal, and their vicinity. I have sent Captain Whitcomb, with a party of Rangers, to bury the dead, and hope soon to retaliate on the British butchers.

COLONEL WAYNE TO GOVERNOR BOWDOIN AND COUNCIL OF MASSACHUSETTS BAY.

TICONDEROGA, 25*th March*, 1777.

Gentlemen:—A party of Cochnawago Indians, under the command of a Captain McCoy, of the British forces, have killed several of our people, and taken Captain Baldwin, with twenty-one men, prisoners, at a place called Sabbath-day Point, on the 20th instant, by which means the enemy, who are now all collected at Montreal, Chambly, St. John's, and their vicinity, will be but too soon informed of the debilitated state of this garrison, which at present does not consist of more than twelve hundred men, sick and well, *officers included*, four hundred of which are militia from Berkshire and Hampshire, in your State, whose times expire in ten days—*but this in confidence.*

It is the opinion of those who are best acquainted with the Lake Champlain, that it will be navigable in the course of two or three weeks at farthest, so that we have every reason to expect that the enemy here in full force as soon as that happens, being ready prepared for the purpose.

It is my duty, therefore, to request you, in the most pressing manner, to use every possible means in pushing on the troops—*properly equipped.* Nearly one-half of those who arrived are destitute of arms and accouterments, and sent on without any officers, except a few subalterns. For God sake, rouse your field and other officers

from their lethargy. It is their duty to be on the spot, in order to maneuver their people, and to give them some idea of discipline previous to their entering into action.

I would beg leave to suggest that the most speedy way of forwarding the baggage and other necessaries, *through these bad roads*, will be by pack-horses; you can not use too much dispatch; there is not one moment to spare

I am confident that you have too just a sense of the importance of this place to suffer it to be lost for want of timely succors, when in your power to throw them in. I shall, therefore, say no more on the subject, than just to assure you that nothing shall be wanting on my part to render the post tenable, and to defend it to the last extremity.

Captain Reyman, a gentleman well acquainted with this lake, and a worthy officer, who is charged with this express, will be able to give you such other information as you may require.

Just as Captain Reyman was setting off, he was taken violently ill. Lieutenant McLean is, therefore, charged with the express. He is another trusty officer.[1]

COLONEL ANTHONY WAYNE TO PRESIDENT JOHN HANCOCK.

TICONDEROGA, *2d April*, 1777.

Sir:—The enclosed return will clearly show you the debilitated state of this garrison. It has been very fluctuating of late. The militia are now all gone, and those contained in the return are raised on the new establishment. I hope soon to receive a considerable reinforcement, as General Schuyler has dispatched expresses to the neighboring States for that purpose. I have also sent to the State

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[1] This letter, the first draft of which was retained by Colonel Wayne, and is included among the St. Clair Papers, is also found in the *Massachusetts Archives*, Vol. 196, p. 824, and bears on it the following official indorsements, which show that great care was taken to read Colonel Wayne's communications, if nothing was done worth mentioning for the relief of Ticonderoga:

In Council, March 30, 1777. Read and sent down

JNO. AVERY, Dpy Secy.

In the House of Representatives, March 31, 1777. Read and committed to Mr. Speaker Benj. Preble, Mr. Story, and Col. Bliss, with such as the Honorable Board shall join. Sent up for concurrence.

J. WARREN, Spkr.

In Council, March 31, 1777. Read and concurred, and Jabez Fisher, Jno. Taylor, and Wm. Phillips, Esq'rs, are joined.

JNO. AVERY, Dpy Secy.

of the Massachusetts Bay, urging the Council to push on the troops and necessary supplies with all possible dispatch.

There will be an open navigation on Lake Champlain before this reaches you, and I have reason to expect the enemy here in full force as soon as the ice will permit. We are preparing to receive them. The ready cheerfulness with which officers and men undergo all fatigue and difficulties, I take as a happy presage that they are determined to defend the post to the last extremity. I can't forbear mentioning my surprise at the total neglect of the navy. You may rest assured that the enemy have not more than four vessels of force on the lake, exclusive of two taken from us, and about twenty-five or thirty flat-bottomed boats. It is said that they are building four more. Even then they will have but ten, and I am well convinced that in the course of eight weeks we could build vessels sufficient with those we already have to command the lake; and as to rigging, strip but the one-third of the prizes taken from the enemy, and now laid up to the eastward, they will be more than sufficient for the purposes; this once done, an army of two thousand or three thousand men will be sufficient not only to garrison this post, but put the enemy in constant alarm and oblige them to put a large army of observation in Canada.

On the contrary, let them remain in command of the lake, they need not more than one thousand land forces, with what savages and Canadians they can raise, to oblige us to maintain an army of at least five thousand men to watch their motions, whilst the remainder of their forces may be sent round and act in conjunction with their troops to the southward. But was a fleet to be created, they dare not show one man from Canada. The very expense of paying and maintaining three thousand extraordinary for six months would give you the command of the lake. You must at one day have it; the sooner, therefore, the better.

Colonel Anthony Wayne to Colonel Van Schaick.[1]

Ticonderoga, 13*th April*, 1777.

Sir:—Your favor of the 7th inst. I have just received. I wish

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[1] Gozen Van Schaick, son of Mayor Van Schaick of Albany, and one of the best soldiers in the American army. He participated in the French war, being advanced from lieutenant, by regular promotion, to lieutenant-colonel in the First New York regiment. On the breaking out of the Revolution, he was made colonel of the Second New York regiment; Nov.

that the arms and cash were arrived. There were two howitzers at Half Moon; if they are not yet sent forward, pray order them with such ammunition, ordnance and ordnance stores as are at Albany (for this post) to be sent forward with all possible dispatch, let the expense be what it will. If the roads are bad, it's only adding a sufficient force of horses to the carriages. Our situation admits of no delay.

I have reason to believe the enemy are advancing. A strong party of them were discovered three days ago at the Four Brothers; and some of their boats were plying between that and Gilliland's Creek. Previous to the receipt of this intelligence, I had sent a detachment under Lieutenant-Colonel Bassett to that place for provender. I have since ordered another party in armed boats to try to bring him off and cover his retreat. I hope they will effect it.

COLONEL ANTHONY WAYNE TO MAJOR-GENERAL SCHUYLER.

TICONDEROGA, 14*th April*, 1777.

Dear General:—A scouting party returned yesterday from Onion River, with advice that the enemy have a strong detachment on the Four Brothers, and that their boats were seen plying between that and Gilliland's Creek. Previous to the receipt of this intelligence, I had sent a party under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Bassett to that creek for provender, and have since dispatched another detachment in armed bateaux to bring him off and cover his retreat. I hope they will effect it, as the loss of his party would be too sensibly felt. We have received but a very small reinforcement since the last return I made you.

I can't account for the happiness of the Eastern States with respect to this post on any other principle but the general received notion that no attack will be made here. However, a few days will probably reduce this matter to a certainty, as the lake has been navigable about a week.

22, 1776, was placed in command of the First New York battalion, and afterwards sent to Cherry Valley to protect the inhabitants against the Indians; served as brigadier-general under Lord Stirling at the battle of Monmouth, and in April, 1779, at the head of a select force, destroyed the Onondaga settlements, and received vote of thanks from Congress. Appointed brigadier-general by brevet October 10, 1783. He was born 1737; died July 4, 1789.

James Wilson to Major General St. Clair.

Philadelphia, *27th March*, 1777.

My Dear Sir:—I have been favored with two letters from you since my return to Philadelphia. Your promise to write to me once a week gives me great pleasure, but it will give me still greater pleasure to see you soon. This, I have some hopes, will be the case, as General Gates is now appointed to the command at Ticonderoga.[1] I can more than conceive what you feel at your long absence from your family.

You particularly oblige me by reserving a place for Billy Bird. As some late difficulties are now removed from the cartel, his exchange, I hope, may soon take place.

I have resumed my seat in Congress. My reason is, that if at *any* time I can be useful to my country, I can at *this*. Pennsylvania is in the greatest confusion;[2] perhaps order may, at last, arise from it. The very critical situation of public affairs is of much advantage to the Assembly and their friends.

I shall write you more fully, soon.

General Washington to General St. Clair.

Morristown, *18th April*, 1777.

Dear Sir:—I am favored with yours of the 15th.[3] I have wrote

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[1] "The Congress have directed General Gates to take General Fermoy with him to Ticonderoga, and such other French officers as he may think proper. General St. Clair being ordered to Ticonderoga, but previously to repair to this city to await the further order of Congress, you will please to direct him to repair here accordingly as soon as possible."—*President Hancock to General Washington*, April 4, 1777.

[2] The return of Mr. Wilson to Congress was in compliance with the earnest entreaties of General Washington, who greatly needed at this time the support of the best men of the country. The situation in Pennsylvania is described by the Commander-in-Chief in a letter to General Schuyler, written at Morristown, in March (See *Sparks*, Vol. IV., p. 360): "The disaffection in Pennsylvania, which I fear is much beyond anything you have conceived, and the depression of the people of this State, render a strong support necessary to prevent a systematical submission; besides, the loss of Philadelphia would prove a very great injury, as we draw from thence almost all our supplies."

[3] This letter has not been found among the St. Clair Papers, but the subjects on which it treated are indicated in the above reply. The communi-

fully to Congress upon the inexpediency and indeed danger of forming a camp at Bristol before I am reinforced more strongly here, and I hope they will accord with me.

I am of opinion, with you, that General Howe will never attempt Philadelphia without first making a stroke at the army collected here. At the same time that I thank you for the desire you express for serving in this department, I applaud your resolution of submitting cheerfully to whatever post is assigned you.[1]

PRESIDENT HANCOCK TO GENERAL ST. CLAIR.

PHILADELPHIA, *April* 30, 1777.

Sir:—The Congress having received intelligence of the approach of the enemy towards Ticonderoga, have thought proper to direct you to repair thither without delay. I have it, therefore, in charge to transmit the enclosed resolve, and to direct that you immediately set out on the receipt hereof.[2]

COLONEL ANTHONY WAYNE TO GENERAL GATES.

TICONDEROGA, *25th April*, 1777.

Dear General:—Our force is so very small that, after furnishing the necessary guards—garrisoning the block-houses and half manning the vessels, together with the usual scouts—we have very few

cation of Washington to Congress, referred to in the above letter, is not included in Sparks's collection.

[1] St. Clair had expressed a desire to be under Washington, but, while not being pleased with the resolve of Congress assigning him to Ticonderoga, he proceeded to that post with the alacrity of a good soldier.

[2] General St. Clair's appointment to the command of Ticonderoga gave great umbrage to General Sullivan, who thought he should have been first preferred. On the 16th March General Washington took notice of his pique in a kind but severe letter, which opened in these words: "Do not, my dear General Sullivan, torment yourself any longer with imaginary slights, and involve others in the perplexities you feel on that score," and then proceeds to justify the assignment of St. Clair and other officers, and concludes: "But I have not time to dwell upon a subject of this kind. I shall quit it with an earnest exhortation, that you will not suffer yourself to be teased with evils that only exist in the imagination, and with slights that have no existence at all; keeping in mind, at the same time, that, if distant armies are to be formed, there are several gentlemen before you in point of rank, who have a right to claim a preference."

men left for fatigue. Our whole force, officers, artificers, sailors, marines, artillery, rank and file, sick and well, don't amount to nineteen hundred—one-fourth part of whom are destitute of arms, so that I have been necessitated to substitute spears in their place. And, from what I can learn, there is not much probability of our having any great addition to this force, for a very considerable time—so that the militia are absolutely necessary to assist in putting the place in some better position of defense, as we can't out of this debilitated army furnish fatigue men sufficient for the purpose. I have sent Lieutenant Barber to Albany for four hundred stand of arms, as it will require that number to complete those who are now on the ground without any. You will please to order them on with all possible dispatch. We have secured the pass between Mount Independence and Ticonderoga in such a manner that the enemy's ships can not get through below; and, in case of an attack, you may rest assured that this post shall be defended until succours can have time to arrive.

State of New Hampshire in Committee of Safety to Delegates in Congress.

May 10th, 1777.

Gentlemen:—About one-half of the troops proportioned to this State to raise as their quota for the Continental Army have marched for Ticonderoga, and most of them, we suppose, are at that place by this time. Another quarter will be on their march in a very few days, and the remainder as soon as possible. Every nerve is exerting among the friends of the country to engage and forward them.

They are but very ill clothed, and, as cloth can not be procured on any terms for that purpose, unless Congress will order Colonel Langdon to let the State have some out of those in his hands, which we desire you to endeavor to procure. We have scarce any stock of lead and flints, and only three small field pieces in the State; therefore would have you solicit orders to Colonel Langdon to keep in this State three or four field pieces, and such quantity of lead and flint as the general concern will admit of; a company of artillery-men will voluntarily engage in this town. A great number of our militia are without fire-arms, and the greater part they have are but ordinary—if there is such a supply on the continent that consistently a small magazine might be left in this State, to be used only in case of an attack, it might be of great advantage. We have

many circumstances come to hand which make it probable a descent will soon be made on our coast. We have made several discoveries of combinations made by the Tories in Hillsborough and western parts of Massachusetts Bay, and upper part of this county; we have reason to believe, by information of persons on oath, that some have combined to take arms and join the enemy, when an opportunity offers; though we hope their numbers are not large. We have just heard a hogshead of entrenching tools is discovered under a barn in Holles, and a considerable of liquors, some provisions and firearms in and about Groton in the Massachusetts. Interesting matters are opening, and it is probable all our jails will soon be filled with these more than monsters in the shape of men, who would wreck their native country, in hopes to have some of the plunder. Although our difficulties are great, and appear to be increasing, yet a spirit seems to rise with the difficulties among most of our people which we hope will not easily be crushed.

GENERAL GATES TO GENERAL WASHINGTON.

ALBANY, *30th May*, 1777.

Sir:—Late last night the inclosed from General Poor,[1] was

[1] TICONDEROGA, *May* 27, 1777.—10 o'clock at night.

Dear Sir:—Preparatory to the execution of a plan to surprise any ports which the enemy may have established on the lake. I thought it proper yesterday to dispatch a reconnoitering party, with orders to proceed to Split Rock, last night, to spend this day in observation, and return in the evening to an established rendezvous, and make his report. It has returned to this place in the moment of the embarkation of the detachment, and informs us that they, this morning, landed at Split Rock, about break of day, within one hundred and fifty yards of the enemy's advance boat, which the approach of day discovered, together with two schooners and six gondolas, all within three hundred yards of them. He observed on the west shore about forty bateaux, but as there was a thick fog, he could only discover the form of the vessels, a number of fires. A very heavy morning gun was discharged lower down the lake—he thinks at Schuyler's Island. As this report induced the strongest suspicions of the enemy's approach, I thought it my duty to forward it to you as speedily as possible, and shall be proud to receive your commands.

You know the strength of the garrison by the last general returns. If the post should be invested, which I firmly believe, I much dread we shall suffer for provisions. I am, dear sir,

Your most obedient and ready humble servant,

ENOCH POOR.

MAJOR-GENERAL GATES.

brought me by express from Ticonderoga. I also inclose your Excellency a general return of the garrison at that post, dated the 24th instant, by which you will perceive the shameful deficiency in the numbers proper for its defense.[1] Artillerists are likewise much wanted. I always expected six companies; two is as many as can be said to be there. The bad weather of late has so cut up the roads that the transportation of stores, cannon, and provisions has been extremely delayed. I am this moment sending expresses to the Eastern States, with a copy of General Poor's letter to each, and a pressing requisition for an immediate reinforcement of men, either by corps of militia or a draught to complete the regiments now at Ticonderoga.

Your Excellency and Congress may be assured that every thing possible for the safety and preservation of that important post shall be attempted—but, at the same time, it is to be wished the means may be found adequate to the end.

General St. Clair[2] to General Schuyler.

Ticonderoga, *June* 13, 1777.

Dear General:—Here follows the substance of the information given by two men from Canada, taken prisoners by one of our parties on Onion River:

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[1] May 28th, General Poor wrote to General Fellows that the garrison of Ticonderoga consisted of two thousand two hundred and forty, rank and file. On the 30th, General Gates inclosed copies of the above letters to the President and Council of the Massachusetts Bay, and added: "The fifteen hundred militia ordered from the County of Hampshire, are not one-third arrived, and from what I hear they are likely to be very deficient. I beg leave to assure you that there is not a moment to be lost. The safety of the Northern frontier of the Eastern States requires the spirited exertions of the powers of Government to save them from invasion." Sixth of June, the Massachusetts Legislature directed that the various officers in the counties charged with raising troops be required to provide the same, by draft if necessary, by the 20th of the month. Very little attention seems to have been paid to these orders.

[2] General St. Clair arrived at Ticonderoga and assumed command on the 12th, the day before the above letter was written. He had been instructed by Congress as to the manner of completing the fortifications, and had been assured that the British would transfer the larger part of their forces by water to aid General Howe in taking Philadelphia, which all, including General Washington, thought to be the objective point of the present cam-

That General Burgoyne is arrived in Canada, but has brought no troops with him; that the British army is assembling as fast as possible at St. Johns; that the light infantry, which they call the flying army, commanded by General Fraser, is already advanced to Point-au-Fer; that the whole army is said to consist of about ten thousand men, a part of which, with Indians under the command of Sir John Johnson, and Canadians under Captain Mackay, are to penetrate the country by the Mohawk River, whilst the rest of the army under General Burgoyne, crosses the lake to attack this place; that their fleet (a particular account of which is in the inclosed letter to General Sullivan) is all in the lake, and we may depend on their being here in a fortnight at farthest.

From the nature and circumstance of the pass granted to one of the two, which I here inclose, and his own account of the manner in which he was sent from Montreal, viz.: to search for plans of the country which he pretended to know were hid at Metcalf's, and his being possessed of a considerable sum of Continental money, and some gold and silver, I have the strongest suspicion of his being a spy,[1] and have secured him as such and sent him down to you, both

paign, and that to cover that movement a feint would be made towards Ticonderoga. This the Board of War had received from reliable authority. St. Clair was to prepare for the reception of a small British force, designed to prevent any Eastern troops from being sent to the relief of Washington, and this he was to do behind fortifications erected on ground commanded by eminences within cannon shot. The British vessels controlled the lakes, and the only way he could procure information of the enemy was by sending scouts through an almost impenetrable forest lining the shores of the lakes.

On his way to his post of duty, General St. Clair stopped at Albany to confer with General Schuyler. The instructions of that officer were given under date of June 5th. By those he was informed that "As the whole of our force in the Northern Department, if collected at Ticonderoga, would not be capable of properly manning the extensive works on both sides of the lake," it would be advisable to devote his first care to Mount Independence which was the most defensible, and might be made to sustain a seige; that frequent scouts should be kept out as far as Crown Point; that the boom should be strengthened by driving piles, so as to prevent the passing of vessels to the south end of the lake; that as provisions were scarce, great economy should be exercised; that attention should be given to requiring the men to be cleanly in order to preserve their health; and gave him ten thousand dollars for contingent expenses.

[1] Amsbury, the supposed spy, when examined by General Schuyler, confirmed the story related to St. Clair. "He stated that the British forces were approaching St. John's, and were to advance under General Burgoyne, and also that a detachment of British troops, Canadians and Indians was to

that you might have an opportunity to examine him yourself, and that, if you should think of him as I do, he might be tried at Albany, where, should he be found guilty, the sentence will probably be more adequate to the crime than here; for I find the officer, who lately suffered a spy he had in charge to escape, through grossest misconduct, has been honorably acquitted by a court-martial.

You will likewise find a letter from Colonel Bailey, containing the intelligence brought by two Frenchmen sent down by General Gates. Though their intelligence differs very materially, they agree

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penetrate the country by the way of Mohawk River. He added other particulars respecting the strength and arrangements of the British army, which turned out to be nearly accurate, but of which no intelligence had before been obtained or anticipated; for it had been a favorite idea with Congress and the Commander-in-Chief that the British would not operate in force from Canada during the present campaign, but that the troops would be chiefly brought round by water to reinforce General Howe. Hence the small preparations for the defense of Ticonderoga, and for forming a Northern army."—*Sparks*, Vol. IV., p. 467.

General Washington commented on this information in a letter to General Schuyler, under date of June 20th: "Supposing the plan mentioned in Amsbury's evidence to be true, I can not conceive that it will be in the power of the enemy to carry it into execution; but to provide against all events, I have ordered General Putnam to hold four Massachusetts regiments in readiness at Peekskill to go up the river at a moment's warning, and to order sloops from Albany, which are to be kept for that purpose. It does not appear that Burgoyne has brought any reinforcements from Europe. If this is so, he can not move with a greater force than five thousand men. He certainly will never leave the garrison of Ticonderoga in his rear; and if he invests it to any purpose, he will not have a sufficient number left to send one body from Oswego and another to cut off the communication between Fort Edward and Fort George. As the garrison at Ticonderoga is sufficient to hold it against any attack,[1] I do not think it politic, under your representation of the scarcity of provisions, to send up troops to consume what ought to be thrown into the fort. . . . . I draw a very favorable omen from the intercepted letter to General Sullivan.[2] It shows that they despair of carrying their scheme by force, and are reduced to the necessity of having recourse to the arts of flattery, bribery and intimidation."

1 General Washington did not have a clear conception of the nature of the works at Ticonderoga, which he thought the enemy would have to assail directly in front, as in former wars; nor did he seem to understand that the troops ordered from Massachusetts had not come in, notwithstanding the representations of General St. Clair, and, before him, Generals Gates and Wayne.

2 Amsbury related that before leaving Montreal a Judge Levins had given him a canteen, with instructions to give it to General Sullivan, whom he supposed to command at Ticonderoga, and to request General Sullivan to remove a false bottom in the canteen, under which he would find a letter. The bottom was removed, and a letter found as described.

in the circumstance of General Burgoyne's arrival; and if these fellows have really been sent by him to see what we are about, there was no method more likely to procure them an easy reception than that of giving an account of the preparations in Canada, and carrying, or pretending to carry, letters from our friends. The letter to General Sullivan may, notwithstanding, be genuine, and Amsbury says it was written by one Michael Shannon. This name is found upon a separate piece of paper, in a fair hand, which he seemed unwilling to part with, and which I suppose to have been a private signal by which he was to be known upon his return.

If the enemy intend to attack us, I assure you, sir, we are very ill-prepared to receive them. The whole amount of Continental troops, fit for duty, is fifteen hundred and seventy-six, rank and file, exclusive of Baldwin's artificers and Whitcomb's fifty-two rangers. Besides these, there are three regiments of Hampshire militia, engaged for no particular term, and who go off whenever they please. One hundred and fifty are gone since last return; two regiments of Massachusetts militia, of two hundred and fifty rank and file, fit for duty, engaged for two months from their arrival, three weeks of which with some of them is already expired.

Among the number returned sick there is no doubt but many would be useful in case of necessity, but, at any rate, we can not reckon upon more than twenty-two hundred men.

I am very much concerned to give you this disagreeable detail, but I have something worse to add to it. We can not increase our numbers by calling in the militia without ruin; for, by the commissary's return and the account of his weekly expenditure, there is meat for seven weeks only on the ground, and he has no prospect of any supply of salt meat, but from some place near Stillwater, nor of fresh, but by sending to New England for it. This I have desired to do, but must own I have little prospect of advantage from it; for be assured that, and indeed every other communication, may and will very easily be cut off. I have heard of some cattle below Crown Point, which I shall send for to-morrow.

The bridge goes on tolerably well, but, indeed, is a very heavy, troublesome job. The caissons, Colonel Baldwin says, will be all sunk by the end of next week. In the meantime, I have ordered the floating bridge to be removed to the lower side of them, which will serve as a kind of second boom, and retard at least, if not prevent, the enemy's vessels from passing, should they attempt it.

A magazine of wood should be laid in immediately, but how to effect it I know not, as there are no teams here of any kind, and

not a stick upon the Mount. All of the timber for the bridge is hauled out of the woods by hand, and employs a much greater number of men than would otherwise be necessary, and might be employed, and are wanted, for other purposes. What can the quartermaster mean by leaving this place, where so many works are to be carried on, without so necessary an article as draught-cattle?

The tents here are, in general, very bad. I must beg you, my dear general, to hasten up the new tents, for I shall get no good of the troops here, in any way, whilst they remain in barracks.

Our powder-magazines are in so wretched a state, that I am told near fifty pounds of powder a week is damaged. In short, every thing is so much out of order, that I will add no more to this list of grievances, than to tell you we have no cartridge paper.

When I write again, I hope to have something more agreeable to entertain you with.

P. S. I forgot to mention a paper in which Amsbury's money was wrapped, and is also inclosed; it is blurred and blotted, but you will observe it contains a letter from Eph. Jones to his brother, dated June 2d, about the time Amsbury left Montreal, and is a corroborating circumstance of the fellow's evil design.

I should have called upon the militia[1] but for the state of our magazine. Should they come in fast, which I believe they would, they might eat us out before either the arrival of the enemy or the supplies. Please give your direction on this head as soon as possible.

The bateaux are in ruin for want of pitch and tar, which Colonel May says he has often wrote for.

Adams, the other of the prisoners, seems to be an innocent fellow, and whom Amsbury brought off with him without knowing his errand; he was taken by Mackay at the Sabbath-day Point.

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[1] "It is evident from General St. Clair's letter that it will not be proper to order up the reinforcement before it is really wanted; for he very judiciously observes that they will consume the stores. I can not conceive what occasions the delay of the Massachusetts and New Hampshire Continental troops; I have repeatedly written in the most pressing manner to have them sent on, but in vain."—*Washington to Schuyler in letter before quoted.*

GENERAL ST. CLAIR TO GENERAL SCHUYLER.

TICONDEROGA, *June* 18, 1777.

Dear General:—Inclosed you have the returns of the troops and stores at this place, all except the clothier's, which is so drained, I thought it needless to ask any from him, as he has almost literally nothing.

Since my last, I have had constant scouts out, but have made no discovery of the enemy, save that four of their vessels are lying about a mile on the hither side of Split Rock; they consist of two ships and two gondolas; and on Friday last a schooner beat up within four miles of Crown Point, but, without landing any of her people or coming to anchor, returned down the lake.

Yesterday, about noon, we had two men, who had strolled out of camp without arms, taken by a party of savages, who had stolen down to the roadside by McIntosh's and the bridge, and concealed themselves in the bushes; they were immediately pursued as far as Putnam's creek, but could not be overtaken; unluckily, however, they fell in with a scouting party I had sent down to discover the motions of the enemy, but were upon their return, and fired upon them unexpectedly. The officer is wounded, one man killed and scalped, and one missing, but whether taken or not is as yet uncertain. Another party, that I had ordered to proceed to Point-au-Fer, or wherever the enemy might be, returned last night, on discovering a large party of Indians on the east side of the lake, about four miles above Crown Point. I think of sending to feel their pulse to-night, as I am sure it would be of consequence to give these fellows a drubbing.

I am at a loss to form a judgment of the design of the enemy. If they mean to attack us, one would think it indiscreet to put us on our guard by such a trifling affair; and yet I can not think they could prevail with any number of the savages to come on, unless they had an army not far off to support them. Be that as it will, I shall use every precaution possible against surprise, and will endeavor to penetrate their designs. The same reason, notwithstanding our weakness, still prevails against calling for the militia as when I wrote last, having as yet received no supply of meat, either fresh or salt.

Do you know, sir, any thing about the terms upon which Captain Whitcomb's corps was raised? He informs me that by General Gates's orders he promised his people that they should have the

same bounty as the troops of the State in which they were raised, notwithstanding they were not part of their quota. This promise has not been complied with, and they are held by a conditional agreement only, which expires this day. I shall be able to retain them, however, until you favor them with your answer.

I am making some improvements on the Mount, but that and the Ticonderoga side have such dependence upon and connection with each other that, in my opinion, it will be very dangerous to give up either, and yet it is certain we can not, with our present numbers, hold both. I design, however, to make the appearance of doing it, and after defending Ticonderoga as long as possible, retreat to Mount Independence.

Our guards are crowded with Tories; they are dangerous here, and can not be properly tried. I have ordered them to Albany.

The bridge goes heavily on; the caissons not all sunk yet, but the timber is almost all cut and in the water. The officers of the fleet have not received commissions, and are very uneasy about it.

GENERAL ST. CLAIR TO JAMES WILSON.

TICONDEROGA, *June* 18, 1777.

Dear Sir:—This is the first time I have wrote to you since I left Philadelphia, and am very sorry to make any complaints, but I am much disappointed in the strength of the garrison and the state of the fortifications at this place. Instead of their having been improved during the winter, which was expected, they are much worse than when I left them, a very strong abatis, in which the security of Mount Independence chiefly consisted, having been almost entirely burned up in the winter, and a great part of the breastwork destroyed.

This would be a matter of little consequence should it turn out that the enemy have no designs upon us;[1] that, however, is

[1] "From the enemy's situation in Jersey, collecting their force at Amboy and Brunswick, and from their intentions last fall, confirmed by every piece of intelligence we obtain this spring, it scarce admits a doubt that Philadelphia is the object in view at the opening of this campaign. If this be their aim, it appears to me highly probable, their army being greatly reduced since the commencement of the last campaign, that they will bring round all the troops from Canada to reinforce those here. What serves to confirm me in this opinion is the facility with which a junction can be made in this way, the necessity they are under of a reinforcement, and the great security

doubtful, though, by some intelligence I have received, I am induced to think they are meditating an attack. Should this be the case, I fear they will be but too successful, as our numbers are greatly unequal to the vast extent of ground we must occupy. I shall do the best, however, I can, and if they should not be repulsed, I hope to see them so crippled as not to be able to pursue their journey. In serious earnest, this place has been too much neglected, and it is disagreeable enough for a man to see himself in a place from whence a retreat is impossible, with a force insufficient for the defense of it, and that you will readily perceive. Our works would demand ten thousand men, and I have not more than twenty-two hundred. I shall endeavor, however, to support both sides of the lake as long as it can be done, and finally retreat to the Mount. Men, however, might be got here had we provisions, but we are so short in that article that I dare not call in the militia, as in a couple of weeks they would eat up the whole stock of meat.

We had one man killed and two taken prisoners by a party of Indians yesterday, within sight of the out guards. They had concealed themselves in the bushes, and rushed suddenly upon some unarmed men, who had strolled out a fishing. They were immediately pursued, but without success, though their flight was so precipitate that they dropped their packs and blankets. In their retreat they fell in with a party that had been sent to make discoveries, with whom they exchanged several rounds. The lieutenant that commanded the party and one man are wounded, one killed and scalped, and one missing. What injury they sustained is not known, but it is probable they must have met with some loss, as they were not more than ten steps distant when they fired. Another party of Indians were discovered last night encamped on the east side of the lake about four miles above Crown Point. I mean to speak with them to-night, and if we can but give them a dressing it will render them more cautious.

It is hard, with the little information we have, to form a judgment of the enemy's designs. This is certain, that General Burgoyne has been arrived in Canada for some time, and he has not

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the command of the lakes gives them against our incursions into Canada. Under these considerations, I can not help thinking much too large a part of our force is directed to Ticonderoga. Peekskill appears to me a much more proper place, where, if the troops are drawn together, they will be advantageously situated to give support to any of the Eastern or Middle States."—*General Washington to General Schuyler, March* 12, 1777. *Sparks*, Vol. IV., p. 358.

come to pass the summer inactive. Perhaps he may take the troops around to General Howe; certain he will either take them there or bring them here.

My dear friend, if you should not hear from me again, which may probably be the case, remember that I have given you this account of our situation, and do not suffer my reputation to be murdered after having been sacrificed myself.

The prospect may clear up yet, for all this.

Council of General Officers, held at Ticonderoga, on Friday, the 20th of June, 1777.

Present—Major-General Schuyler, Major-General St. Clair, Brigadier-General Roche de Fermoy, Brigadier-General Poor, and Brigadier-General Patterson.

General Schuyler requested the council to take into consideration the state of this post, with respect to the number of troops necessary for its defense, the disposition of the troops and mode of defense, the state of the fortifications, and the quantity of provisions that may be depended upon.

The council having taken into their most serious consideration the several matters stated in the first article, are clearly and unanimously of opinion:

First—That the number of troops now at this post and Mount Independence, which are under two thousand five hundred effective rank and file, are greatly inadequate to the defense of both posts.

Second—That both posts ought, nevertheless, to be maintained as long as possible, consistent with the safety of the troops and stores.

Third—That if it should become necessary to evacuate one or the other of the posts, and that it remains in one election which, that it ought to be the Ticonderoga side.

Fourth—That such cannon and stores as are not immediately necessary on the Ticonderoga side, be removed without delay to Mount Independence.

Fifth—That the fortifications and lines on Mount Independence are very deficient, and that the repairing the old and adding new works ought to claim immediate attention; and that the engineers be direected to repair and make the necessary fortifications.

Sixth—That the obstructions in the lake, to prevent the enemy's naval force from getting into our rear, and thereby cutting off all supplies, or preventing a retreat, if such a measure should unhap-

pily become indispensably necessary, ought to be completed with all imaginable dispatch.

Seventh—That so much remains to be done effectually to complete the obstructions, that, with the few troops we have, there is no great probability it can be done in less than six weeks.

Eighth—That, although our forces may be adequate to maintain our ground on Mount Independence, yet, unless a sufficient stock of provisions can be thrown in before the arrival of the enemy, we having now only thirty-nine days' provisions of meat kind, we think it would be imprudent to expose the army to be made prisoners by the enemy; and that, therefore, it is prudent to provide for a retreat; to effectuate which, that all the bateaux now at this post be immediately repaired, and as many as can be spared out of Lake George be brought hither.

Ninth—That a quantity of provision of the meat kind should, if possible, be immediately forwarded from Albany or elsewhere.

Tenth—That immediate application be made to his Excellency General Washington, for a reinforcement to be sent on with all possible expedition.

(Signed,)

Philip Schuyler,
Arthur St. Clair,
Roche de Fermoy,
Enoch Poor,
John Patterson,

General Schuyler to General St. Clair.

Fort George, *June* 24, 1777.

I arrived here yesterday afternoon, and am now busied in arranging matters a little, that stores may be forwarded with more regularity than heretofore.

In a day or two you will receive all the pork and salted beef now at this post, fifty barrels only excepted. Eighteen barrels are only come from Albany since March last. When the pork and other articles are sent on, the flour will come in the large schooner only, until you can have more time and spare cattle to transport it from the landing to the saw-mills. Seven barrels of tar go over to-day, and two of iron, with all the tents that are arrived here, together with four boxes of axes, and about three hundred bushels of peas, and about twenty new bateaux. These should be carried across the soonest possible, and not suffered to be used. The remainder will come on from day to day.

Pray, oblige me with your commands for whatever you may need for public or private use.

GENERAL ST. CLAIR TO GENERAL SCHUYLER.

TICONDEROGA, *June* 24, 1777.

Dear General:—Sergeant Heath, who I sent down the lake to make discoveries, returned last night, and informs me that on Tuesday last he saw two birch canoes going down the lake with sixteen Indians and three white men in them, and supposes it was the party that had done the mischief near the lines the day before. That from a place near the mouth of Otter Creek, he saw three vessels, under sail, beating up, one at anchor about one mile above Split Rock, and the Thunderer behind it. From this place he likewise descried an encampment of the enemy on both sides of Gilliland's Creek; that, from the appearance of it, and the extent, he thinks it must contain a great body of men, and that number of smokes arose at a distance back, which he supposes was from the encampment of the Indians. That on Friday last, from Pointon, he saw twenty bateaux come out of Gilliland's Creek, and sail up the lake past the Split Rock towards Ticonderoga; that one of the inhabitants, in whom he could place confidence, informed him that the Indians were very numerous; that they frequently cross to the east side of the lake, and that a party of them had been at his house a few minutes before his arrival; that he then returned to Otter Creek, where he proposed to have halted to refresh his party, but, on being informed that a large party of Indians were at one Briton's, he made the best of his way here. One of his party this day fell behind a little, and was either taken or deserted; he suspects the latter, because he both waited for him, and sent back to look for him; that one Webb, another inhabitant, informed him that the enemy had been four or five days at Gilliland's; that they came up with a vast number of bateaux and some gondolas; that some of the troops come over frequently, and say their whole army is there, and that they are only waiting the arrival of the rest of their vessels and stores, when they are to attack this place.

I have no doubt that a party of the enemy are at Gilliland's, nor that their design is to come here, but not in my opinion to attack, but to harass us, and give confidence to their savages, who, it is more than probable, would not have been prevailed upon to undertake it without being joined by some regular troops.

Were they in force, it is improbable they would waste time at

such a distance, in a part of the country where they can find nothing to refresh themselves; and I do not find that they have made any depredations on the east side.

It is not easy to judge of a force at a distant view of an encampment, and Heath must have been six miles or more distant from that on Gilliland's Point, a distance too great to determine any thing with precision, although he had a glass to assist his eye. Besides, I think the ground is not capable of encamping a great number (for he insists on it they are not on high ground, but upon the beach only), but of this you are a much better judge than I, as I never saw it but once. Be the matter as it may, I shall endeavor to guard against surprise, and to discover both them and their designs; and, if opportunity offers, feel their pulse a little.

I had all the ground between this and Crown Point, from the lake some distance over the mountains, well examined yesterday with a heavy scout, but they discovered no enemy, nor appearance of any. Whitcomb says he is certain that there has not been any Indians, but three, in that quarter since the prisoners were taken, and that it was three or four days since these three had been there; so that the Indians said to have been about us were, I believe, the children of a disturbed imagination.

You had an exceedingly bad time to cross the lake, but I hope you got well over, and without any injury to your health, though it must have been exposed, as I doubt if you were not obliged to be out a second night. I shall write again to you by express the moment I make any farther discoveries.

COLONEL JAMES WILKINSON TO GENERAL GATES.

TICONDEROGA, H. Q., *June 25th*, 1777.

My Dear General:—I have not as yet, nor shall I in future, omit one opportunity of communicating to you every material occurrence in our department; if my letters, therefore, should not reach you, do not accuse me of negligence or ingratitude, but ascribe this circumstance to that insatiable gulf, which has ever swallowed up all intelligence either to or from this post.

The enemy by gradual movements, which have been duly transmitted to General Schuyler, last evening arrived at Crown Point with some vessels and a part of their army, who have encamped on Chimney Point. We are induced to believe from a morning gun, which was repeated down the lake, that their whole force is at

band, and as they have lately taken several prisoners, and the neighboring inhabitants have had free access to this camp, I am persuaded they will obtain a true state of our weakness, which will indubitably precipitate their operations: in which case the post is inevitably lost, for if we risk a battle the inferiority of our numbers (without a miracle, which *we sinners* have no right to expect) will subject us to defeat and captivity; and if we retire to Mount Independence, the scantiness of our provisions will subject us to reduction by famine, as the enemy, when in possession of this side of the lake, can easily remove the obstructions up the south bay, and by their fleet cut off our communication from Skenesborough. The militia are at our command, but should we call them in, immediate *starvation* is the consequence, as General Schuyler has lately assured us that we have no right or reason to expect more than three hundred barrels of meat in addition, and we can not subsist our present small garrison longer than seven weeks with what is on the ground. The distance from whence our supplies are derived, and the difficulty of transportation, both tend to embarrass us. In this cruel situation what can be done? The most laudable measure, in my opinion, would be to remove our heavy artillery and stores, and the convalescents and invalids of the army, to Fort George. Being then light and unincumbered, we might, if hard pushed, effect a retreat to that post, which would enable us to check the enemy's progress; on the contrary, should we attempt to support this place in our present deficient situation, we lose *all*, and leave the country defenseless and exposed. What, then, will there be to obstruct their favorite scheme —a junction by the North River? Nothing that I can discern. You remember the state of arms I transmitted you on my first arrival here; I am sorry to inform you that they are not now better in quality, or superior in number. Our men are harassed to extreme weakness by fatigue, and the strong guards which we are now obliged to establish will in a little time quite break up their spirits and constitutions. If fortitude, if enterprise, if perseverance or temerity could avail, I would not complain; but, in the name of Heaven, what can be expected from a naked, undisciplined, badly armed, unaccoutered body of men, when opposed to a vast superiority of British troops?

What can be done, the great St. Clair will effect; but such is the weakness of our numbers, that he can not form any plan of defense. Of the two, I prefer death to captivity; but be the event as it will, I shall not disgrace my acquaintance.

General Schuyler has been here a few days, but is now in Albany.

GENERAL ST. CLAIR TO GENERAL SCHUYLER.

TICONDEROGA, *June 25th*, 1777.

Dear General:—I informed you yesterday that an encampment of the enemy had been discovered at Gilliland's Creek; last night two of their vessels came up to Crown Point, and this morning there are seven lying at that place; the rest of their fleet is probably but a little lower down, as we hear their morning guns distinctly at different places; they also debarked some troops, and encamped upon Chimney Point; whether they have landed at Crown Point or not, my scout-boat did not discover, not daring to venture far enough down the lake, on account of the shipping; but I have sent out a scout on this side, which, I doubt not, will bring a just account of their situation. I can not help repeating to you the disagreeable situation we are in, nor can I see the least prospect of our being able to defend the post, unless the militia come in; and, should the enemy protract their operations, or invest us, and content themselves with a simple stockade, we are infallibly ruined.

I have thoughts of calling for the Berkshire militia, which are nearest to us, and will probably be the most alert to come to our assistance, because they are in some measure covered by this post, but on that I shall consult the other general officers. This, however, is clear to me, that we shall be obliged to abandon this side, and then they will soon force the other from us, nor do I see that a retreat will, in any shape, be practicable. Every thing, however, shall be done that is possible, to frustrate the enemy's designs, but what can be expected from troops ill armed, naked and unaccoutered?

I shall write you again as soon as the scout returns.

GENERAL SCHUYLER TO GENERAL ST. CLAIR.

SARATOGA, *Thursday Morning, June 26th*, 1777.

Dear General:—Your favor of the 24th was delivered to me last evening. If the enemy should not mean a furious attack on your post, their movement is probably calculated to cover an attempt on New Hampshire, the Mohawk River, or to cut off the communication between Fort George and Fort Edward, or, perhaps, all these. I wish you, therefore, to keep a small scout on the east side of the lake, near the road leading from St. John's to New Hampshire, and others as far west as the road leading to the north branch of Hudson's River.

I have dispatched an express to Congress, to General Washington, and have entreated the latter to afford us a reinforcement. Pray let nothing be left at the landing, and the bateaux be brought over as soon as possible, that your retreat may not be cut off, should you be unable to maintain your post. I can not learn that any troops are arrived at Albany. I shall hasten to that place to forward on whatever I can, and to be in the way to bring up the militia, if necessary. God bless you, and believe me, etc.

GENERAL ST. CLAIR TO GENERAL SCHUYLER.

TICONDEROGA, *June 26th*, 1777.

Sir:—This moment I have received information from Hoite, of Otter Creek, that a large party of Indians and Tories are gone up that creek, supposed to be five hundred, and are designed to cut off the communication by Skenesborough. They took a pair of oxen from one of the inhabitants, and drove them about two miles above Middlebury Falls, where they halted the day before yesterday, and killed and dressed the cattle; and it is supposed that to-night they will be at the new road, near Castleton, which is twenty-eight miles from hence, and twelve or fourteen from Skenesborough. They reported that a very large party were gone on the west side of the lake, to fall upon Fort George. They are said to consist of a thousand Indians and Canadians. We have also had, just now, another attack at the mills. We have two men killed, two taken, and two wounded—one mortally. The scene thickens fast, and Sunday next, it seems, is fixed for the attack on this place. We must make the best of it we can, and I hope at least to cripple them so as they may not be able to pursue their fortune, should it declare in their favor. I sent a party down last night to reconnoiter them, who are not yet returned, which gives me some uneasiness. I hope, however, they are safe, and will bring me some intelligence of consequence. I have some thoughts, if they are not numerous, of attacking them. If they get the worst, it will oblige them to recall their parties; if not, there will be too many left to become prisoners. I have sent to the Grants, to inform them of the Otter Creek party, and to desire that all they can possibly spare of the militia may be ready to march at a minute's warning.

GENERAL ST. CLAIR TO GENERAL SCHUYLER.

TICONDEROGA, *June* 28, 1777.

Dear General:—My scout on which I depended much for intelligence, is not yet returned, nor, I fear, ever will now. It consists of three men only, the best of Whitcomb's[1] people, and picked out by him for that purpose. The woods are so full of Indians, that it is difficult for parties to get through. I shall send off Whitcomb himself presently, for intelligence I must have, although I am very loath to put him upon it, lest he should fall into the hands of the enemy, who have no small desire to have him in their power. I sent Colonel Warner to the Grants, yesterday, to raise a body of men to oppose the incursions of the savages that are gone by Otter Creek, and have ordered him to attack and rout them, and join me again as soon as possible. I am very happy to find that the country have been apprised of the march of that party, before Warner got to Skenesborough, as it may probably prevent their success, and may end in their ruin. We are going on with the necessary works on the Mount as fast as possible, and have removed the most valuable of the stores and provisions on the other side. The bridge is in very little more forwardness than when you left this place, to appearance, though they tell me that to-day will finish getting timber for it. The boom is likewise placed, but very feebly secured for want of rope for the cables. A party of Bradford's arrived yesterday in good season, and had a pleasing effect upon our people, who, never the most lively or gallant, began to show signs of dejection already. How they may hold out, God knows, but this has raised their spirits a little. I could wish that the bateaux were all over soon, or that you would not send them. I am extremely apprehensive that the enemy will possess themselves of the landing; in which case they may fall into their hands. We can not venture the teams now without a strong guard, and so many parties as we are obliged to make with the fatigues, will very soon wear down our men. We can do nothing but form conjectures about the force of the enemy, for I can not find a single person on whom I can depend to venture amongst them for intelligence; but from their manner of beginning the campaign, I conclude they are either in full force or very weak, and hope, by letting loose the Indians, to intimidate

[1] Captain Whitcomb was a noted scout, and was relied on to select men to act as spies, etc.

us. I incline to believe the last, but have, as yet, no certain rule to go by; however, we must know soon, and it is said they have marked to-morrow to attack. I beg leave to refer you to Colonel Varick for further particulars, who takes the charge of this letter.

GENERAL SCHUYLER TO GENERAL ST. CLAIR.

ALBANY, *June* 28, 1777.—11 o'clock A. M.

Your favor of the 25th instant is this moment delivered to me. It seems as if the enemy mean a real attack on your post. I shall move the militia of this State as soon as I can collect them, and dispatch messengers to the Eastern States for as many as they can send.[1] The militia from Tyrone county I shall order to be kept in readiness to protect the Western frontiers, having just received intelligence that Sir John Johnson is on his way to attack us in that quarter.

God bless and protect you, and the troops under your command. I shall exert myself to afford you every assistance I possibly can.

Your favor of the 26th is just come to hand. I have dispatched a copy of it to General Washington, and to the Council of Safety of this State. The orders for the militia to march up are already expedited.

GENERAL SCHUYLER TO GENERAL WASHINGTON.

ALBANY, *June 28th*, 1777.—11 o'clock A. M.

Dear Sir:— . . . I am this moment favored with a letter of the 25th instant, from General St. Clair, a copy whereof I herewith transmit. Should an accident happen to the garrison of Ticonderoga, and General Burgoyne make a push to gain the south part of the lake, I know of no obstacle to prevent him; comparatively speaking, I have not a man to oppose him; the whole num-

[1] General Sehuyler wrote on the same day to the President of Massachusetts Bay, saying: "Our garrison at Ticonderoga is greatly inadequate to the defense of the extensive works on both sides of the lake, and I have unhappily no troops to reinforce them." "I have written to the committee of Berkshire, and requested them to call upon the adjacent counties and districts in that State and Connecticut. Should the militia turn out with spirit, I am in hopes we shall be able to baffle the enemy." But the militia did not turn out, and nothing was done to aid in defense until after the evacuation of the posts, and the people feared the British more than they regarded their own comfort.

ber at the different posts at and on this side of the lake, including the garrison's of Fort George and Skenesborough not exceeding seven hundred men, and these I can not draw away from their several stations; in every one of which they are already much too weak. It is, therefore, highly necessary that a strong reinforcement should, without delay, be sent me. If the sloops are not yet sent to bring the troops, your Excellency has ordered to be kept in readiness at Peekskill, I shall push them off without delay. As it is not probable that we shall in time be supplied with field pieces from the eastward, I must entreat that the reinforcements may bring some up with them. I have this moment also received a letter from Mr. Deane, the Indian interpreter, extracts whereof I inclose you. As the information tallies exactly with what I had before, it leads me to conclude that an irruption will be made from the westward. I shall apply for the aid of the militia of this and the neighboring States, but I fear it will not be very powerful, as many must be necessarily left at home. I have received a letter from the Commissary-General, which I think neither so temperate or decent as it should be. I shall take the first leisure hour to transmit you a copy, with my answer, in which I believe it will be evinced from authentic returns, that the scarcity of provisions in this department is, in a great measure, if not altogether, to be imputed to a want of attention in the persons whose duty it was to supply this department.

P. S.—I have sent express to General Putnam to hasten on the troops your Excellency had ordered to be in readiness for this quarter. Since writing the above, I have received another letter from General St. Clair, a copy whereof is inclosed. I am in pain about Fort George, but have no troops to throw in, and some time will necessarily elapse before the militia can be got to march.

General St. Clair to General Schuyler.

Ticonderoga, *June* 30, 1777.—1:30 o'clock.

Dear General:—This morning some of the enemy's gun-boats appeared at the Three-Mile Point, when the alarm was given. We could see them disembark a number of men, and the boats increased to eighteen, which are now lying abreast from the hither side of the Point to about half-way across the lake. The bateaux in which they transported their troops are not come in sight, lying on the far side of the Point, under cover of it.

Soon after their landing, a party, chiefly Indians and Canadians, pushed towards our lines. As we had a scout down the lake at the time of their arrival, I immediately sent out two parties to support them and bring them off. The scouts fell in with the enemy, and after a few shots, in which they say some of the Indians were killed, they, being overpowered by numbers, dispersed, and part of them have got in, and I have little doubt but the greatest part of them will yet make their appearance. It is probable, however, that some of them have fallen into their hands. We have had one or two alarms before this, but it was occasioned by their boats coming up near our guard-boats, and their firing upon them.

My people are in the best disposition possible, and I have no doubt about giving a good account of the enemy, should they think proper to attack us; and if the person I mentioned to you in my last pursued the opportunity that now presents itself, they will go back faster than they came on. He has above a thousand men.

General St. Clair to Lieutenant-Colonel Hay.

[Instructions.] TICONDEROGA, *July* 1, 1777.

Sir:—I wish you to go with the party ordered to escort the wagons to-morrow to Lake George Landing, and direct the loading of the most valuable and necessary articles first, which will be delivered at the hither landing and embarked on board the scow, which must be sent up for that purpose, and forwarded to this place. The wagons will then return, and bring what remains to camp, under the convoy of Colonel Cockburn, who I wish to consult with you about every thing necessary. You will order Captain Hutchins, who commands at the landing, after every thing is removed, or can be removed, to fit out and man all the bateaux at the landing, or as many of them as his and Lieutenant Lyford's party can manage, and proceed with them to Fort George, taking for the signal of their departure the burning of the block-houses and mills at the hither landing, which you will direct the officer commanding there to execute and retreat to the lines, forming the rear guard for Colonel Cockburn. I wish as many of Lieutenant Lyford's party to return here as possible; but if the landing of the bateaux demand them, they must all go, and they and Captain Hutchins' party return to this place by Skenesborough or the lake, as either communication may be open.

Any bateaux that can not be carried off from the landing must be destroyed.

GENERAL ST. CLAIR TO GENERAL SCHUYLER.

TICONDEROGA, *July* 1, 1777.

Dear General:—Not finding a convenient opportunity to send off my letter, I have the pleasure to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 28th. The success of General Washington over General Howe is an event of such importance as must destroy every prospect of the enemy's carrying their plans into execution, should they succeed here. I have ordered a *feu-de-joie* upon the occasion, and will find some way to communicate the intelligence to the enemy. They have now two ships, eighteen gun-boats, and three sloops, lying off the Three-Mile Point, and they are forming a camp upon the point, and retrenching it. This does not look like their being strong. Other matters I hope to manage to-morrow morning, but can not be particular, for fear of accidents.

P. S. This moment I have discovered that they are throwing a boom across the river. Bravo![1]

GENERAL ST. CLAIR TO GENERAL SCHUYLER.

TICONDEROGA, *July* 2, 1777.

Dear General:—Yesterday at noon, in the very instant of the *feu-de-joie*, which consisted of thirteen pieces of cannon (the musketry might have discovered to the enemy our numbers), forty-one bateaux appeared off the Three-Mile Point, crossed the lake, and landed troops on the east side, in the bay formed behind the Long Point, opposite to the Three-Mile Point. I observed them very attentively, and am certain they did not contain, on an average, above twenty men. It is not improbable, however, that part of the troops transported in them from Canada may have landed on the western side, so low down as to be out of our sight, and I am rather inclined to think this the case, from their camp extending a considerable distance down the lake, and its being much too large for the number of men we saw embark at the Point.

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[1] The hope now was that Burgoyne had few troops with him (and the great precaution taken in throwing up works gave color to the theory), in which case the defense of Ticonderoga would seem to be practicable.

I am in great pain for the bateaux and stores at the landing. We can not possibly get them over (the enemy having possessed themselves of Mount Hope), without risking such large detachments as must oblige us to come to action in the open field, which would not be altogether prudent. I had ordered a party to bring them off this morning, but the escape of some of the cattle, and the stupidity of the drivers, retarded us so much that day appeared, and it was then too late to attempt it. The design was, therefore, laid aside, and a party sent to reinforce the party at the landing, with orders to take back the stores to Fort George, and all the bateaux, destroying the block-house and such bateaux as they might not be able to carry off. At the same time, I sent orders to the block-house at the mills, which has been attacked several times, and was surrounded yesterday all day, for the officer to set fire to it and the mills, and to retire to camp, which he has this moment effected. The party gone over with the boats I have desired to return to Skenesborough. It will be of the utmost importance to secure that communication, which I have no doubt of your being able to do; and when the Grant people come in, I hope to keep open that by Castleton. A party of them, with cattle, should have been here yesterday. I hope no accident has happened to them.

The inhabitants who live between this and the bridge, I found it necessary to bring within the lines, and have now sent them to Skenesborough, with directions to Captain Grey to forward them to Albany by the first opportunity. I do not know that they are our enemies, but they are certainly not our friends, and when the enemy first presented themselves they were through their houses, and they gave us no intelligence of them.

I am still of opinion that the enemy have no great force here, but whether the whole of their army may as yet come up I am not certain, but last night they fired their evening gun from three different places, further down the lake than their post at Three-Mile Point. A little time will clear up this matter. I am not sufficiently acquainted with this country to form any judgment how a body of men can be sent out to our relief, in case the enemy possess themselves of the shores of the lake above Mount Independence, which they certainly will by means of their savages; but if they can be brought by land in their rear, a small party would oblige them to quit the lake, and consequently leave the communication open.

JAMES WILSON TO GENERAL ARTHUR ST. CLAIR.

PHILADELPHIA, 3d *July*, 1777.

My Dear General:—Doctor McKenzie sets out for Ticonderoga; I embrace, with pleasure, the opportunity of writing to you by him.

Some time ago, the enemy advanced from Brunswick as far as Somerset Court-house. It is probable that their design was to push for Philadelphia; this, at least, was believed, and the belief produced the best effects. The militia of New Jersey turned out with the greatest rapidity; and, to a man, the citizens of Philadelphia agreed to suspend their disputes about the Constitution and to join unanimously in every measure proper for repelling the enemy and defending the State. General Washington kept his strong encampment at Middlebrook. The body under General Sullivan, consisting of militia and reinforcements of Continental troops from the southward, was increasing very fast at Coryell's Ferry. General Howe thought it proper to retire from Somerset to Brunswick, from Brunswick to Amboy; and lately, from Amboy to Staten Island. These different movements have produced frequent skirmishes, with the advantage generally on our side; once, on that of the enemy, if gaining three field-pieces from us and losing, according to the best accounts, a much greater number of men than we lost, can be called an advantage. Concerning the future views of the enemy the sentiments expressed here are very different. Some think they mean to push up the North River; others, that they will make an irruption into New England; others, that they will come round by sea to Delaware; others, that they know not what to do. Indeed, I think it probable that their plan for the campaign, if they had a plan, is very considerably deranged. We hear of no reinforcements worth mentioning being arrived from Europe.

As to the politics of Pennsylvania, they are not in the situation I would wish. If a regular system was formed between General Howe and the friends of our Constitution, his motions could not have been better timed for them than they have been in two different instances. When an opposition has been twice set on foot, and has twice proceeded so far as to become formidable, he has twice, by his marches toward Delaware, procured a cessation. The Assembly have twice taken advantage of it to promote *their own* purposes, though those in the opposition generously, and like true patriots, have suspended it, while the approach of the enemy were dreaded. The Assembly, just before their adjournment, and just after their laudable instance of conduct was exhibited, have branded

themselves in a public address to the people, with carrying on their opposition in a manner improper under *any* government. They have agreed, however, at last, to take the sentiments of the people with regard to a convention.[1] What will be the event, I am uncertain. They have *one* useful quality; it would be a virtue if exerted for a good purpose. I mean, industry. This is much wanted on the other side. As the sense of the people will not be taken till after the next election, I have some expectation that their eyes may be opened to see their true interest by that time.

I long much to hear from you. What I intimated to you long ago has happened. I hope you will be happy. I know you will be useful at Ticonderoga. A good correspondence, I have every reason to believe, will subsist between General Schuyler and you. If he is at Ticonderoga, please to present my compliments to him.

COLONEL SETH WARNER TO THE CONVENTION OF THE STATE OF VERMONT AT WINDSOR.

RUTLAND, *the 2d of July*, 1777.

Gentlemen:—I have last evening reciev'd an Express from the General Commanding at Ticonderoga who informs me the Enemy have come on with seventeen or eighteen Gun Boats, two large Ships, several Sloops and other Craft, and lie at the three Mile Point, and the General expects an attack every Hour.—the Enemy put to land on sd Point, and they have had a skirmish, but the General informs me to no great purpose. Orders me to send for the Militia to join him as soon as possibly they can get there, from this State, and the Massachusetts and New Hampshire. I have sent an Express to Col. Simons, went off last night. Col. Robinson and Col. Williams is now at Hubbardton waiting to be join'd by Col. Bellows who is now with me. When the whole join they will make in No. about 7 or 800 Men. I know not where to apply but to you to raise the Militia on the east side of the Mountain.[2] Shall

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[1] Popular sentiment was averse and compelled a rescinding of the resolution. A convention was not secured for several years.

[2] The Vermont Convention took immediate action to apprise New Hampshire and Massachusetts. After an explanation of the express, Governor Bowker added: "Therefore, as the matter nearly concerns the liberties of the United States in general, this House flatter themselves that their forwarding this intelligence may not prove unacceptable. The militia from this State are principally with the officer commanding the Continental army

expect that you send on all the men that can possibly be raised, and that you will do what lies in your Power to supply the troops at Ticonderoga with Beef, as, if the siege should be long, they will absolutely be in want of meat kind except the country exert themselves—if 40 or 50 head of cattle could be brought on with the Militia they will be paid for by the Commissary on their arrival. The safety of that consists much on the exertions of the Country, them lines are so much in want of Men. I should be glad a few hills of corn unhoed should not be a motive sufficient to detain men at home, considering the loss of such an important Post can hardly be recover'd. I am, Gentlemen, in the greatest respect your most obedient and very humble serv't, SETH WARNER.

P. S.—I am this moment a going to mount my Horse in company with Col. Bellows for Ticonderoga. I left Col. Robinson at Hubbardton this morning.

That you may have wisdom to conduct in the business for which you are called together is the prayer of S. W.

GENERAL ST. CLAIR TO GENERAL SCHUYLER.

TICONDEROGA, *July* 3, 1777.

Dear General:—Our picket was attacked yesterday two or three times, in which we lost five men killed and two or three wounded. The enemy's loss we are not apprised of, but we have one prisoner of the Forty-Seventh regiment, and two deserters from the corps of Jagers. The prisoner was very sulky, and would give no information whatever; but by disguising an officer, a countryman of his, and confining him in the same room with him, with the help of a little rum, we got out all he knew, which we have here inclosed, as also the examination of the deserters. Two men came in from the Grants last night, and returned. I have wrote very pressingly for the people to come on, and for the present leave the cattle to be brought up by those who succeed them. I think it is probable Warner will fall in with the foreigners, who are all on the east side

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at Ticonderoga; the remainder on their march to that distressed post. It appears to this House from the various information from thence, and the personal acquaintance of many of the members thereof of the particular circumstances which attend our friends there at this present time, that every prudent step ought to be immediately taken for their relief." Vermont's quota, led by Warner and Francis, reported promptly, but nothing was heard from the other States.

of the lake; the British troops upon the west. Excuse this scrawl; I am so much in want of sleep that I am nodding as I write.

THE EVACUATION OF TICONDEROGA AND MOUNT INDEPENDENCE.

At a council of general officers, held at Ticonderoga July 5, 1777, present, Major-General St. Clair, Brigadier-Generals Roche de Fermoy, Poor, Patterson, and Colonel-Commandant Long:

General St. Clair represented to the council that as there is every reason to believe that the batteries of the enemy are ready to open upon the Ticonderoga side, and that the camp is very much exposed to their fire, and to be enfiladed on all quarters; and as there is also reason to expect an attack upon Ticonderoga and Mount Independence at the same time, in which case neither would draw any support from the other; he desired their opinion, whether it would be most proper to remove the tents to the low ground, where they would be less exposed, and wait the attack at the Ticonderoga lines—or whether the whole of the troops be drawn over to Mount Independence, the more effectually to provide for the defense of that post. At the same time the General begged leave to inform them that the whole of our force consisted of two thousand and eighty-nine effectives, rank and file, including one hundred and twenty-four artificers (unarmed), besides the corps of artillery, and about nine hundred militia, who have joined us, and can not stay but a few days.

The council were unanimously of the opinion that it is impossible, with our force, to defend Ticonderoga and Mount Independence, and that the troops, cannon and stores should be removed this night, if possible, to Mount Independence.

Second—Whether, after the division of the army at Ticonderoga have retreated to Mount Independence, we shall be in a situation to defend that post, or, in case it can not be defended, if a retreat into the country will be practicable.

The council are unanimously of opinion that, as the enemy have already nearly surrounded us, and there remains nothing more to invest us completely but their occupying the neck of land betwixt the lake and the East Creek, which is not more than three quarters of a mile over, and possessing themselves of the narrows betwixt that and Skenesborough, and thereby cutting off all communication

with the country, a retreat ought to be undertaken as soon as possible, and that we shall be very fortunate to effect it.[1]

ARTHUR ST. CLAIR,
ROCHE DE FERMOY,
ENOCH POOR,
JOHN PATTERSON,
PIERSE LONG.

GENERAL ST. CLAIR TO JOSEPH BOWKER, PRESIDENT OF THE CONVENTION OF THE STATE OF VERMONT.

COLONEL MEAD'S, AT OTTER CREEK, *July 7th*, 1777.

Sir:—I was honored with your favor of the 2d instant this day. The exertions of the Convention to reinforce us at Ticonderoga, merit my warmest thanks, though they have been too late to answer the good purpose they intended. Finding that the enemy were ready for the attack, and it was morally impossible we could maintain the post with our handful of troops, and at the same time considering how necessary to the States it was to preserve our army, small as it is, it was determined in a council of the general officers that the posts on Ticonderoga and Mount Independence should be evacuated, and a retreat attempted to Skenesborough, by the way of Castleton, and that every thing we could remove, with the sick, should be taken by water to the same place, covered by the armed

[1] "Soon after I had despatched the letter, which I did myself the honor to address to your Excellency from Stillwater, I met with Lieutenant-Colonel Hay, Deputy Quartermaster General, who was at Ticonderoga. He informed me that on Saturday it had been agreed upon to retreat from Ticonderoga and Mount Independence; that between two and three o'clock on Sunday morning, General St. Clair, with the rest of the general officers and the army, marched out of the lines at Mount Independence; that Colonel Long, with about six hundred men, embarked aboard our few vessels, and in bateaux; that just before they arrived at Skenesborough they were overtaken by the enemy's vessels and gunboats, and were obliged to abandon the vessels, in which we lost all our ammunition. . . . The troops of Colonel Long are arrived at Fort Ann. Where General St. Clair is, with the main body, I have not yet learned. Colonel Hay imagined he would come by the way of Skenesborough. If so, he will fall in with the enemy, who have taken possession there."—*General Schuyler to General Washington, July* 7, 1777. *Sparks' Corresp. of Rev.*, Vol. I., p. 393.

General St. Clair, hearing of the enemy being at Skenesborough, changed the direction of his march, as will be seen by the letter following, but for several days both General Washington and Schuyler, receiving none of the letters sent by messengers, were in great anxiety as to his fate.

vessels. This was accordingly attempted the night of the sixth, and in part executed, though not so perfectly as I could have wished, with respect to the stores, owing to the confusion that naturally attends operations in the night, and to the want of that regularity that nothing but discipline and experience can give troops, and just at break of day the army got on their march, unperceived by the enemy, although they were all around us, and should have effected it perfectly, had it not been for the burning of a house, whether from accident or want of thought I can not say, but it served to inform the enemy of our retreat, and a party of them were on the Mount before the whole of our people had got off of it. They did not attempt, however, to pursue us, but only fired a few shots from the heights, which did us no damage. We pursued our route to Castleton, which we reached last night, with the main body, having met on our way a party of the enemy, who had been collecting cattle in the country. These were immediately dispersed, and a few prisoners taken. Colonel Warner, with about a thousand men, stopped six miles short of Castleton, where he was attacked this morning. The event of the action I can not as yet ascertain, the accounts are so various from the persons who have come in; but I believe it has been pretty severe on both sides. I am now on my march to Bennington, which place I am obliged to make on account of provisions, the enemy having last night possessed themselves of Skenesborough, of which I got intelligence this morning, which determined me to take the road for that place, and there I beg that the reinforcements coming on by Number Four may be sent, as I shall immediately march from thence for the North River, and endeavor to throw myself betwixt the enemy and the inhabitants, and prevent Mr. Burgoyne from penetrating into the country.

I must beg that all the flour that can be got may be sent forward.

I have wrote to the first commanding officer of the militia to take the shortest road to Bennington, with directions to send the same orders to such others as may be already on this side Number Four.

GENERAL ST. CLAIR TO GENERAL SCHUYLER.

DORSET, *8th, July*, 1777.—9 o'clock.

Dear Sir:—About an hour ago I received your favor of yesterday. I wrote you from Ticonderoga, the night before we left it, to inform you that I intended to march to Skenesborough by way of Castleton, and from thence to Fort Edward; but when I got to Castleton I found the enemy were in possession of Skenesborough, which obliged me to change my route.

On the march to Castleton, we fell in with a party, commanded by Captain Fraser, who had been collecting cattle in the country. These were immediately dispersed, and a few prisoners taken; but, being reinforced by a strong detachment from Ticonderoga, they attacked, in the morning, the rear-guard of our army, who had imprudently stopped six miles short of the main body, and were, I believe rather surprised;[1] notwithstanding which, they made a very

[1] "As soon as General Burgoyne discovered our retreat, . . . he dispatched Brigadier-General Fraser, supported by Major-General Reidesel and a German corps, in pursuit of the main body. . . . General Fraser, after a vigorous pursuit, encamped several miles in the rear of Warner, but renewed his march the next morning, and about seven o'clock reached Hubbardton, just as Warner had paraded his men to follow General St. Clair, who was under arms, waiting his arrival, when the firing commenced, which was confined to small arms. Two militia regiments, which were exceedingly insubordinate and seditious, had, the preceding evening, taken a diverging path, and encamped three or four miles in our rear. The first thought of the general was to support Warner by those corps under the command of Colonel Bellows; for which purpose his aids-de-camp, Majors Dunn and Livingston, were hurried off with positive orders and assurances of support. He then ordered the troops to be told off, and the officers posted for action, and he was exhorting them to courageous conduct, when I perceived a manifest repugnance in a corps to turn about and march upon the enemy. Even one of the brigadiers was open in his opposition to the measure. In the meantime, Majors Dunn and Livingston met the militia under Bellows, hurrying away from the scene of the action to the main body, and, finding them equally deaf to commands and entreaties, they pushed forward towards the field of battle, which they had nearly reached, when they met our troops flying from the enemy, and were informed by Captain Chadwick, a gallant officer who had been engaged, that the conflict had terminated, which, being warranted by the cessation of the fire, they returned to the general and made report.

"Colonel Warner was a hardy, valiant soldier, but uneducated, and a stranger to military discipline. His insubordination at Hubbardton exemplifies the danger and misfortunes which attended the disobedience of military commands; for, if he had obeyed the orders he had received, our corps

obstinate defense, and, I have good reason to think, killed and wounded a great number of the enemy. As they were at too great a distance from me to support them, I sent orders to Colonel Warner, who commanded the party, in case he found himself too hard pressed, to retreat to Rutland and join me. He is not yet come in, though I have heard that he is coming in with about a hundred men; and a great part of the other regiments, except Hale's, have already joined us.

I am in great distress for provisions. If I can be supplied at Manchester, I shall proceed directly for Fort Edward, or Saratoga, as circumstances may direct; if not, I shall be obliged to go to Bennington. I account myself very happy in effecting this retreat, as the loss of the army, small as it is, would have been a blow that this part of the country would have felt severely, and that must inevitably have happened in a very few days. Adieu, my dear general; I hope to see you soon, or things in a better train.

GENERAL ST. CLAIR TO JONAS FAY, SECRETARY STATE OF VERMONT.

COLONEL MARSHE'S, *July 9th*, 1777.

Sir:—I have just now received a letter from General Schuyler, directing that Colonel Warner's regiment, with the militia of your State, should be left for the protection of the people; and I have by this conveyance wrote to the Colonel to acquaint him thereof. The General also desires that all the cattle may be drove further down than where it may be thought proper that Colonel Warner take post, and that all the carriages which may be of use to the enemy be brought off or destroyed. He also desires that all the cattle in condition for killing may be sent out by a safe route to Fort Edward, where he now is with some Continental troops and militia. A large reinforcement from Peekskill are on their march from Albany to join him, and, if I can be supplied with provision at Manchester, I shall also join him with the utmost expedition, where we shall have force sufficient to check the progress of the enemy. Your Convention have given such proofs of their readiness to concur in any measure for the public safety, that it would be impertinent to press them now; I will only repeat the request I made

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would have been united, and, as the discipline of the enemy could have availed them little in a mountainous country covered with wood, we should infallibly have dismembered, and, probably, captured the flower of the British army."—*Wilkinson's Memoirs*, Vol. I., p. 187.

before, that the militia from the eastward, marching by No. 4, may be directed to take the shortest route to join the army.

P. S.—Previous to the receipt of your letter of the 6th inst., I had directed the militia of your State that were with me to remain at Rutland for the protection of the people, until your Convention should direct otherwise, and am pleased to find myself in sentiment with them, and with General Schuyler. The militia that can be raised in your country will, I think, keep the people in security, for in my opinion they have little to fear except the depredations of a few Indians. Fort Ann was attacked the day before yesterday, and the enemy repulsed with considerable loss.

[True copy, examined by Israel Allen, Secretary.]

GENERAL ST. CLAIR TO GOVERNOR BOWDOIN.

MANCHESTER, *July* 9, 1777.

. . . .

I have just time to mention the receipt of your obliging letter of the 20th ult., which came to hand this moment. As the evacuating Ticonderaga must have alarmed the country, and raised their curiosity at the same time, permit me to give you some account of that matter, with the reasons that induced me to propose it to the other general officers.

The garrison consisted of about thirty-three hundred men, of whom two thousand and eighty-nine only were fit for duty, many of those mere boys, altogether incapable of sustaining the fatigues of a soldier, naked and ill-armed, not above one bayonet to every tenth man; the place nearly invested, and their batteries completed; and, from the intelligence of my spies, the investiture was to be completed on Sunday last, the day we left it, when all possibility of retreat or support would be cut off. The loss of this army, small as it is, was the inevitable consequence, and would have been a very great misfortune, much greater, in my opinion, than the loss of the post, as there would have been nothing left for the militia to collect to, in this quarter, to stop the progress of an enemy flushed with conquest. I therefore determined to attempt a retreat whilst it was practicable, but previously consulted the other general officers, who were unanimously of opinion that it ought to be attempted without loss of time.

We accordingly prepared for it that night, and having, in the course of the night, embarked as many of our stores and provisions

as possible, marched off at break of day. We should have got off altogether unperceived by the enemy, had it not been for the accidental burning of a house, and the desertion of two men, of the artillery, who, in the hurry, went off with a small boat to the enemy. The rear of our army evacuated Mount Independence as the front of the enemy entered. They exchanged a few shots, but did not offer to pursue, which I ascribe to their being the Brunswickers that took possession. A considerable body, however, were sent up a creek that enters some distance in the country, who, next morning, attacked our rear guard; they defended themselves very well, and, though obliged to retreat, killed and wounded a great many of the enemy; since which we have seen nothing of them. My design was to have marched to Skenesborough, but the enemy had got before me, which obliged me to change my route, and bear this way, on account of provisions, which I shall be able to obtain to-morrow, when I shall proceed, with every possible dispatch, to join General Schuyler at Fort Edward, where I hope we shall soon have an army of force sufficient to stop the progress of Mr. Burgoyne.

The force of the enemy is seven British regiments, eight foreign ones, and a number of Indians and Canadians. On the whole, I think myself very happy to make my retreat from under their nose.

GENERAL ST. CLAIR TO JOHN HANCOCK, PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

FORT EDWARD, 14*th July*, 1777.

Sir:—Congress may probably think it extraordinary that so much time has elapsed before they heard from me, after a step of so much consequence as the evacuation of the posts that had been entrusted to my care; but it was not in my power to write whilst on the march to this place. I am sorry to find that my letter to General Schuyler, the night the evacuation took place, has not come to his hands, as, for want of that, though he has, doubtless, informed Congress of the event, he could not give them the reasons that induced it—they were these: Seeing the posts of Ticonderoga and Mount Independence were nearly invested, and having intelligence by my spies, that they would be completely so in twenty-four hours, when we should be cut off from the possibility of succor; that the batteries of the enemy were ready to open, and the whole of our encampment on the Ticonderoga exposed to their fire. Considering, at the same time, the weakness of the garrison; that the effective numbers were not sufficient to man one-half of the works, and that,

consequently, the whole must be upon constant duty, which they could not possibly long sustain, and that, of course, the places with their garrisons must inevitably, in a very few days, fall into the enemy's hands, I saw no alternative but to evacuate them and bring off the army; whereupon, I called the general officers together, to take their sentiments. They were unanimously of opinion that the places should be evacuated without the least loss of time; and it was accordingly set about that night, the fifth instant. After embarking in the boats as much of our cannon, provisions, and stores as was possible, the boats were ordered to Skenesborough, and I sent Colonel Long, an active, diligent, good officer, to take the command there, with his regiment and the invalids, until I should join him with the army, which was to march to that place by the way of Castleton. The body of the army reached Castleton the next evening, thirty miles from Ticonderoga, and twelve from Skenesborough; but the rear guard, under Colonel Warner, which, with the stragglers and infirm, amounted to near twelve hundred, stopped short of the place six miles, and were next morning attacked by a strong detachment the enemy had sent to hang on our rear and retard our march. Two regiments of militia, who had left us the evening before, and halted about two miles from Colonel Warner, were immediately ordered to his assistance, but, to my great surprise, they marched directly down to me; at the same time I received information that the enemy were in possession of Skenesborough, and had cut off all our boats and armed vessels. This obliged me to change my route, that I might not be put betwixt two fires, and, at the same time, be able to bring off Colonel Warner, to whom I sent orders, if he found the enemy too strong, to retreat to Rutland, where he would find me to cover him, that place lying at nearly equal distances from both. Before my orders reached him, his party was dispersed, after having for a considerable time sustained a very warm engagement, in which the enemy suffered so much that they pursued him but a small distance. Our loss I can not ascertain, but believe it does not exceed forty killed and wounded. About two hundred of the party joined me at Rutland and since, but great numbers of them are still missing, and I suspect have gone down into New England by the way of Number Four. After a very fatiguing march of seven days, in which the troops suffered much from bad weather and want of provisions, I joined General Schuyler the twelfth instant.

It was my original plan to retreat to this place, that I might be

between General Burgoyne and the inhabitants, and that the militia might have something round which to collect themselves; it is now effected, and the militia are coming in, so that I have the most sanguine hopes that the progress of the enemy will be checked; and I may yet have the satisfaction to experience that, by abandoning a post, I have eventually saved a State.

Perhaps I may be censured by those who are unacquainted with the situation I was in for not sooner calling the militia to my assistance. I think I informed Congress that I could not do that for want of provisions; and as soon as I got a supply I did call for them, and was joined by near nine hundred the day before the evacuation; but they came from home so ill-provided that they could not, nor would not, stay with me but a few days. The two Massachusetts regiments of militia likewise, which composed part of the garrison, gave me notice that their time expired in two days, and then they intended to go home. In vain did I beg of their officers to exert every influence they had over them, and from their subsequent behaviour, I am fully persuaded the officers were most to blame. They kept with me, however, for two days; but their conduct was so licentious and disorderly, and their example beginning to affect the Continental troops, I was constrained to send them off.

Inclosed you will find a copy of the council of war, in which is contained the principles upon which the retreat was undertaken. As I found all the general officers so fully of opinion that it should be undertaken immediately, I forbore to mention to them many circumstances which might have influenced them, and which I should have laid before them had they been of different sentiments; for I was, and still am, so firmly convinced of the necessity as well as the propriety of it, that I believe I should have ventured upon it had they been every one against it.

I have the utmost confidence in the candor of Congress, and persuade myself that, notwithstanding the loss they have sustained, when they have impartially considered I was posted, with little more than two thousand men, in a place that required ten thousand to defend it; that these two thousand were ill-equipped and worse armed (not above one bayonet in ten, an arm essential in the defence of lines); that with these two thousand I have made good a retreat from under the nose of an army at least four times their numbers, and have them now between the country and the enemy, ready to act against them, my conduct will appear, at least, not deserving of censure.

P. S.—The enemy's force, from the best accounts, is three thousand five hundred British, four thousand Brunswick and Hesse-Hanau, two hundred Indians and two hundred Canadians.

GENERAL ST. CLAIR TO GENERAL WASHINGTON.

FORT EDWARD, 17*th July*, 1777.

Sir:—Your Excellency's letters of the 12th and 13th instant,[1] to General Schuyler, have been by him communicated to me. Considering that my letter to him of the 5th, the day before I left Ticonderoga, was not delivered, and one I wrote to him whilst on the march to this place has miscarried, and that your Excellency has had no intimation of the motions and destination of our army, I do not wonder that you should have some doubts about the propriety of my conduct, though it gives me a very painful sensation to know myself, but for a moment, the subject of a doubt with you. I have, however, the strongest hopes, when your Excellency comes to be fully informed of our situation and force, you will not condemn me; and, although I am not solicitous about the opinion of the world (though very far from disregarding it), I wish to hold a character with your Excellency something more than merely negative. Returns of the strength of my garrison were regularly transmitted to General Schuyler, and by him, no doubt, to you. By them, your Excellency will see that our force consisted of little more than two thousand effectives. With these, I had lines and redoubts of more than a league in extent to defend. Judge how poorly they could have been defended by these numbers, had they been perfected, which they were very far from being. In fact, they were not defensible at all from the Ticonderoga side, unless the enemy would have been so complaisant as to attack us in front of the old French lines, and take no notice of the flanks of them, which were both open. We had, last year, nine thousand men at these posts,

[1] "It is astonishing, beyond expression, that you have heard nothing of St. Clair and the army under him. I am totally at a loss to conceive what has become of them. The whole affair is so mysterious that it even baffles conjecture."—*Washington to Schuyler, July* 13*th*.

"Joined to the unfortunate reverse that has taken place in our affairs, I am happy to hear that General St. Clair and his army are not in the hands of the enemy. I really feared they had been prisoners."—*Washington to Schuyler, July* 15*th*.

If the evacuation had not taken place, St. Clair and his troops would have been prisoners—the thing Washington most feared.

and they were found barely sufficient for the defense of the works. The system was a little altered this season, but not so as to make a smaller number answer, but to make a greater number necessary. The enemy had nearly invested us, nothing being wanted to complete it but their occupying a narrow neck of land betwixt East Creek and the lake, on the Mount Independence side. This, I had information, would certainly take place in the course of the next twenty-four hours, and had been left open so long only with a view to intercept any cattle that we might bring in from the country, and then our communication would have been effectually cut off. We could have received neither supplies of provisions nor reinforcements; for, depend upon it, Sir, the militia of this country can not yet be brought on to raise a siege. But it may be asked why I had not called in the militia to assist in the defense of the posts? For this plain reason—I had not provision for them, and very little prospect of an effectual supply. When I first had notice of the approach of the enemy, there was no more than ten days' provisions in store for the troops then upon the ground. To have called in the militia in that situation, would have been certain ruin. So soon as a supply arrived, although but a scanty one, I did call for them, and about nine hundred joined me the day before the resolution to evacuate the posts was taken. They had come out in such a hurry, and almost entirely without clothes, they did not propose to remain but a very few days at the utmost. The term of Learned's and Wells' regiments, which made part of the garrison, expired also in two days, and the commanding officers had acquainted me that they could not prevail upon the men to remain beyond the time they were engaged for. Your Excellency knows, but too well, the disposition of these people on such occasions. The batteries of the enemy were ready to open in three different quarters, and our whole camp, on the Ticonderoga side, was exposed to the fire of each; and, as soon as they did open, every man I had must have been constantly on duty, as, from our weakness, of which the enemy could not be ignorant, I had reason, every moment, to expect an assault. Judge, Sir, how long we could have sustained it, or whether our resistance must not have been a very feeble one indeed, especially when you take into the account that a great number were mere boys, and that not more than a tenth part were furnished with bayonets. Revolving these circumstances in my mind, I was at no loss to determine what part I ought to take; but I thought it prudent to take the sense of the other general officers. A copy of the council has been transmitted to your Excellency by

General Schuyler. They were unanimously of the opinion that the posts ought to be evacuated immediately; wisely, in my judgment, considering that a retreat, even with the loss of our cannon and stores, if it could be effected, would be of infinitely greater service to the country, and bring less disgrace upon our arms than an army, although a small one, taken prisoners, with their cannon and stores. I was fully in sentiment with them, and believe I should have ordered the retreat, if they had been of a contrary way of thinking. But here, again, it may be asked why, when I found myself in the situation I have described, I did not retreat sooner, when every thing might have been saved. I have only to answer that, until the enemy sat down before the place, I believed the small garrison I had to be sufficient. The intelligence that Congress had received, that no serious attempt in that quarter was intended, as it gained credit with them, I never doubted, and was unwilling to be the occasion of drawing off any part of your army, as your operations might thereby be rendered less vigorous; and I knew, too, that you could ill spare them. Besides, until the case became so urgent that I had no alternative but the evacuation of my posts, or the loss of the army, it did not lie with me to determine upon. The retreat was begun a little before day, on the 6th instant, unperceived by the enemy, after having embarked as much of the stores and provisions, and as many of the cannon as was possible in the course of one very short night; and our march would probably have been unperceived for some time, if General Fermoy's house had not been set on fire. How that happened, I know not. I had previously given orders against burning any of the buildings, that our march might be the longer concealed; but it served to the enemy as a signal of our leaving the place, and, in consequence, they were upon the Mount before our rear was clear of it, and fired a few times upon it, but without effect.

Colonel Long,[1] with his regiment and a detachment from the other regiments, and the invalids with the hospital, were sent to

[1] Pierse Long, a shipping-merchant, of Portsmouth, N. H., where he was born, in 1739. He was a delegate to the Provincial Congress in 1775, and Colonel of the First New Hampshire Regiment 1776. He performed the part assigned him by General St. Clair upon the occasion of the evacuation of Ticonderoga, faithfully, and repulsed the pursuing enemy successfully. He was a delegate to Congress 1786–89; delegate to the State Constitutional Convention in 1788, and was the first Collector of the port of Portsmouth, appointed by President Washington. He died while the incumbent of the office, April 8, 1789.



Skenesborough by water; while I took the road to the same place, through Castleton, with the body of the army. As the enemy were at least four times my numbers, I had nothing for it but a forced march, and I pressed it as much as possible, and reached Castleton that night, thirty miles from Ticonderoga, having, on our way, fallen in with and dispersed a party of the enemy, from whom we took twenty head of cattle, three British prisoners, and five Canadians.

The rear-guard, under Colonel Warner, which, with those that had failed upon the march, amounted to a thousand, imprudently halted six miles short of Castleton, and wasted so much time in the morning that they were overtaken and surprised by a strong detachment from Ticonderoga, which had been sent up the East Bay, which runs into the country very near the place where he was. They sustained the attack with great bravery, but were finally obliged to give way, with the loss of about fifty killed and wounded. On the first of the firing, I sent orders to two regiments of militia, who had left me the night before, and were lodged within two miles of Colonel Warner's post, to move up to his assistance, which, had they done, that party would have been cut off. But, instead of that, they made all possible haste to rejoin me, and, at the same instant, I received the account of the enemy's being in possession of Skenesborough, and having taken and destroyed every thing that had been sent there.

I was then constrained to change my route, both that I might avoid being put between two fires, and that I might be able to bring off Colonel Warner. I, therefore, sent him orders to retire to Rutland, where he would find me to cover him. A considerable part of his detachment joined me at that place, and he, with about ninety more, two days afterwards, at Manchester. A great many are still missing, though few, I believe, have fallen into the enemy's hands, as they did not pursue Colonel Warner but a very small distance, and, from all accounts, suffered much in the action. The Ninth Regiment followed Colonel Long towards Fort Ann, and were almost entirely cut off. I have dispatched officers to Bennington, and Number Four to pick up the stragglers, who, I suppose, have taken these routes to New England; and, on the 12th instant, I joined General Schuyler at this place, after a very fatiguing march. Thus, Sir, I have laid before you, without the least reserve, every thing I can recollect respecting Ticonderoga, and the retreat from thence. Happy should I be if my conduct therein meets with your approbation; and I can, with the strictest truth, affirm I was actuated by

no motives but what sprang from a sincere regard for the public welfare.

GENERAL ST. CLAIR TO JOHN JAY.

MOSES'S CREEK, *July 25th*, 1777.

Sir:—General Schuyler was good enough to read to me part of a letter he received last night from you. I can not recollect that any of my officers ever asked my reasons for leaving Ticonderoga; but, as I have found the measure much decried, I have often expressed myself in this manner: "That as to myself I was perfectly easy; I was conscious of the uprightness and propriety of my conduct, and despised the vague censure of an uninformed populace;" but had no allusion to an order from General Schuyler for my justification, because no such order existed.

The calumny thrown on General Schuyler, on account of that matter, has given me great uneasiness. I assure you, Sir, there never was any thing more cruel and unjust, for he knew nothing of the matter until it was over, more than you did at Kingston. It was done in consequence of a consultation with the other general officers, without the possibility of General Schuyler's concurrence; and had the opinion of that council been contrary to what it was, it would nevertheless have taken place, because I knew it to be impossible to defend the post with our numbers.

In my letter to Congress from Fort Edward, in which I gave them an account of the retreat, is this paragraph: "It was my origina design to retreat to this place, that I might be betwixt General Burgoyne and the inhabitants, and that militia might have something in this quarter to collect to. It is now effected, and the militia are coming in, so that I have the most sanguine hopes that the progress of the enemy will be checked, and I may have the satisfaction to experience that, *although I have lost a post, I have eventually saved a State.*"

Whether my conjecture is right or not, is uncertain; but, had our army been made prisoners, which it certainly would have been, the State of New York would have been much more exposed at present.

I proposed to General Schuyler, on my arrival at Fort Edward, to have sent a note to the printer to assure the people he had no part in abandoning what they considered their strongholds. He thought it was not so proper at that time, but it is no more than what I owe to truth and to him to declare that he was totally unacquainted with the matter; and I should be very glad that this let-

ter, or any part of it you may think proper to communicate, may convince the unbelieving. Simple unbelief is easily and soon convinced, but, when malice or envy occasions it, it is needless to attempt conviction.

JOHN JAY TO GENERAL ST. CLAIR.

KINGSTON, 28th *July*, 1777.

Sir:—Your letter of the 25th of July, which does no less honor to your candor than justice to the reputation of General Schuyler, was very acceptable. Agreeably to what I apprehended to have been your intention, I have sent it to the press, and flatter myself the purposes for which it was written will be fully answered.

The evacuation of Ticonderoga was an event very unexpected, as well as important, and has given occasion for much speculation and discontent. How far it was necessary or prudent can only be determined by gentlemen acquainted with the forts, grounds about them, and strength of both parties, and many other circumstances essential to a proper discussion of that subject. I hope the expediency of the measure may, contrary to general expectation, derive proof from the event; and that the determination of the general officers on that head may, on inquiry, be found undeserving the censure it at present meets with.

GENERAL ST. CLAIR TO GOVERNOR JAMES BOWDOIN.

CAMP AT MOSES'S CREEK, *July* 28, 1777.
(About Five Miles below Fort Edward.)

Sir:—I see, by the Boston paper, that you have given my letter[1] to the public; though I am sorry to see, at the same time, some very illiberal reflections upon it.[2] It is often the lot of people in

[1] Letter dated from Manchester, ninth of July, giving hurriedly an account of the evacuation. It was printed in "*The Boston Gazette and Country Journal.*"

[2] The editorial comments were such as able editors are wont to make on *ex parte* evidence when impressed that their journals are the palladium of the liberties of the people. "Notwithstanding what has been said of the small number of our troops there," said the *Gazette*, "we have ground to believe, upon authority of gentlemen of capacity and character, and who had the best opportunity of knowing, that there were upwards of four thousand effective men in the garrison." Having thus, upon anonymous

trust to meet with censure where they have really merited praise, if events have not answered the public expectation. I do not pretend to say whether this was my case or not; but it is very ungenerous to take it for granted that it was otherwise. However, the public, I hope, will be soon satisfied in a more eligible method than discussing the matter through the channel of a newspaper, which is seldom a proper one; in the present instance highly imprudent, as it lays our weakness open to the enemy, and if the Generals are blameless, destroys the public confidence in them, and may go a great way towards having the same effect upon the army. I thank God this has not yet happened with the army, who are so perfectly sensible of the integrity and propriety of my conduct, that the field and other officers have, almost to a man, (although they were not consulted upon the evacuations), declared if I was censured for the measures I had taken, that they would quit the service. I knew the genius of them too well to intrust them with a design, the success of which depended entirely upon the secrecy with which it was executed. This may look like a reflection upon the officers; but there is so much familiarity betwixt them and the soldiers, that there is nothing comes to their knowledge but is very soon after in every quarter of the camp.

The colonel who complained so bitterly of his marching two days in the rear is Marshall, and has sent his correspondent a parcel of infamous falsehoods.[1] The troops never wanted provisions. Beef they had in plenty. We brought off with us some cattle that had arrived the day before; and we took twenty from a party of the enemy the first day's march. A man that can not live two or three

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authority, disproved the statement of the commanding general, and convicted the muster officers of false returns, the editor wants to know why (the enemy being known upon the same undoubted authority to be less than six thousand) a "pass, exceedingly strong by nature, and greatly fortified by art, should have an army to defend it equal in number to the assailants?" And judgment is at once pronounced against the Generals. What matter if the post, instead of being a strongly fortified pass, consisted of irregular breastworks very extensive, and indefensible except by having fifteen thousand men to man the lines; and that the enemy were in possession of heights overlooking these completely, were such facts to stand against the "authority of gentlemen of capacity and character?"

[1] A correspondent of the *Gazette*, writing from Manchester, claimed that he held a command at Ticonderoga; that he received no warning to leave, and that he "marched in the rear of the army for two days and nights without victuals or drink, except brook water." These falsehoods were exposed in a caustic communication to the *Gazette*, by Colonel Wilkinson. The reader will find it in full in his *Memoirs*, Vol. I., p. 199.

days on plenty of good beef is very unfit for a soldier. It, perhaps, does not become me to say it, but the retreat was made in as orderly and soldier-like a manner as was possible with raw, undisciplined troops. As to the attack upon Colonel Warner, who commanded the rear-guard, he halted, without my knowledge, six miles short of Castleton; which was the place marked for the halt of the whole army that night. At such a distance, it was impossible for me to support him; but the moment the firing began I ordered Bellows' and Alcott's regiments of militia, who had left me the night before and halted two miles from Colonel Warner, to move up to his assistance. Had they obeyed my orders, it is probable the enemy might have been repulsed; though we now know the party that attacked him consisted of two thousand men, composed of the grenadiers and light infantry of the army, commanded by General Fraser. The inquiries about the arms of the troops I should think General Heath could very well satisfy. He must know in what situation he sent them off, and whether they were clothed or not.[1] Public jealousy is a virtue; but it may be carried to an extreme, and then it becomes a vice. If it is not vicious, it is extremely uncandid, to condemn a man upon mere assumption, when they have neither proper information, nor, it may be, are capable of forming a judgment upon military matters. However, I bear all the abuse that is very plentifully poured forth upon me, with as much *sang froid* as possible, happy in the consciousness of my own innocence, and a full persuasion that my character and conduct will soon be put in its true point of view, as I have demanded an inquiry both from General Washington and Congress. I must own, however, that I am hurt by the accusation of treachery. As to want of spirit, no man in command that wanted spirit ever possessed the confidence of his troops; and in that respect I am bold to say, I have always been fortunate enough to be both beloved and respected. I beg pardon for troubling you with so much about myself; but the first painful sensation undeserved-censure occasions is not yet quite worn off; and I have given you the former detail, that you might

[1] "I join the view in thinking there ought to be an inquiry after the arms and clothes you mention, for they really never reached Ticonderoga; though your interrogations on that head are improperly directed and maliciously pointed.

"Believe me, sir, if virtue or justice has existence, the man who stands condemned for retreating from Ticonderoga, will, ere long, be thanked for the salvation of three thousand men, who, instead of being in captivity, are now opposing our enemy."—*Colonel James Wilkinson in reply to the Boston Gazette.*

be able to make some answer to well-meaning people, who may be glad to be truly informed. The numbers, however your people may be imposed upon, will be found exactly as I stated them; as I have been lucky enough to save not only the general returns, but those of the individual regiments, under the signature of their respective Colonels; though I don't know whether I mentioned three regiments of militia, making about nine hundred men, officers included, who joined me the night before I left Ticonderoga, but who did not propose to stay more than two or three days at the utmost; nor that two militia regiments of your State, which composed part of my garrison, were to leave me the day I retreated, their times being expired, and they could not be prevailed on to stay any longer.

We are here tolerably posted, waiting the approach of the enemy, though far inferior in numbers. It was found necessary to dismiss one-half of the militia on account of the harvest; and a great part of the remaining half have followed them. Those from Connecticut are gone, to a man; but in a day or two we shall be joined by General Glover's brigade, when we shall be able to make some head, if the enemy should come on in force, which I think they dare not venture, as Colonel Warner has now a respectable body at Manchester, which may fall either upon their rear or flank. The ammunition was, every ounce, sent off from Ticonderoga, and as much of the provisions as we had boats for; but a great part of the ammunition fell into the hands of the enemy by the vessel on board of which it was unluckily running aground. Colonel Long deserves all the praise he receives. He is an active, vigilant, brave officer.

I beg the favor that you will present my best compliments to Mrs. Bowdoin.

Colonel Thomas Hartley to General St. Clair.

Camp Howell's Ferry, New Jersey, *July* 31, 1777.

Dear General:—Your friends here are very sorry you have been so ill-supported in the Northern Department. Your garrison was too small to maintain the important pass of Ticonderoga. A few battalions of your Southern friends, who served with you the last campaign, might have been of consequence. It is the practice of the world to censure our misfortunes and point out defects, when the censurer would not have acted so well had he been in the same situation. I believe but few gentlemen in the army blame you,[1]

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[1] It is not practicable to find room for all of the messages of indorsement

but the pen of the malignant and envious has been made use of against you. Some of their performances I send you in a newspaper. Were you present, many doubts could be cleared up. It is cruel to asperse the character of such a gentleman, at such a distance, unheard. So much noise has been made that you will doubtless think it prudent to have a public examination. As you have some enemies, you can not be too careful in having any facts alleged well attested, as you are conscious yourself of having acted for the best. I hope you will not be uneasy. Should the army march toward Philadelphia, some of your friends will make a few queries.

We have, as yet, no certain intelligence of the place where the fleet has sailed to, but suppose it to be southward. If they attempt Philadelphia we shall be apt to finish the campaign with them there. I make no doubt you will be able to stop the approach of Burgoyne and his savages.

General Schuyler to General St. Clair.

Albany, *August 9th*, 1777.

Dear Sir:—The situation of affairs in the western quarter will detain me[1] at least until to-morrow. Fort Schuyler [Stanwix] is invested, and has been for some days.

I can not learn that a man is moved from the Massachusetts or Connecticut to our assistance,[2] although they are preparing to come.

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and good-will sent to St. Clair at this time by the best soldiers of the different armies. The following, however, under date of July 23, from the "General Hospital," deserves a place:

Dear Sir:—I received yours of the 20th inst. I am very happy you made your escape in time from Ticonderoga, as I am well assured from the small number of troops you had under your command, you must have fallen a victim to British barbarity. Let the censorious rabble talk as they please. I am happy you don't give yourself any uneasiness about them. You have your enemies, but you have friends innumerable; friends that at any time would willingly share your fate. Your sincere friend,

Saml. McKenzie."

[1] During the absence of General Schuyler, General St. Clair was in command of the army, which then lay at Stillwater. General Arnold had been dispatched to the relief of Fort Stanwix, which was besieged by St Leger.

[2] In the official correspondence of Artemas Ward and other New Englanders, after the evacuation of Ticonderoga, mention is made of reinforcemets for the army ready to march, but after the lapse of a month surprise is expressed that they had not yet appeared.

General Lincoln lay at Bennington last night, and will, probably, join us to-morrow; a few militia from below are coming up.

I have ordered up more bateaux to the forts, to assist in bringing down the stores that are there.

If the enemy are not more numerous than the deserters say, we should repulse them if joined by some more militia. Adieu.

General St. Clair to John Hancock.

PHILADELPHIA, *August 25th*, 1777.

Sir:—Your letter of the 5th, inclosing a resolve of Congress of the 30th of July,[1] I had the honor to receive at Stillwater, and in consequence thereof repaired to headquarters.

However disagreeable it was to be obliged to leave the army at so critical a time, it gave me pleasure that Congress had determined to inquire into my conduct.[2] My character will thereby be placed in its true light, and a stop put, I hope, to that tide of popular abuse that has run high upon me, and been kept up by very disingenuous and base means.

I beg, sir, that you will make my request to Congress that the inquiry be ordered immediately[3]—you must be sensible that, until it is over, my situation is a very awkward one.

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[1] *Resolved*, That Major-General St. Clair, who commanded at Ticonderoga and Mount Independence, be, and he is hereby directed forthwith to repair to headquarters.—*Journals of Congress.*

General Washington to General Putnam, 9th August, 1777:

"Congress have thought proper to call down General Schuyler and General St. Clair, to give an account of the causes of our misfortunes to the northward, and General Gates goes up to take the command."

[2] General Washington to President of Congress, 9th August, 1777:

"I perceive by the resolves for recalling Generals Schuyler and St. Clair, that they are directed to repair to headquarters. I also find that a committee had been resolved on, to digest a mode for inquiring into the reasons for evacuating Ticonderoga and Mount Independence, and into the conduct of the general officers in the Northern Department at the time of the evacuation. As these gentlemen have received the letter upon this subject by this time, and will probably be down in the course of a few days, I shall be glad to be informed what I am to do with them when they arrive. I may be then at a great distance from this, and, in such case, should be at a loss what to say, or how to conduct myself respecting them, without receiving some directions, which I request to be favored with by the earliest opportunity."

[3] That was just what certain members of the Board of War were deter-

Colonel Wilkinson to General St. Clair.

Headquarters, Van Schaick's Island, *September 7th*, 1777.

My Dear Sir:—Your agreeable and very satisfactory favor of the 26th July, has just reached me. I am not at all astonished at the long faces made you, but I very much wonder how they are able to make any face; for I think the man who can sustain the eye of the person he has much injured, is devoid of both sensibility and candor, and I much fear our councils are not exempt from such characters, else not one moment's hesitation could be made as to the mode of inquiring into your conduct.

I am distressed and enraged to observe in the public prints, which you must have seen, a letter from General Schuyler to the Council of this State, wrote at Fort Edward previous to our joining him, in which he reprehends the evacuation of Ticonderoga, and asserts that the garrison was five thousand strong.[1] What a strange duplicity of heart does he manifest. He yesterday informed me, "that he had written to Mr. Duane, *desiring him to publish the same*, that you ought not to be blamed for not leaving Ticonderoga earlier, but he had not left that in your power; and so far was he from condemning your conduct, that he heartily applauded it, and should, had he been in your situation, have pursued the same steps which you did." This palpable contradiction to his letter did he utter to me. Make what use of it you can, and be assured I shall be ever willing and ready to support it. I wonder public inquiries had not been made into preceding public misfortunes—such as the loss of Fort Washington, a division being surprised and losing three pieces of artillery, etc. However, God's will be done. I trust the period is not very distant when justice will be done us, and many will be reduced to their former nothingness. . . .

Affairs in this quarter wear the most favorable aspect. The Ben-

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mined should not be done. It was their purpose to drive both Generals St. Clair and Schuyler out of service. The latter became disgusted, and exchanged the army for Congress. St. Clair, however, was kept busy in the field by General Washington, and had the satisfaction of serving his country despite the malcontents. The inquiry was not granted until compelled by a majority of Congress under the leadership of Gouverneur Morris. For particulars, see pp. 92 to 96.

[1]Schuyler's attention was called to this misrepresentation by General Washington, under date of July 15, 1777. See *Writings of Washington*, Vol. IV., p. 493.

nington success[1] has relaxed Mr. Burgoyne's ardor, and has left him less than thirty Indians, the rest having returned home. Since that event he has remained stock still, with his advance on the heights opposite Saratoga, and his main body at Fort Miller. His army, after a moderate deduction for his losses and war posts, can not exceed five thousand five hundred men. General Lincoln is at Manchester, *to co-operate with this army*, with a body of five thousand men, which rapidly increases. I doubt whether this motion will not make an alteration in Mr. Burgoyne's front; however, if this should *fail*, I am sensible we shall find no little efficacy in advancing on the 10th inst. from this quarter with upward of seven thousand combatants eager for action. *As they tell us*, seriously, that the General is determined to advance at this period and give the enemy battle as soon as he can do it on equal ground, the affair must be soon settled; and I really think our numbers and disposition will give us a vast advantage, nay, insure victory. God alone knows when General Schuyler will come down to you.[2] . . .

General Gates begs to be remembered to you, and wishes you here; so does every officer who has had the honor to serve under you, except the famous Marshall, whom I have tried, and now let you know, as I have the army and his country, that he is not only a scoundrel, but an infamous poltroon.

The shocking degeneracy of mankind, and the poor prospect I have of ever being united with the amiable girl[3] in whom my whole soul delights, disgusts me with existence, and will justify me, on the first honorable occasion, in withdrawing from the public service, and seeking that retirement more conducive to real happiness. May the Almighty bless you, my dear friend.

P. S.—Pray acknowledge the receipt of this. General Gates

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[1] For an account of this action, see p. 84.

[2] General Schuyler, Brigadier-Generals Poor, Patterson, and Fermoy, had been ordered by Congress, August 1st, to repair to headquarters. On the 4th August, by direction of Congress, General Washington had directed General Gates to assume command of the Northern Department. The order of the 1st, so far as it directed the brigadier-generals to repair to headquarters, was afterward rescinded on account of protest of General Washington.

[3] After the capture of Burgoyne, when Wilkinson was dispatched by General Gates to apprise Congress of that happy event, he called on his amiable girl *en route*, for which Samuel Adams moved that he be voted a pair of spurs. It is presumed that Wilkinson took a less melancholy view of the world thenceforth.

has lately received letters from Generals Burgoyne and Fraser respecting the prisoners made at Bennington. Burgoyne, *in addition*, complains of the inhumanity of our troops to his Royal Provincials, and says, "if you mean to avoid the horrors of retaliation, you must severely reprehend and strictly prohibit such conduct in future," or of his vengeance be assured.

Burgoyne's complaint is ridiculous; his threat contemned.

Colonel Wilkinson to General St. Clair.

Camp Bemis's Heights, *September 21st*, 1777.

My Dear General:—On the 16th inst., General Burgoyne advanced from Saratoga to Sword's house, and encamped on the heights west of the river; on the 17th and 18th, he was engaged in repairing the bridges in his front.

Early on the 19th, he struck his camp and advanced toward our left. Morgan's rifle regiment, and a corps of two hundred and eighty of Major Dearborn's light infantry, were immediately detached to discover their motions and harass their advance. About a mile from camp, and at half after twelve, they fell in with a picket of the enemy, which they immediately drove, but, the enemy being reinforced, after a sharp fire they were in turn obliged to retire. This skirmish drew the main body of the enemy and Poor's brigade from our camp to support the action, which, with a short cessation, was renewed with redoubled energy and violence, and continued incessant till the end of the day, when our people retired to camp, and the enemy a small distance in rear of the field. Reinforcements which were occasionally detached amounted in all to nine regiments, two of them militia; though Morgan's, Scammel's, Cilley's, and Hale's, of General Poor's brigade, who all behaved inimitably, sustained the principal fire. We are indisputably assured that Burgoyne, who commanded in person, was wounded in the left shoulder;[1] that the 62d regiment was cut to pieces, and that the enemy suffered extremely in every quarter where they were engaged. I inclose you a return of our loss and made prisoners during the action [amounting to three hundred and twenty-one killed, wounded, and missing]. The field was covered by a deep wood on all sides. It was an excellent trap, and our men were quick to take advantage of it.

[1] This was an error, it was Captain Green, aid-de-camp to General Phillips, who was wounded.

General Arnold was not out of camp during the whole action. Pray, my dear General, read the inclosed, and let the amiable object know, the first opportunity, what was accomplished by our troops. General Gates despises a certain pompous little fellow[1] as much as you can, and tells me, confidentially, that nothing could give him so much satisfaction as your presence here, though I find his supporters are, unfortunately, your enemies; hence his silence. As Mr. Burgoyne has no alternative, having destroyed the bridges in his rear, and as the armies are within two miles of each other, he must shortly commence action. We have at this time about six thousand combatants, and the enemy can bring to action about an equal number. I think without some military trick the day will be our own, as that enthusiasm which reigned at Ticonderoga pervades all the eastern troops, and the late severe engagement, instead of damping their spirits, has made them impatient for action.

We are just this moment informed of the success of a descent on Lake George by a detachment from a body of militia under General Lincoln, which was in the rear of Mr. Burgoyne. It was commanded by the famous Colonel Brown. He very dashingly carried the post at the landing and at the saw-mills, took two captains, nine subordinates, and two hundred and ninety-three privates, of the 53d British regiment, and released a hundred and nine prisoners. He had in possession the French lines, and had sent a flag to demand the surrender of the fort, but had no artillery to enforce his demand. He has taken two hundred bateaux, twenty odd gunboats, some armed vessels, etc. A letter you wrote me by a Mr. Hale has by accident been destroyed. I am now more persuaded than ever that the evacuation of Ticonderoga has been the salvation of this Province, perhaps country. I assure you that great credit is given you, and the British and Burgoyne were greatly disappointed by the move. God bless you.

Colonel Wilkinson to General St. Clair.

Camp Bemis's Heights, *October 7th*, 1777.

My Dear General:—General Schuyler, by letter, informed me that your favor to me by a Mr. Hale, was, for fear of it falling into the hands of a party of Tories, whom he met at Hackensack, *destroyed.*

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[1] General Arnold.

Permit me to congratulate you on the loss of Philadelphia, as an event fraught with the greatest good consequences, since many villains, who otherwise would have enjoyed the fruits of our virtuous efforts, will by this test be reduced to the necessity of explaining their despicable principles, which will (as I wish a total expulsion of such *dastardly* unfeeling parricides), I trust, be an unsurmountable bar to their future existence in this country.

Whilst General Howe reigns triumphant in an empty city, General Burgoyne, without resources, and with barely twelve days provisions (at this time) is stopped short in his career, and finds himself unable to proceed, and incapable of retreating without disgrace and ruin. Since the action of the 19th ultimo, he has remained strongly posted, and has labored incessantly on the fortification of his camp, but the exigency of his circumstances must shortly produce something decisive. The *injured* Northern Army will then *generously fly* to the support of the sinking armies.

An unprecedented amount of desertion prevades General Burgoyne's army; notwithstanding bribes, threats, and every military precaution is adopted, they come over daily. We, yesterday, received fourteen, who all agree in the same tale respecting provisions and the defection of the troops. Their flour is entirely Canadian, and miserably manufactured, of which they now receive half a pound per day.

My love to Colonel Stewart.

P. S.—Generals Gates and Arnold have differed beyond reconciliation. As I, too, have a quarrel with the little man, I will not expose his conduct.

The celebrated General Stark, the Bennington hero, by way of gilding his reputation and finishing his character, left the camp at a time when we hourly expected an engagement, and on the day before the action.

Colonel Baldwin to General St. Clair.

Camp Saratoga, *October* 17, 1777.

Dear General:—Give me leave to congratulate you on the important conquest over General Burgoyne and his army. The capitulation and other particulars you will have, by the time this reaches you, by an abler hand. A more complete victory you could not wish for, and I believe, by this time, the people in general have altered their sentiments with respect to the evacuation of Ticonderoga. The officers, and all who I now hear speak about it, say

that a better plan could not have been adopted, and nothing but your leaving that place could have given us the success. Excuse haste.

GENERAL ST. CLAIR TO GENERAL GATES.

CAMP AT WHITE MARSH, *November* 21*st*, 1777.

Dear General:—Though my congratulations on your signal success come rather late, they are not the less sincere. Sickness in my family had called me away from the army, and I was absent when the news of General Burgoyne's surrender arrived, an event glorious to you, and that must be attended with the most happy consequences to America, and it affords me the greatest pleasure, as you were the happy instrument in bringing it to pass. This, my dear General, is not the language of compliment, but of the heart. I am not used to make professions, but I ever shall be interested in your good or bad fortune, as I have not forgotten, nor ever shall forget, the friendship I have received at your hands.

The battle of Germantown happened in my absence. I can give you little account of it. There was strange mismanagement, and it has produced infinite courts-martial, and as we have been inactive ever since, seems to have impressed us with a sense of the superiority of the British troops; that gives me much concern. It is certain our discipline and our numbers, too, are inferior to theirs, but when your victorious troops arrive they will make our scale preponderate; but what can delay them so? Morgan has been arrived above a fortnight.

The fort on Mud Island was evacuated on the 16th instant, at midnight (one of the enemy's ships lying within pistol shot of it at the time), after having sustained a siege of near seven weeks. It is a very singular event that such a thing, the veriest *bicoque* that ever was erected should have retarded the operations of an army of twelve or fourteen thousand men and a great fleet so long. Colonel Smith (a son of your friend, Mr. Smith, of Baltimore), has acquired immortal honor in defense of it. The cheveaux-de-frize are not yet removed, nor will they be, so long as we maintain the Jersey shore, but that I fear will not long be the case, as the troops from New York are landed at Billingsport, and a large detachment from Philadelphia, under the command of Lord Cornwallis, has joined them; Greene, however, with his division, has marched to oppose them, and he has, likewise, Varnum's brigade.

My affair is still in the same situation as when I last wrote you.

I am firmly persuaded it is the intention of Congress to avoid bringing it to trial as long as possible, in hopes that the matter will die away of itself and be forgotten; that, however, is not my intention. I have been pretty constant in my applications for justice to myself, and to my country, and shall continue them until I prevail or they throw off the mask. It is melancholy that a body lately so august, so truly venerable, should, in so short a time, be so visibly altered. If the degeneracy continues (*and when intriguing and cabal takes root in public assemblies it generally continues and increases*), I can not tell what may be the consequences, nor do I like to imagine them; but this is certain, never since this great contest began had we more need of upright, unoorrupted, wise and disinterested counsels and counselors, for we are arrived at the crisis, or very near it. This train of thought does not arise altogether from what has happened to myself, but from a retrospect of the causes that have brought us to a situation, in which we can with great difficulty get either forward or backward.

This moment I have a letter from the President, covering the following very extraordinary resolve:

"*Whereas, the committee appointed to inquire into the causes of the loss of Ticonderoga and Fort Independence have not yet been able to collect materials and make their report: Resolved, that Major-General St. Clair be at liberty to attend to his private affairs until he shall have notice to attend headquarters, in order to an inquiry into his conduct.*"

Judge, now, sir, what I ought to think of them, for I made no such application as this would indicate, or whether the suspicion I threw out above is not but too well founded. If they had candor or common honesty, they would have owned that, after five months spent in searching for an accusation, they had been unable to find one—one, at least, that they dared to own; and, instead of commanding me to retire from the army, which is the English of the resolve, with all the ignominy upon my head that they had unjustly endeavored to fix there, could have acknowledged their error, and done what was in their power to remove it; but many of them are incapable of *a generous sentiment or action in private life; and a public station, by making men more acquainted with the views and frailties of others, confirms and increases their own*; a trial, however, they shall give me; be the event what it will, they can not rob me of that heartfelt satisfaction which is the companion and reward of virtuous actions.[1]

[1] For an account of the cowardly and unjust course of Congress, or the Board of War, in the application of St. Clair and Schuyler for a hearing,

I shall leave the camp to-morrow, but shall not cease to pray to

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see pp. 92 to 95. The cause of virtue was vindicated in spite of them and the adverse faction. Ten months after the evacuation of Ticonderoga, Washington, having become indignant at the treatment, wrote to the President of Congress that the course of that body was looked upon as "cruel and oppressive."

At last, after fifteen months of effort to find some way out of the dilemma in which it was placed, a committee was appointed to formulate charges based upon the testimony obtained by the committee, at the head of which was John Adams. Only one witness had been found, and he was a disreputable hanger-on of the commissary department, named Jesse Leavenworth. Not an officer or a soldier to aid the prosecution. Leavenworth assured the committee that there were over 5,000 troops in garrison, well armed; plenty of provisions, but there was indifference and neglect. When brought before the court, he swore directly to the contrary on the most important points.

THE COURT-MARTIAL.

Major-General Lincoln, *President.*

Members.

Brigadier-General Nixon,	Colonel Putnam,
Brigadier-General Clinton,	Colonel M. Gist,
Brigadier-General Wayne,	Colonel Russel,
Brigadier-General Muhlenburgh	Colonel Grayson,
Colonel Willis,	Colonel Stewart,
Colonel Greaton,	Colonel Meigs.

John Laurance, *Judge Advocate.*

Court met at White Plains, August 28, 1778.

The judge advocate read the charges and specifications which were to substantiate the first, viz: Neglect of duty, cowardice, and treachery, in abandoning the posts. He called his witness, Jesse Leavenworth, on each charge, and offered, in addition, the correspondence between St. Clair and Schuyler and Jay, above given.

The prosecution having been concluded, General St. Clair began his defense by calling a large number of the officers who had been at the forts, and presented the correspondence in a new and striking light. Of the testimony of the prominent witnesses, we have room only for a few brief extracts.

Major-General Gates being sworn, says:

Some time in April, in the year 1777, I made a requisition from Congress for the defense of the Northern Department, and estimated the troops necessary for that service as follows: Two major-generals; six brigadiers; one battalion of artillery, 600; twenty-five battalions of infantry, 12,500; two companies of rangers, 100; staff, bateaux men, etc., 400; total, 13,600. At that time I did not expect General Burgoyne would have landed between ten and eleven thousand men. If I had, I should have required more men for the defense of that department.

God to avert those calamities to my country that may ever make my feeble assistance necessary.

General St. Clair's Question. During the time I had the honor of serving under you, did you ever discover in me cowardice, treachery, or incapacity, as a general officer?

A. From my long acquaintance with you as an officer, and particularly your usefulness to me as a brigadier-general in the campaign of 1776, it excites my astonishment that there should be such charges as cowardice, treachery, or incapacity exhibited against you. From my knowledge of you, both as an officer and a gentleman, I have the highest opinion of your courage, honor, capacity, and fidelity.

Q. What proportion of these troops ought to be at Ticonderoga and Mount Independence?

A. At Fort Schuyler, 500; the intermediate posts between Albany and Fort Schuyler, inclusive, 500; the posts between Albany and Fort George, inclusive, 600; at Fort Ann and Skenesborough, 300; the remainder at Ticonderoga and its dependencies. Besides these, I expected aid from the militia of the country, having unlimited powers from Congress for that purpose.

Q. (*By Court*). What number of men would you have thought necessary had you been fully possessed of the force of General Burgoyne?

A. Three to two.

Colonel Kosciuszko, sworn:

General St. Clair's Question. Supposing Ticonderoga to have been abandoned, and the enemy to have been in possession of it, would it have been possible to have maintained the works on the point of Mount Independence that were made for the command of the lake and the defense of the bridge?

A. No, as the ground overlooked them about fifty feet.

General St. Clair's Question. Do you recollect where the place from which we got our water was, on Mount Independence side, and the situation of it?

A. On the west side of Mount Independence, on the low ground, near the lake.

General St. Clair's Question. Supposing the enemy had passed some of their vessels into South Bay, would it not have been wholly in their power to have cut us off from the water?

A. The spring would have been exposed to the fire of the enemy.

General St. Clair's Question. Do you recollect the distance from the lake to East Creek, beyond the south end of Mount Independence?

A. About one-half a mile or three-quarters.

General St. Clair's Question. Would it not have been in the enemy's power to have annoyed, from the vessels from South Bay, any troops that might have been marching across the isthmus to the relief of Mount Independence?

A. It would have been in the enemy's power to have done it, on account of the passage being narrow, a thick wood, and the possession of the lake.

General St. Clair's Question. Do you recollect whether any works were

I had a great deal more to say, but this resolve has deranged all my ideas. Adieu, my dear general.

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begun to improve the redoubt on the high ground, on the point of Mount Independence?

A. Yes; by your order I marked out the lines, and prepared the fascines, which was after General Schuyler left Ticonderoga.

General St. Clair's Question. In what condition was the fort upon Mount Independence?

A. It was a picketed fort, only for small arms. Picketed all around; some good and some bad.

General St. Clair's Question. How many men could the fort contain, with convenience, for the defense of it?

A. About 1,000 men.

General St. Clair's Question. What batteries had the enemy erected against Ticonderoga at the time or before the evacuation took place?

A. One battery was erected against the Jersey redoubt, on the opposite side of the lake, about half a mile distant, and on higher ground. They had made some works where they had an encampment, against the French lines, about half a mile or three-quarters distant The enemy had also taken possession of Mount Hope, a retrenched camp, which had been occupied by us the campaign before, by which the communication with Lake George was cut off. They had taken possession of the mill, burnt the block-house, and passed on the other side of the creek, when they took possession of a hill which commanded Ticonderoga and all Mount Independence, and had begun a firing on the sloop that was stationed for the defense of the passage from Lake George. They had also begun some works on a point on the east side of the lake, opposite to the bridge.

General St. Clair's Question. Do you recollect Colonel May's having told me, after I had spoken to the militia at Castletown, that the men would stay, but the officers would not?

A. I do not recollect Colonel May's having told you of it, but I met some of the militia on the retreat, and having expressed my surprise at their not staying to fight for their country, they answered, they were willing to stay, but their officers would not.

Brigadier-General Poor sworn and examined at great length as to the details of the management of affairs at the forts, and after the evacuation. This only need claim our attention, although all is important.

General St. Clatr's Question. Was our force in any degree adequate to the defense of the places?

A. No; I think the places could not have been maintained unless with at least ten thousand good troops, and we ought to have had possession of two hills without the French lines, as also the one on the other side of the lake, known by the name of Mount Defiance.

General Schuyler, being duly sworn:

General St. Clair's Question. What troops had you estimated for the defense of the garrisons of Ticonderoga and Mount Independence?

A. Ten thousand continental troops. I do not know that I mentioned in

P. S.—I am extremely happy at Wilkinson's promotion,[1] and

my letter to General Washington and to Congress that they should be continental troops, but I intended them to have been continental troops.

General St. Clair's Question. Do you think the posts tenable with the force I had?

In answer to this question, General Schuyler produced an extract from a copy of a letter to Congress, dated the 8th of June, 1777, which he says was sent by express to Congress, and was received by them about the 13th of June, but he did not receive any answer to the letter till late in July. The letter put Congress in possession of the weakness of the posts, the paucity of the garrisons, and the want of clothing and provisions. These facts are detailed in the letters above given.

General Schuyler says further, in answer to the question, that when he mentioned in the letter to Congress that between two and three thousand men were sufficient to have maintained Mount Independence, he conceived the post, about which orders had been given the beginning of February to Colonel Baldwin, was far advanced; that the obstruction in the lake was completed; that there were carriages provided for the cannon; that lines were completed, and not by one-half so extensive as he found them.

General St. Clair's Question. Did you ever give me any orders for evacuating these garrisons?

A. No. The reason why I did not give you any orders for evacuating these garrisons was because I had wrote this letter to Congress, and they did not give me any orders about it; and as the Continent conceived them of great importance and very strong, I did not think myself at liberty to give any orders for an evacuation of them.

General St. Clair's Question. Was the defective state in which you found Ticonderoga and Mount Independence owing to any negligence in me, or disregard to the orders I received from you?

A. It could not be owing to any negligence in you, or disregard to the orders you received from me, as you had arrived there but a few days before; nor was it owing to the negligence of any officer who had commanded there in the winter or spring before; nor to the commanding officer of the artillery or the engineer. I conceive it to be owing to a want of men and a want of materials.

General St. Clair's Question. Do you know of any steps taken by the Eastern States to reinforce these posts, after their investure?

A. Immediately on my return from Ticonderoga, I wrote to the Eastern States to hasten on the remainder of the continental troops. Some troops came up in consequence of my application, but did not reach Albany till some time after the evacuation of Ticonderoga. Upon receiving the first letter from you after I returned from Ticonderoga, I applied to the Eastern States, and to this, for reinforcements of militia. The militia from Massachusetts arrived at Fort Edward, I believe, between the 4th and 7th of July. A few from Connecticut did not join us until towards the latter end of July. Those from this State got up much about the same time that the Massachu-

[1] See Note 1, page 463.

thank you very heartily for procuring it. He has great merit, and

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setts did. The Massachusetts militia were up as soon at Fort Edward, and those from this State, as I could reasonably expect them to be. Connecticut, as I was informed by Governor Trumbull, had a call for militia from General Washington to go to the Highlands, or Peeks-Kill. That was the reason that the militia did not join us sooner.

General St. Clair's Question. Did the force you had collected, supposing the garrison to have held out, put you in a situation to have raised the seige?

A. I believe that, with all the troops you brought with you, with the reinforcements with General Nixon, and including all the militia, I had not at Fort Edward, about the 20th of July, more than five thousand men. If the garrison had remained, I should have had no more than three thousand militia, before I was joined by General Nixon, to have marched to its relief, which number I conceive very inadequate to have raised the seige. General Nixon, I believe, arrived about the 12th or 13th of July; but if I had had a force which I might think was sufficient, yet should not have been able to have raised the seige for want of provision, there being scarcely any provision of the meat kind in the department; flour was plenty. Nor was there any stock of provisions of the meat kind laid in—not even a sufficiency of salted meat to have furnished the scouts with. We had not lead in the department sufficient for an army any thing like to have raised the seige with. At Fort Edward, on the 7th of July, we were obliged to strip the men that were there of every cartridge they had to send them to Fort Ann, and were left without any lead for some days, excepting a mere trifle I got from Albany, a very small quantity brought up by the militia, and by stripping the windows.

General St. Clair's Question. Did I not, when it was determined in the council of officers that was held the 20th of June, 1777, respecting the holding of Mount Independence and evacuating Ticonderoga, express my opinion that it would be impossible to hold that post, when the other side of the lake should be abandoned?

A. I remember perfectly well you did.

EXTRACTS FROM THE SPEECH OF GENERAL ST. CLAIR.

General St. Clair began by expressing his gratification that at last his conduct was to be inquired into before "a proper judicatory, and that, after so long a delay and so injurious a discrimination, public justice will be done upon a full, an impartial, and dispassionate examination, and that it will be passed upon by men equal to the task of investigating truth, however artfully concealed, and determining upon the intrinsic merit of military actions, stripped of the glare that is sometimes thrown upon them by success, or the false lights in which they are often placed by adverse consequences."

"The first observation that naturally offers is, that the charges which have been exhibited to this Court have all been founded upon the *ex parte* affidavit of a Mr. Leavenworth, which (in most instances) he has contradicted in open court, and consequently is entitled to no degree of credit, and upon my own letters to Congress and to General Schuyler, the officer who com-

what is, in my opinion, more valuable, *he has a warm, honest heart.* I have known many an arrant knave with considerable abilities.

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manded in chief in the Northern department. It is singular, however, that charges of so high a nature against an officer of my rank should be attempted to be supported (for supported I trust they are not) by no other living witness than Mr. Leavenworth, a private man! a follower of the army! in some of the lowest and vilest occupations! who, if he had had capacity to judge, could not possibly have had proper information; that not an officer of any rank whatsoever has been called upon; and yet, had treachery, had neglect of duty, been committed—had I been inattentive to the progress of the enemy—had the posts in my charge been shamefully abandoned—or had I been guilty of cowardice—they could not have escaped their notice altogether; nay, it was by them only they could probably have been discovered. But this, by-the-by. Previous to any remarks upon, or application of the testimony, I beg leave to inform the Court that, before I left Philadelphia to take upon me the command of Ticonderoga, Congress had received information, which they credited, that the principal part of the enemy's troops in Canada were ordered round by St. Lawrence to join General Howe; that no serious attempt would be made upon Ticonderoga; at most, it would be a diversion only. This was communicated to me by Mr. Hancock, then President, and I have his authority to mention it to this Court. This circumstance will serve as a key to many of my letters, and will account for my doubts about some intelligence I received after my arrival at Ticonderoga. And it appears, from General Poor's testimony, that General Gates had likewise, from them, received the same account."

Charge—Neglect of Duty: In not having evacuated the posts upon receipt of information from two men from Canada (supposed to be spies), and thus have saved the artillery and stores; and in not keeping out reconnoitering parties in force.

"I suspect, sir, the committee who formed these charges had no idea of the nature of a subordinate command. They would otherwise have known that I had no power to form or execute any such resolution, and that my justification for evacuating the posts at all must depend upon the necessity of the case. I did what my duty required me—I gave the earliest notice to the commanding officer of the department, and stood ready to execute his commands. But I am persuaded that, had it been in my power to have taken my final resolution then, and upon the intelligence I had received, I had abandoned the posts, although every thing had been saved which has since been lost, the charges of treachery and cowardice would have been very much louder, and pressed home more strongly, and with more violence, if possible, than in the present case. I should have heard that no decisive operation should be founded on the vague report of prisoners or deserters, often ignorant, almost always ill-informed; but that to abandon a post on the information of persons I suspected to be, and actually were, the enemy's spies, or from the view of an encampment upwards of forty miles off, and that only seen across a lake six or eight miles broad, could proceed from no other than one of those sources, or from perfect stupidity; and this Court, from whom I expect a very different decision, would have joined in that

COLONEL LONG TO GENERAL ST. CLAIR.

PORTSMOUTH, NEW ENGLAND, *November* 25, 1777.

Much Respected and Dear Sir:—My not having the pleasure of

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opinion, and condemned me to the punishment I had justly merited. But, besides all this, if the council of war was to guide, it was out of my power to take any such measure; for the resolution of the council is that both Ticonderoga and Mount Independence are to be held as long as they can be, consistent with the safety of the troops and stores. When the safety of the troops and stores became doubtful, Ticonderoga, not Mount Independence, was to be evacuated.

"Had not the committee been totally ignorant of the nature of the country in which these parties were to act—had they given any attention to the returns of my army, which were before them, or credit to my letters to General Schuyler, of which they had the perusal—this article would never have made its appearance. Had it ever occurred to them that the enemy proceeded by water, and that the only debarkation we hear of was at Gilliland's Creek, forty miles and upwards from Ticonderoga, and that they proceeded from thence by water again, we should not have heard this story of reconnoitering parties, of which I am morally certain they themselves had no determinate idea. My whole army would not have found one party such as they seem to think ought to have been sent out frequently. I have proven that small parties were sent out, not only frequently, but constantly; and although they were but small parties, they were as strong as the state of my garrison, and the works in hand, would allow. It is true, indeed, I obtained by them no certain intelligence of the enemy's force until they landed at Three-Mile Point, nor was it possible before; they possessed neither the gifts of divination, nor walking upon the water; but they could give me information if any part of the enemy's army was advancing by land, and that was all I could expect from them."

The second charge is cowardice, treachery, and incapacity as a General.

"By Mr. Leavenworth's testimony again are these accusations to be supported; not in a direct manner, but by inference and deduction from that part of it which the committee in the above remark say he gave them, viz., 'that the enemy were not annoyed in the advance to, and investiture of, the posts;' but which he in part contradicted here, as I observed before, and which, by Colonel Stevens, General Wilkinson, Colonel Livingston, Major Dunn, and others, I have proven to be false. The inferences of consequence are false likewise, and, of course, the charges groundless. But I believe it is the first instance where charges of a capital nature have been brought against an officer by deduction, without a shadow of proof to support them; and cowardice and treachery are capital crimes, although the committee have directed them to be tried by an article of war to which no capital crime whatever can be referred, having been expressly provided for crimes not capital. I waive, however, any advantage that might be taken of this. My reputation, or my safety, shall never depend upon the blunders of any set of men who may think proper to accuse me, but, when proof is wanting, can-

hearing from you since I saw you at Stillwater, induced me to believe my letter of the 20th September miscarried. To prevent the

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dor will never attribute actions to the worst cause from which they could possibly flow; good nature will ever ascribe them to the best. Hitherto, however, I have experienced very little of either But my birth, sir, my education, my connections, both in this country and in Britain, my station in life, my children (if to these had not been added the habitude of early life), as they were the best pledges, so they should have secured me from the imputation of those most shameful vices, from which the meanest of the people are generally free. But my reputation rests not on that bottom. I am happy in the general good opinion of the army, which is never bestowed upon cowards, nor has all the calumny that I have been loaded with shaken me a single friend. The court have the fullest evidence that on every occasion I have given demonstration of an active, as well as passive, courage; my conduct in that respect has been uniform on all occasions; and this is confirmed by the concurring testimony of many of the principal officers of the army, with some of whom I have been, personally, in almost every action that has happened during the war. From thence they must conclude that, whatever might have been the motives for my evacuating Ticonderoga, it could not have been owing to cowardice, and that the charge is false, malicious, and scandalous.

"Treachery, sir, is a crime it is impossible to prove, positively, not to have been committed. It is, therefore, necessary, in order to fix it, that some actual commission should be proven, but, as this has not been attempted, it is enough, alone, to overthrow the charge. But I beg leave to inform the court that when Congress appointed me to the command of a regiment, I considered it as the call of my country, that could admit of no refusal. I reflected that some knowledge acquired by study, and the service of the last war (during which I was in almost every seige and every action of consequence), put me in a situation to be of some use to our army in its infant state. My country, I thought, had a right to my services, and to every advantage that could be derived from my experience. I, therefore, without hesitation, resigned an honorable and profitable employment I then held under the Crown, to qualify myself for that offered by Congress, notwithstanding it was not of one-half the yearly value. I quitted the sweets of a retirement I was fond of, the pleasures of domestic life, and the care of education, and provision for a rising family (both of which claimed my closest attention), for the toils, the hardships, and the extraordinary expenses of war Had this the appearance of treachery? And yet, for these, I have met with the ungracious return of those cruel accusations, though, surely, they were not the natural returns for such conduct. What further promotion Congress were pleased to confer upon me was wholly unsolicited. I received it with gratitude, determined that my actions should be the best proof of the sense I had of the honor they had done me; nor have I been therein disappointed. My country now reaps the solid advantages of my conduct, whilst I am loaded with obliquy and abuse. I forgive it, however, but I can never forget that the channels of justice have been shut against

like misfortune, this goes under cover of George Frost, Esq., a member of Congress from this State.

I sincerely long to see a publication in the papers of your acquit-

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me, and that for thirteen long, long months, I have been hung up to be stung by the envenomed tongue of malice, and pointed at by the finger of folly. But the sentence of this court will, I trust, place me once more in that honorable point of view from which I have not deserved to be removed, having been careful to observe that maxim of Horace—

Nil conscire sibi, nullâ pallascere culpa![1]"

But the committee again return to the point of evacuating the posts, and declare that it ought to have taken place when the enemy reached Three-Mile Point [General St. Clair established the fact that in April Congress had declared that, unless the Eastern States came to the relief of the garrisons, the posts would be lost. Then, why did not Congress, the supreme power, order the evacuation?]. General St. Clair continued.

"Sir, had a retreat been attempted upon the enemy's landing at Three-Mile Point, and the steps pursued which the committee have enumerated above, it is impossible, in the nature of things, but the army must have been cut off, or fallen prisoners into their hands. But, by our putting a good face upon the matter, and showing a determination to hold both posts, they were induced to divide their force, in order to invest us, and reduce by the more slow but certain method of regular approach; not that this method was necessary to them, for they might most certainly have carried us by assault at any time. But assaults are frequently very bloody things, and on that circumstance I chiefly depended for rendering my small garrison serviceable to their country. I was in hopes the enemy would assault us, and some accounts that I had, that they were short of provisions, gave me some reason to expect it. I depended upon my troops; I was persuaded they were brave, and I believed they, too, had confidence in me. Every order and every advice I gave them, pointed directly to that object—and I still believe that, had they attempted it, we should have given so good an account of them, that the conquest of Ticonderoga would have terminated the operations of that campaign, but conquered it would have been after all our exertions. Every letter I have written holds up the same idea, and I always speak of an attack as contradistinguished from a seige; and the character of the General I was opposed to gave me reason to expect something by assault or surprise. I mentioned to Congress, so early as the 25th of June, the great deficiencies in troops and provisions, and the probability of my being obliged, from these circumstances, to evacuate. The moment I was informed, with any tolerable degree of certainty, of their numbers, which I was not until the 3d of July, from a prisoner and some deserters (their information was confirmed by a spy I sent into their camp the 3d and returned the 5th), and saw that they meant a regular seige, I was certain the defending the posts effectually was impossible. The moment, however, I chose for the retreat,

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(1) The quotation complete is as follows:

Hic murus aëneus esto,
Nil conscire sibi, nullâ pallescere culpa.—*Ep.* 1. 1, 60.

tal respecting the evacuation of Ticonderoga, which I am very sensible must be with the greatest honor, and, when that happy period arrives, I hope to again have the satisfaction of serving under you

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as it was the only one was in my power to choose, so it was almost the only one after the enemy's landing at Three-Mile Point in which the retreat could have been effected.

"I have fully proven that the sick were not left behind nor lost; that great part of the cannon, all the ammunition, the baggage and tents of the army, the hospital stores, and part of the provisions, were removed from Ticonderoga—as much as could at once have been removed at any prior time. Every boat was loaded. I think I have proven it to have been necessary, and well conducted, and that the confusion, occasioned principally by the burning of General Fermoy's house, and his not circulating the orders to his brigade at the proper time, was soon remedied. I beg the Court to reflect one moment upon what was to be done, and how short the time to do it in! For, though the evacuation was resolved on about three o'clock in the afternoon, we could not begin to carry it into execution until night came on, the enemy being in possession of a high hill on the opposite side of the lake, from whence they could see our every movement; that it was the season when the nights are at the very shortest, and that it was, moreover, moonlight; and that the necessity of keeping the matter a secret, until the very moment of evacuation, prevented any preparatory steps being taken to expedite the business, and they will be of the opinion that more was never done, *caeteris paribus*, in equal time; and if, in the different embarkations, some irregularities did happen, when every circumstance is taken in—the suddenness of the thing; the disposition every man would naturally have to save perhaps his little all; the confusion the night alone is apt to occasion; the distance every thing had to be carried, and their variety, the candid mind will be more apt to wonder that any order could be preserved, than that some irregularities supervened. I need not tell this honorable Court that a retreat, with an inferior army, from before a superior one, is perhaps the most dangerous and delicate undertaking in the whole circle of military operations, and that it never will be effected without prudence, fortitude, and secrecy. I hope I have satisfied the Court that I could not order the evacuation until the last moment, when I saw no alternative betwixt that and the certain loss of the army. I think I have proven that that moment was arrived, as one day more would probably have completed the investment of the posts, and then it would have been impossible. I have proven that my motive was not to avoid the enemy, but to save the army, and, by removing them to a place where reinforcements could reach them, to make them as a basis of a force sufficient to cover the country, and check the progress of the enemy; and this I did with the certainty of a loss of reputation, the price few people are willing to pay even for the prosperity of their country. I, indeed, expected it would be a temporary loss only, nor will it be more, though it has already been of much longer duration than I looked for; and I fear the so long delaying to afford me an opportunity to vindicate my character, is not very likely to induce others who

in the army, as nothing could give me greater pleasure. My dear Sir, let me hear from you as soon as possible. In the meantime, be assured none wishes you more happiness than your most obedient humble servant.

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may happen in like circumstances to make a similar sacrifice. My letter to Congress, of the 14th of July, proves that I foresaw the events that would probably happen, and which must have had some effect upon my determination.

"Indeed, from the knowledge I had of the country through which General Burgoyne had to advance, the difficulties I knew he would be put to to subsist his army, and the contempt he would naturally have for an enemy whose retreat I concluded he would ascribe to fear, I made no doubt he would soon be so far engaged, as that it would be difficult for him either to advance or retreat. The event justified my conjecture, but attended with consequences beyond my most sanguine expectations. A fatal blow given to the power and insolence of Great Britain, a whole army prisoners, and the reputation of the arms of America high in every civilized part of the world! But what would have been the consequences had not the steps been taken, and my army had been cut to pieces or taken prisoners? Disgrace would have been brought upon our arms and our counsels, fear and dismay would have seized upon the inhabitants, from the false opinion that had been formed of the strength of these posts, wringing grief and moping melancholy would have filled the now cheerful habitations of those whose dearest connections were in that army, and a lawless host of ruffians, set loose from every social tie, would have roamed at liberty through the defenseless country, whilst bands of savages would have carried havoc, devastation, and terror before them! Great part of the State of New York must have submitted to the conqueror, and in it he could have found the means to enable him to prosecute his success. He would have been able effectually to have co-operated with General Howe, and would probably have soon been in the same country with him; that country where our illustrious General, with an inferior force, made so glorious a stand, but who must have been obliged to retire if both armies came upon him at once, or might have been forced, perhaps, to a general and decisive action in unfavorable circumstances, whereby the hopes, the now well-founded hopes of America, of liberty, of peace and safety, might have been cut off forever. Every consideration seems to prove the propriety of the retreat, that I could not undertake it sooner, and that, had it been delayed longer, it had been delayed too long."

The Court, having duly considered the charges against Major-General St. Clair, and the evidence, are unanimously of opinion that he is *Not Guilty* of either of the charges against him, and do unanimously acquit him of all and every of them with the highest honor.

B. LINCOLN, President.

The Court adjourned without day.

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[1] He received the brevet of Brigadier-General immediately after delivering General Gates's dispatches to Congress, announcing the victory over Burgoyne.

Marquis de Lafayette to General St. Clair.

On Board of the Alliance,
Boston, *9th January*, 1779.

Dear Sir:—I have received the letter[1] you have honored me with, and most heartily thank you for it, and for the sending of the proceedings of your court-martial. I hope I need not to tell you how much my heart was interested in any thing which happened to you, and how much I rejoiced, not that you are acquitted, but that at length your conduct was examined. *My own sentiments did not want the confirmation for admiring your behavior and your talents; but I sincerely give joy to your country, that,* NOTWITHSTANDING ALL CABALS, *due justice is at last paid to such a citizen and soldier as you are.* Your justification will be duly known in France as soon as I arrive there.

Farewell, my dear Sir; do not forget me, and believe me, with an equal esteem, regard and friendship.

P. S.—I wish you could come to see me in France, and receiving you there would be a true happiness to me.

General St. Clair to Robert Morris.

Camp at Whitemarsh, *November 13th*, 1777.

Sir:—The resolution of the Board of War, respecting the providing necessaries for the army, which was last night communicated by the General[2] to a council of war, has occasioned my troubling you with this. They desire the General to take from the inhabitants all the blankets, shoes, and other necessaries they can possibly spare; that he appoint proper officers to make the collection, and that no great regard be paid to the circumstances of the disaffected. I can not bring myself to think that any effectual supply for the army can possibly be procured in this manner; indeed, I do not believe an adequate supply of blankets can in any manner be obtained, and the gentlemen who compose that Board seem to have forgotten how much the inhabitants of this State have already been stripped of the article of blankets; so much, however, I am certain it has been the case, that very many families will sensibly feel the effects of it

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[1] Lafayette was about to sail for France, for the purpose of inducing the Court of that country to give more active assistance to the American cause. The letter was not found among the St. Clair papers.

[2] General Washington.

this winter. The troops of many of the neighboring States, as well as our own, have been supplied by them, which is the reason that almost two-thirds of the militia who are got into the field come unprovided with that article. How reasonable soever it may appear that the disaffected part of the inhabitants should be compelled to contribute beyond conveniency, as the Board have pointed out no criterion whereby to determine their disaffection, I can not help thinking it improper it should be left to the judgment of the officers who may be appointed, as, let their acquaintance be as extensive as can reasonably be supposed, they must necessarily be ignorant, both of the principles and circumstances of great numbers; and, if they are to depend upon information, it is not improbable it will often proceed from malice and private pique. The New England States have never contributed a single blanket towards the general supply of the army; and, I believe, generally their own troops have been furnished with those that were imported. Their country produces a great quantity of wool, and the inhabitants make many blankets. They, therefore, must be in a situation to contribute to the wants of the army more effectually, and with less inconvenience, than this country, that has already been stripped almost naked, and that, from its posts being so strictly guarded, is cut off from any recruit from abroad. If there is reason for dealing severely with the disaffected, I am persuaded they are not in fewer numbers nor in worse circumstances in New England than in Pennsylvania, howsoever immaculate some people may endeavor to make us believe it. Be that as it may, I am persuaded the collecting them in the manner prescribed for Pennsylvania would not be thought eligible for New England, and I can not help wishing that some other may be devised, if another contribution must be made here, as that may be very unequal and oppressive, and will certainly be highly irritating. The people are already not a little jealous of the army, and such an exertion of what will appear to them military power, can not but produce mischievous effects. It is certain, however, that the army can not possibly keep the field in this severe season which is just at hand without a supply of clothing. The difficulties that seem to attend it for this trifling army would lead to a train of thought which I do not like to indulge, and would by no means trouble you with.

The utmost that can possibly be expected from this State is to provide for their own troops, and what may be drawn from the inhabitants should not be diverted into other channels.

General St. Clair to Joseph Reed, President of Pennsylvania.

Camp near Van Ness's Bridge, *February* 21*st*, 1779.

Sir:—The bearer, Major Mentgiz, after much solicitation, has obtained leave to go to Philadelphia in order to make his claim to the Committee of Arrangements. He and Major Murray conceive themselves to be injured by the promotion of Major Nichols, and I do myself the honor to inclose you the representations they have made to me on that head Nothing would satisfy him but his going to Philadelphia to make them in person, to which the General[1] at last reluctantly consented. You will probably be troubled likewise, in a few days, with the claims, I should rather say demands, of the officers of the First Regiment with regard to Captain McKissic. Upon his arrival, two of the officers waited upon me to acquaint me that all the officers had determined to resign in case Captain McKissic insisted on availing of the appointment he had received.[2] I advised them to a decent representation of their rights to the Board of War, assuring them that if, through any mistake or inadvertence, they had been injured, they might depend upon redress, putting them, at the same time, in mind of the hardships of captivity, and that the rule they seemed to wish established for Captain McKissic might operate hereafter against some one, or all of themselves—in answer to which I received a letter, signed by three Captains, the Captain-Lieutenant and six Lieutenants, which is nearly all the officers present with the regiment, in which they formally resign their commissions, declaring they are determined not to serve a moment under what they deem an imposition. Their pretensions are founded on the resolve of Congress, that directs the promotion to be regimental up to a certain rank. It gives me great pain to see such a spirit of cabal prevail amongst the troops of our State, for I take both this and the pretensions of Majors Mentgiz and Murray to be greatly owing to that, and, if it is given way to, it is very hard to say where it may stop; and, yet, if the resignations are accepted, it will be very difficult to find officers to supply their places; and what adds to the misfortune, they are generally officers of approved

[1] General Washington.

[2] Captain McKissic had been a prisoner, and the Board of War having decided that such hardship should not work the loss of position or promotion to officers, when exchanged he availed himself of the rule. This was resisted by the officers in line of promotion, who had not been captured. This rule was prolific of dissensions, notwithstanding its justice.

bravery and character. I have, however, for the present, refused the resignations, and assured them that I would present none to his Excellency that should ever come in like manner. This will probably bring them to send a memorial to your Excellency, or the Board of War, and I have mentioned it that you might be prepared for it beforehand, and perhaps be able to devise some remedy.

On Monday, a person, whom the officers have agreed to recommend for the distribution of the stores the State have been pleased to provide for their troops, will set out for Philadelphia, by whom your Excellency will receive the information respecting the mode pursued in the Maryland line you wished for. I hope, after his arrival, if the Council approve of him, the stores will be forwarded without delay, as it would certainly help to allay the discontents that too generally prevail.

One of them, I find, has arisen amongst the soldiery, from a notion that they have generally been returned as engaged for the war, and this opinion has prevailed, too, amongst the officers, although their enlistments chiefly run for three years, or during the war. I am very clear their time of service determines with the three years,[1] and that the war is only a limitation of the engagement, on a supposition it may be over before that period elapses; but you will oblige me by informing me whether I am not mistaken.

GENERAL ST. CLAIR TO PRESIDENT REED.

CAMP AT MILLSTONE, *March 5th*, 1779.

Sir:—I have the honor to inclose you some of the resolutions of the State of Massachusetts Bay, relative to the supply of their troops; and letters from General Scott, of New York, and the commissary of that State, on the same subject. The resolves of Connecticut have not yet been procured. By them you will observe how differently the troops of these States have been treated from those of Pennsylvania, and that in New York they have extended their attention and bounty to the families of their soldiers, who are supplied with the necessaries of life at very moderate rates. The same, I am told, has taken place in Mas-

[1] This difference of opinion as to term of enlistment resulted in the mutiny of the Pennsylvania line, which came near being disastrous to the whole army at a most critical period. It was finally adjusted by Congress accepting the statement made above by General St. Clair, which will be more fully explained hereafter.

sachusetts Bay. I wish I was certain that many of ours, in this time of scarcity, were not starving.

The troops of Virginia are also supplied with necessaries at very low prices, and, at this very time, broad-cloths and linens are sold in camp to their officers, at as low a price as they could ever have been purchased for; besides, they are now making up their pay-books for six months' pay, a present from the State as some compensation for the depreciation of the money. This difference alone, would sufficiently account for the dissatisfaction that so generally prevails in the Pennsylvania line; so great that the officers are ready to seize even the shadow of a pretext to quit the service, and, unless some remedy is very soon applied, I believe we shall have very few officers indeed left by the opening of the campaign. Another reason, however, is the effect of that resolve of Congress that restrains them to one ration. It bears very hard upon them; the money they receive from those retained being so far from an equivalent that it will scarce purchase any thing—to such a low ebb is our money run down, and the cursed spirit of extortion risen at the same time; in the meantime, I have heard that there are some stores coming on. This will, I hope, convince them that they are not altogether neglected, and nothing in my power shall be wanting to keep them easy until further provision can be made; but I very much doubt its being in the power of the State to supply them so amply as some of our Southern and Eastern neighbors.

The mode of oppressing the district for a regulated number of shoes and stockings, as mentioned in General Scott's letter, it seems to me might easily be carried into execution in Pennsylvania, and, thereby, I think, a very considerable supply might be procured.

General St. Clair to President Reed.

March 6, 1779.

Sir:—Since I wrote you, yesterday, another very disagreeable circumstance has occurred in our line, which I was informed of an hour ago. The officers, it seems, have formed a committee to state their grievances to the field officers, who were some time ago appointed by General Wayne to correspond with the Committee of Assembly. They enumerated to them several, the principal of which, however, were: the depreciated state of the money, and the little care that has been taken to supply them, whilst the troops of some other States, serving with them, have been very amply and

very reasonably supplied. So far, they had reason; but they have gone farther. They complain of the half-pay establishment, and want a provision made for the widows of such officers as have fallen or may fall in the contest, and require them to represent these matters to the legislature of the State, and acquaint them that, if they do not receive entire satisfaction on these points, on or before the 15th of April,[1] every officer of the line will then resign their commissions into the hands of the executive council.

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[1] MILLSTOWN CAMP, *March* 8, 1779.

Dear General:—Agreeably to your request, I do myself the honor of transmitting you exact copies of the two arrangements. The latter is likely to create great uneasiness. General St. Clair has recommended a board of field-officers to sit, and endeavor to settle it amongst themselves. We shall have a difficult task of it. The officers are greatly irritated. Yesterday they presented a letter to the committee, signed in behalf of all the officers present, stating many well-founded grievances, desiring us to paint them in as striking terms as possible, and to inform the House of Assembly, unless immediate redress is granted, they would unanimously resign their commissions by the 15th of April. The matter is really serious; such a step will dissolve the division. We have written to the committee of correspondence yesterday, informing them of *the fixed determination* of the officers; but I suppose it will be treated, as we have been, with *neglect* and *contempt*.

Should you incline to accept the command of the Light Corps,[1] I shall

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1 General Wayne had applied to General Washington for the command of the Light Infantry in the following letter:

PHILADELPHIA 10th Feby 1779.

Dear General

I did myself the Honor of writing to you the 20th ultimo mentioning that I was Necessitated to be here at the Meeting of the Assembly of this State—& that I shou'd take the Liberty of *waiting on you* the first of the Month for *leave of absence*

I was unfortunately deprived the pleasure of seeing you by passing down the Jersey shore whilst you were on your way for Camp on the Pennsa side the Delaware.

I made a point of having my people well & Comfortably Covered previous to my leaving them—& I hope that the Appearance of the men & the Regularity & Internal Police of the *City* has met your Excellencies Approbation

I also flatter myself that Genl St Clair will be Pleased in the Command of Troops that always have & ever will do their duty in the field—& that they on their part will be happy under the Conduct of a Gentn to whom I chearfully give place—& Sincerely Esteem but at the same time I have so much tenderness for the feelings of the Officers that have hitherto Commanded the Pennsa Brigades, that I can't think of Interfering with them in that point

I therefore wish to be Indulged with Command in the Light Corps—if it can take place without prejudice to the Service or the *exclusion* of an Officer of more worth or experience—but if that can't be done, I beg your Excellency not to spend an other thought or give yourself a Single moments Uneasiness on the Occation—but permit me still to hope for the Continnance of that friendship that you have hitherto honored me with. and in case of an Active Campaign the Pleasure of serving near your Person as a Voluntier.

Interim, I am with Every Sentiment of Esteem Your most Obt & very

Huml Sevt

ANTY WAYNE

I know not that in my life I have met with any thing that gave me so much uneasiness for the time; indeed, the committees that

esteem it a singular happiness to be honored with a command under you. I received a letter some days since from Colonel Magaw, on Long Island; he desires his compliments. And believe me, dear General, your most obedient, humble servant, JOSIAH HARMAR.

To General Wayne.

An examination of the communications of General Washington to Congress, during the winter of 1779, will show how widespread was the dissatisfaction in the army. "I have more than once intimated," said he, "that even a dissolution of the army is not an improbable event, if some effectual measures were not taken to render the situation of the officers more comfortable." "The patience of the officers has been a long time nourished by the hope that some adequate provision was in contemplation. Though nothing satisfactory has hitherto been done, their hopes have been still kept alive; but this can not be much longer the case, and when they come once to fix an opinion that they have nothing to expect, they will no longer combat the necessity that drives them from the service." "Indeed, not to multiply arguments upon a subject so evident, it is a fact not to be controverted that the officers can not support themselves with their present pay; that necessity will oblige them to leave the service unless better provided for; and that remaining in it, those who have no fortunes will want the common necessities of life, and those who have fortunes, must ruin them." This is followed by an appeal to provide half-pay for the officers, and pensions for their families in case of their death. The chief cause for the distress was the depreciated currency, which was daily becoming worse. This crisis had been hastened by the folly of Congress in insisting on short enlistments in obedience to the demands of New England, where the pride was in the militia. "Had my advice respecting this matter," said Washington to Joseph Reed, in 1779, "been pursued in the years 1775 and 1776, our money would have been upon a very different establishment in point of credit to what it is at this day, and we should have saved millions of pounds in bounty money, and the consequent evils of expiring armies and new levies."

The rapidity of the depreciation and increase of distress is shown in a sentence or two: "An attempt has been made," wrote Reed, in 1777, "to give the old paper money the currency of gold and silver, but it does not succeed. While beef is sold for 2s. 6d. per pound in gold and silver, they ask 4s. and 4s. 6d. in paper." In 1779, beef was 10s. per pound in Baltimore, the cheapest market in the Colonies; butter, four dollars per pound, and hay from £90 to £120 per ton.

The representations of St. Clair and the officers under him moved the General Assembly of Pennsylvania to attempt to do something to relieve the distress and discontent. On the 13th of March [see *Journals of Assembly*, pp. 835–36], resolutions were adopted, giving to every Pennsylvania officer who received the seven years' half-pay from Congress, a continuation of the same during life, with pensions to their widows, and exempting all lands given to officers and soldiers from taxation. In the following year, these

have been from time to time formed in the army I ever had a bad opinion of, and dreaded ill consequences from. They are certainly destructive of that subordination which is the soul of discipline, and will spread the spirit of mutiny and disobedience through the whole. Unfortunately, our circumstances will not admit of our applying the proper remedy; it is, therefore, necessary to temporize, and I have accordingly shown every mark of disapprobation that did not tend directly to inflame the evil, and by promising to write myself, and desiring the field officers to write; by representing to them the impossibility that the Legislature would yet have had time to take up and consider the grievances they suffered, that had already been stated to them; and the probability that before the time they had specified, they would be convinced of their sincere intentions to make their situation as easy as any of their fellow-soldiers, have, I hope, put a stop to a combination ruinous to our public affairs, and disgraceful both to the State and to the parties, but which had it once been gone into, the principles of false honor might have led them religiously to observe. At the same time, it is my duty to inform you explicitly that their complaints are but too well founded; that I believe necessity has, in a great measure, compelled them to the steps they have taken; and their distresses are aggravated by the comparisons which are constantly before them, which must inevitably sour the minds of men of spirit, who have the consciousness of having literally borne the heat and burden of the day.

It might serve to elucidate their disagreeable situation if I were to give you a detail of the prices which things in general bear. It would be tedious, however, and I will only say that most articles are as high as in the market of Philadelphia, and some much higher. Judge of the rest from this circumstance—a dozen of eggs can not be purchased for less than two dollars.

Having mentioned the ill consequences of combination for any

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provisions were embodied in a statute. [See 1 *Smith's Laws*, 487.] This prompt action prevented the dissolution of the Pennsylvania line.

The chief credit for this happy event is due to St. Clair and his friend, Judge Thomas Smith, who at that time was a member of the General Assembly. In a letter from him to General St. Clair, under date of March 27th, I find this paragraph: "I hope my friend will join with me in expressing his approbation of our resolves with regard to the army. Immediately on the receipt of your letter, I made the motion on which they are founded." "The same committee that brought them in, brought in some others yesterday, as well for the benefit of the recruiting service, as to extend the operations of our first resolves more generally."

purpose whatever, amongst our officers, I can not help taking notice, in extenuation, though it serves to confirm the principle of their danger, that the officers of our State have been led into this by the example of those of New Jersey, who, some time ago, made a similar representation, which produced an immediate resolve of the Council for issuing a very considerable sum of money for their relief.

I am sure I need not press you on this head, but give me leave to repeat that it is necessary something should be done immediately, or there is too much reason to fear the dissolution of our part of the army. No exertions of mine shall be wanting to prevent so great a calamity; and though it is a misfortune to have come to the command of it at this trying period, if I can steer happily through it, and render any service to my country, I shall not regret any pains it will cost me.

Your favor of the 28th ult. is this moment come to hand, and the stores were yesterday at Trenton. They will arrive in a happy time, and I hope by a proper distribution of them to make matters easier. It must have the effect to convince the officers that the State does not entirely neglect them, and will keep alive expectation, the best handle by which the human mind can be laid hold of; and I shall not fail to make the officers acquainted with the pains you have taken to serve them in this business.

The disputed claims of the officers the General has referred to ourselves, and to-morrow the field officers will meet upon it at my quarters, when I hope we shall be able to hit upon some mode that will please all parties, which, by the by, will not be very easy, interest and obstinacy generally appearing under one banner.

If any attempts have been made to engage the gentlemen of the army in the parties that unhappily distract our State, it is altogether unknown to me,[1] nor will it ever meet with my countenance; and although I have always been, from principle, opposed to our present Constitution, of which I have never made a secret (and in private life would have joined in any measures that promised to bring about an amendment), yet, whenever it appears to be the choice of the majority of my fellow-citizens, I shall consider it as my duty to ac-

[1] While the party feeling seems to have been kept from General St. Clair, nevertheless the violence of partyism then raging and distracting the citizens of Pennsylvania, on account of the defects of the Constitution of 1776, did reach the soldiers under him, as the correspondence of his subordinates shows. But the prevailing sentiment was in accord with that expressed by St. Clair.

quiesce. My opposition never arose from a dislike to men, but because I thought it contained principles unfavorable to liberty, and must inevitably sooner or later end in a tyranny of the worst kind. That pettishness that quarrels with a government on account of those who happen for the time to administer it, is unworthy a man of sentiment and reflection.

I am very sorry that the letters of Colonels Butler, Harmar and Hay should have been so expressed as to admit of a construction I am persuaded they did not intend. I will have an explanation of that matter as soon as I can see them.

PRESIDENT REED TO GENERAL ST. CLAIR.

PHILADELPHIA, *April 26th*, 1779.

Dear Sir:—Your favor should not have been so long unanswered. The variety of intrusted business has very much engrossed my attention. When I proposed an alteration in the mode of distribution of the articles sent to camp, I was not aware of the difficulty you suggest, but that may be easily got over, if upon consideration you think the system may be altered for the better. The real scarcity as well as the extravagant prices demanded, will undoubtedly, at times, occasion some interruption of a regular supply, and I would wish you to give it some share of attention, and propose whatever may occur to you as an improvement. The plan you mention of a regular return of the names of the men, and the articles chosen by them, I very much approve, and as it is a very heavy article of expense to the State, it will give me satisfaction if the officers will see that there are no irregularities. Women and children, wagoners, etc., and staff officers, will be considered as entitled, and I hope the officers will see that no improper persons are borne on the returns. . . .

Congress have directed the recruiting service to go on, and with the privileges now given, I think some good recruits may be had, if the bounty could be given, but the demands upon the treasury are now so great as to baffle every means of supply, and we have not been able to draw one shilling for the service.

You say there is a desire prevalent at camp for the taking of some public measures in respect to deserters, and I have had it in contemplation to issue a proclamation, specifying the reward, and encouraging them to bring them up, but if you can suggest any other stimulus we shall be glad to make use of it.

Pennsylvania has had a pretty smart struggle since I saw you, with the august assembly, which does us the honor of residing amongst us. I thought at one time we must have come to an open breach, but more temperate means prevailed. Every step suggested by us was adopted, with some little partialities to General Arnold, which his friends at last worried Congress into. However, we approved the course of the business on the whole, only wishing that all the charges against him could have been brought before the court-martial; for we have such a confidence in the Whiggism and good sense of the officers, as to believe it desirable that all his proceedings here should be directed to public view. His friends in Congress got three [four] of the points withdrawn, as not being proper to go before a court-martial, adverting to one of the articles of war, which says: "That conduct unbecoming a gentleman and an officer, is not a proper subject for inquiry before a court-martial." The time allowed for the trial was far too short to procure the necessary attendance of witnesses. I have, therefore, wrote to the General to fix a time more convenient; the 1st of June would be a much more convenient time. I should be glad if you would if not improper, represent this more strongly to the General than a letter could. Considering the connections between Mr. Dunn and General Arnold, and Mr. Dunn and L——, I should hope L—— may not be upon the court-martial.[1]

The Assembly did not transmit us the resolution which you mentioned. Congress can not answer the demands of the Commissaries' and Quartermasters' Department, and of the money we are to receive, we can only get it in small sums. In consequence of your

[1] After the evacuation of Philadelphia by the British, General Arnold was placed in command of the city. "Instead of making the exercise of the military authority, with which he was invested for a temporary purpose, as agreeable as possible to the citizens and to the local authorities, Arnold, according to all concurrent testimony, administered the military trust with insolence." The result was, the Executive Council of Pennsylvania preferred eight distinct charges against him, implying neglect of duty or abuse of power, which were laid before Congress. An investigation was ordered, pending which high words passed between Congress and the State Assembly, Arnold having strong supporters in the former body. The result was a compromise, and it was agreed that four of the charges should be sent to General Washington, for hearing before a court-martial. The military court did not meet until January, 1780, and Arnold was convicted on two of the charges. After that, he was placed in command of West Point, at his request. When his treason was discovered, evidence was produced, showing that he had conducted a treasonable correspondence with Sir Henry Clinton, while in Philadelphia.

letter of the 17th, I directed Farmer to forbear sending any supplies till further orders; he had put off a cargo the day before, which I did not think it necessary to countermand. I hope they got safe to hand.

We have nothing new here but what, coming from the eastward, must pass through your camp.

GENERAL WASHINGTON TO GENERAL ST. CLAIR.

HEADQUARTERS, *23d March*, 1779.

Dear Sir:—For the more speedy assembling of the militia upon an emergency, I have agreed with the field-officers, in this and the next county, to erect beacons upon the most conspicuous hills, the firing of which is to be the signal for them to repair to their different alarm posts. You will be pleased, therefore, to order a party from your division, consisting of an officer and twenty-four men, with axes and four days' provisions, to be ready to-morrow morning, at eight o'clock, to proceed to a remarkable hill near Princeton, to erect a beacon there. One Burrel will attend as a guide. The beacon is to be constructed of logs, in form of a pyramid, sixteen or eighteen feet square at the bottom, and eighteen or twenty feet high, the inner part to be filled with brush.

GENERAL ST. CLAIR TO COLONEL MEHELM.[1]

CAMP AT MILLSTONE, *March 31st*, 1779.

Sir:—I received yours of this date, and have only to tell you, in

[1] Commissary of hides. I have a double purpose in view in giving place to the above letter: First, to show that St. Clair had no mercy for those who sought to profit by the misfortunes of their country. In the letters of Washington and St. Clair, during the darkest days of the war, will be found words of honest indignation for those who took advantage of the people's necessities to amass wealth. The departments of the army, from which supplies were drawn, were notoriously corrupt. Secondly, to show to what straits the Americans, whose means for obtaining foreign supplies were precarious, were reduced at this time. On one of the closing days of the year 1778, the following entry was made in the Orderly Book: "The Commander-in-Chief offers a reward of ten dollars to any person who shall by nine A. M. on Monday, produce the best substitute for shoes, made of raw-hides. The commissary of hides is to furnish the hides, and the Major-General of the day is to judge of the essays, and to assign the reward to the best article."—*See Writings of Washington*, Vol. V.. p. 167.

answer thereto, that the orders I have given for hides were by General Washington's directions; that the time of contracting for them I know nothing about, nor the delivery, both having happened before I took command in the Pennsylvania line; nor do I see the least necessity either for the shoes being delivered to you or to the clothier-general. I conceive neither you nor he can be entitled to any commission upon a transaction made with the General's approbation, in which you have no part, and that delivery, and the proposed receipts, seem calculated for that end alone. I have in all the orders I have given desired the amount might be charged to the regiments, by which they would properly appear in your accounts, and the public know where to get payment. I make no constructions upon general orders, and I expect you will now inform me, explicitly, whether you will deliver the hides or not.

General Washington to General St. Clair.

Headquarters, Middlebrook, *26th May*, 1779.

Dear Sir:—My intelligence from New York[1] renders it indispensably necessary for me to look towards the posts in the Highlands. As your division has been inspected, I wish you to hold it in the most perfect readiness for marching and encamping at an hour's warning. For these purposes you will settle matters with the Quartermaster-General. As it is much my wish to have the

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[1] General Washington formed the opinion, early in the spring, that the British contemplated some important movement besides the operations already undertaken against South Carolina and Georgia, and the coast of Virginia, and he made such dispositions of his small force as he could to meet the emergency. He had sixteen thousand men—three thousand under Gates in New England, six thousand, a part under McDougall, who was completing the fortifications at West Point, and a part under Putnam on the east side of the Hudson, and seven thousand under his own immediate command at Middlebrook. There were indications of a movement on the Connecticut coast, but it was probable that the chief design of the enemy was to possess himself of the passes in the Highlands, which, as he coutrolled the navigation of the Hudson, seemed easy of accomplishment; or to take possession of West Point and Middlebrook, so as to keep the American forces divided. With his inferior force, and without the aid of a naval force, Washington could only act on the defensive. His operations were limited to securing the important passes on the Hudson, and affording protection to the country. In May, he ordered General St. Clair to move his division forward to support McDougall, while he prepared to follow with the rest of his troops.

troops in the best possible condition for the campaign, I shall depend upon you (principally) and the officers commanding brigades and regiments in your division to see that the orders of the 17th of April are strictly complied with, so far as they relate to their respective commands.

Official Instructions to St. Clair.

Headquarters, Middlebrook, *29th May*, 1779.

Sir:—You will be pleased to march immediately with the division under your command, by way of Quibble Town and Scotch Plains, and take post on the heights between Springfield and Chatham, till further orders, or till some enterprize of the enemy shall make a sudden movement necessary.

If you should receive authentic advice of the enemy's operating up the North River, against our posts in that quarter, you are instantly to advance to their support, without waiting orders from me, only giving me notice of your movement. You will pursue the route by Pompton, keeping up a correspondence with General McDougall, or officer commanding in the Highlands, and regulating your march according to circumstances and the information you receive, advising me, from time to time, of your progress and views.

You will preserve the strictest discipline, and endeavor to prevent every kind of injury to the persons and property of the inhabitants. You will also take uncommon care to lay open no inclosures of grass or grain, more than are absolutely necessary for the purposes of forage.

I recommend it to your particular attention, without delay, to have officers of talents, attention, and industry nominated to officiate as sub and brigade inspectors, and to improve every interval of leisure to have the new regulations for the order and discipline of the troops carried into execution as speedily as possible. You are sensible of the importance and necessity of a system.

GENERAL WASHINGTON TO GENERAL ST. CLAIR.

HEADQUARTERS, MIDDLE BROOK, 31*st May*, 1779.

Dear Sir:—I have received information that the enemy were at White Plains on the 29th. You will, therefore, be pleased to proceed immediately with your division toward Pompton, acting afterward agreeably to the instructions you have already received. It is probable you will be joined there by Colonel Clark, with the Carolina troops. I have sent him orders to meet you at that place, subject to this condition, that they are not to contravene any directions he may have received or shall receive from General McDougall, to whose orders he has all along been subject. I shall put the Virginia division in motion to follow you as soon as possible.

P. S.—Since writing the above, I have received a line from General McDougall, informing me that he had ordered Clark to the Fort.

GENERAL ST. CLAIR TO GENERAL WASHINGTON.

SPRINGFIELD, *May* 31*st.*—10 o'clock P. M.

Sir:—Previous to the receipt of your Excellency's letter of this day (which arrived about four hours ago), whilst I was examining the grounds pointed out for the division to take post in, I met with Colonel Ogden, who informed me he had seen a person from New York last night, that might be depended on, who informed him that the whole of the enemy's army were marched toward White Plains; that a quantity of fascines were embarked on board some vessels in the East River, and many more prepared and laying at the Narrows, on both sides of the river, which were expected to be embarked this day; of which, if I had had the means in my power, I should have given you information sooner. This seems to agree with the intelligence your Excellency has received, and particularly marks a design upon the posts in the Highlands. But they may have other objects, to prevent the junction of our army on either side the North River; or, failing in that, having drawn our attention to prevent their effecting it, to make a sudden movement toward New London, which, when considered in itself, although a place of little consequence in the general scale, is of much importance both to them and to us. Be these as they may, I shall move very early to-morrow to the northward. Two routes, however, lie before me, that under the Newark Mountains, and that above it, and both will come within my instructions, viz., *to reach Pompton.*

I presume your Excellency intended Pompton Meeting House, on the Plains. Taking the lower road, I am satisfied, would give most satisfaction to the country, but as you have been pleased not to give me an express route to that place, I have determined upon the upper one, for these reasons: we can arrive sooner at the place where we can be of service if the enemy's designs are against the posts in the Highlands, and we avoid some difficulties that might arise from the enemy's landing a party and possessing themselves of the country about Paramus, knowing, as I presume they will, that part of the army only are in motion; the Pissarche River in front, and the mountains on our flank, are, I am informed, at particular places only, practicable. At all events I shall not be able to move above ten or twelve miles to-morrow, on account of provisions. The commissaries, depending upon some supplies here, in which they having been disappointed, are obliged to send some of their wagons back to the magazine. I inclose a certificate of one of them, by which your Excellency will be able to judge how fast we may be expected to move, for I am not informed of any magazines on my route. But if it is in the country, within reach, unless you forbid it, it shall be taken, and not wantonly.

I beg leave to repeat the necessity of a few horses; many would only incumber us. The artillery, for the present, is fully sufficient, and even those, should circumstances require us to act amongst the hills, I should wish to be clear of.

GENERAL WASHINGTON TO GENERAL ST. CLAIR.

MIDDLEBROOK, *June* 1*st*, 1779.

Dear Sir:—I duly received your two letters[1] of yesterday. I approve your reasons for taking the upper route.

By the present institution of the inspectorship, neither Major Ryan nor Mr. McCormick can, in my opinion, be appointed inspectors. It is to be feared, however, we may be reduced to the necessity of altering it, from the reluctance with which the majors undertake the office. But I could wish it might proceed as it stands. If an alteration should take place, that will permit Major Ryan to act in this line hereafter; the opinion I have of his qualifications will make it entirely agreeable to me. It is hardly probable any change so extensive should take place as will admit Mr. McCormick,

[1] Only one of these is to be found among the St. Clair papers.

but, if I recollect right, there is a resolve of Congress providing that brigade majors shall act as aid-de-camps to the brigadiers, with the same rank and pay. I do not find this resolve among my papers, but am making inquiry for it.

I wish Colonel Harmar[1] may be induced to accept the sub-inspectorship. I think he will answer the purpose well. It is unlucky there is not found greater alacrity among the officers to enter into the inspection. It is certainly a line which affords a handsome opportunity for the display of talents, and the acquisition of military knowledge and practice.

You observe that the enemy, among other objects, may have it in view to prevent a junction of our force. This is an important idea, and ought to have due influence in our movements.

I have ordered a non-commissioned officer and eight dragoons, of the Massachusetts corps, to join you immediately.

I send you a little sketch that will serve to give you an idea of the country you are in.

P. S.—I have also directed the Quartermaster-General to send two or three express orders to you.

GENERAL WASHINGTON TO GENERAL ST. CLAIR.

MIDDLEBROOK, *June 2d*, 1779.

Sir:—I have received your letter[2] of this date at half-past eight. The Virginia division marched this day with orders to endeavor to reach Morristown to-morrow, and to communicate with you and proceed according to intelligence and circumstances. You will be pleased to open a correspondence with the commanding officer for this purpose.

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[1] See Washington to St. Clair, 30th May. The latter had suggested that applications might be presented for Ryan and McCormick. Washington still found embarrassments in the quartermaster and commissary departments. Although Greene, who was at the head of the former, and Wadsworth of the latter, yet subordinates appointed by Congress were many of them incapable or dishonest. The Commander-in-Chief attempted to influence Colonel Harmar, and other officers of well-known integrity, to accept subordinate places, but in vain. The reluctance to make such a sacrifice expressed in a question asked of Washington by Greene, controlled all of the officers who preferred active duty. "Who ever heard," asked Greene, "of a Quartermaster-General in history?"

[2] Not among the St. Clair Papers.

To-morrow, if possible, the Maryland division will march also, and by the same route.

I send you a small addition of cavalry.

I rely entirely on your prudence and judgment for taking such measures as the exigency of the case shall require. So soon as the last troops move, I shall come immediately forward to join you by the way of Pluckamine and Morristown.

GENERAL ST. CLAIR TO GENERAL WASHINGTON.

POMPTON, 3*d June*, 1779.—7 o'clock A. M.

Sir:—Colonel Burr arrived here about three o'clock from General McDougall, and brings intelligence of the surrender of the fort upon Verplanck's Point yesterday, about eleven o'clock, by capitulation. The garrison are prisoners of war, and the officers have liberty to wear their side-arms.

I have no letter from General McDougall; but he is clearly of opinion the enemy mean to attack the posts (at least Fort Arnold,[1] the carrying of which would open to them the navigation of the river) in the Highlands. Colonel Burr informs me that, by landing near where Fort Montgomery stood, and marching to the Forest of Dean, they would fall into a clove, which runs entirely round that ridge on which the forts are situated, and through which a road might be made almost as fast as an army could march. By this clove, General McDougall thinks, the forts will be invested. Betwixt this clove and Smith's is a chain of hideous mountains, but through them are, no doubt, many passes, with which they may be made acquainted by the inhabitants, whom they have debauched, and would thereby be able to give much annoyance to any convoys that might pass by Smith's, supposing it necessary to make use of that road.

It seems to be General McDougall's wish that I should move to New Windsor, and he thinks that the occupying Butter Hill might prevent the attack upon Fort Arnold from the upper side. At the same time, the state of the provision is very alarming; not much above three weeks in the respective forts, and the militia called in, and their principal dependence for further supplies is upon their being transported across the country from Sussex or Delaware.

I think I could easily reach New Windsor, or at least be so far advanced through the clove as to be out of all danger of being in-

[1] Fort Arnold was at West Point.

tercepted.[1] But it is necessary first to have intelligence from the river, lest the parts of your army on this side of it should be too much separated, and exposed to be beaten by piecemeal. This I will endeavor to procure, and act according to circumstances, of which I shall take care to give your Excellency notice. Notwithstanding the general opinion, that the forts are the enemy's object, Colonel Burr mentions circumstances that leave it still doubtful. Their troops are landed at various places on the east side of the river, and at Haverstraw on the west; and, after the surrender of the fort, their largest armed vessel, supposed to be of eighteen guns, and a galley, which had passed before, were seen towing down again.

As the passage through the clove is somewhat dangerous for single persons, I shall send two horsemen back with Colonel Burr, and shall, through him, communicate to General McDougall verbally. It may, perhaps, be necessary to form a march through the clove, in which case I shall leave my baggage at this place, to be forwarded afterwards, as your Excellency may think proper.

Our provision wagons will not be able to supply us when at a greater distance, four only being allowed to each brigade, and three of these broke down upon the road.

GENERAL WASHINGTON TO GENERAL ST. CLAIR.

MIDDLEBROOK, *June* 3, 1779.

Dear Sir:—I received your favor of yesterday at 10 o'clock last night, and have written to General Knox to supply the ammunition, etc., which you want. As the enemy, notwithstanding their demonstrations of an attack upon the Highland posts, may have it in contemplation to strike this army (comprehending your division) in its weak and divided state, it will be expedient for you to act with the greatest caution, and perhaps not to advance beyond Pompton till the other divisions get up. I do not mean, however, to restrict your movements, but leave them to be governed by your own discretion, and as circumstances may require.[2]

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[1] General St. Clair was successful in his movements, and took post at New Windsor, which effectually covered West Point, the most important of the fortifications.

[2] General Washington set his troops in motion immediately after dispatching the above, and reached Morristown at night, whence his Secretary, Colonel Harrison, at half-past eleven o'clock, wrote to General St. Clair,

GENERAL ST. CLAIR TO GENERAL WAYNE.

NEW WINDSOR, *July* 17, 1779.

Dear General:—It was with true pleasure that I received the news of your success at Stony Point, on which I beg leave to present you my cordial congratulations. It is an event that makes a very great alteration in the situation of affairs, and must have important consequences, and the more glorious from its being effected with so little loss. It is, in short, the completest surprise I have ever heard of.

Please to present my compliments to the gentlemen of your family, and all our friends.[1]

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acknowledging the receipt of a letter *en route*, and repeating the contents of General Washington's letter of the morning, lest it might have miscarried.

Before leaving Middlebrook, General Washington wrote to the President of Congress, informing him that the movements of the enemy indicated an important enterprise, and that he was hastening to the Highlands on the Hudson as rapidly as possible. "Congress will observe, by General St. Clair's letter, that he expected to reach Pompton last night. The Virginia division, commanded by Lord Stirling, marched yesterday for the same place. Baron de Kalb, with the Maryland troops, follows this morning. We shall press forward with all diligence, and do every thing in our power to disappoint the enemy."

On the 6th of June, Washington informed Congress that the British had, on the 1st, opened a battery at Stony Point, which lies on the west side of the Hudson, at the landing at King's Ferry, against a small detached work at Verplanck's Point, on the east side, and kept up a cannonade all day. The garrison (the work was called Fort LaFayette), finding themselves invested also on the land side, surrendered at four o'clock. The next day the force on the east side, computed at five thousand, advanced to Bald Hill, below the Continental Village, where it was expected an attack would be made on the American forces and an attempt made to gain Nelson's Point, opposite to Fort Arnold. This, however, was not attempted, and the enemy returned to their former position—five thousand remaining on Verplanck's Point, and one thousand at Stony Point—very busy fortifying.

The Americans took post at Smith's Cove, where General Washington thought they were well posted for rendering assistance to West Point and other posts, if the future operations of the enemy should be directed against them.

[1] General Washington chafed under the enforced inaction of his army, and hoped for some opportunity to break the silence and show to the country that the enemy could not have it all his own way. The opportunity came with the departure of considerable detachments from Sir Henry Clinton's army for the purpose of making raids on Connecticut and Virginia. The expedition to New London, which had been predicted by General St. Clair in one of his letters to Washington, was the purpose of one of these. When

GENERAL WASHINGTON TO GENERAL ST. CLAIR.[1]

NEW WINDSOR, 20th *July*, 1779.

Dear Sir:—You will be pleased to examine critically the *long* hill in front of Fort Putnam, at the extremities of which the engineer is commencing some works. Colonel Gouvion or Mr. Rochefontaine will be able more particularly to designate the hill I mean. The possession of this hill appears to me essential to the preservation of the whole post, and our main effort ought to be directed to keeping the enemy off of it. You will make it the alarm post for your division in the first instance, from which, if requisite, you can reinforce the troops in front. You will consider this hill in all its relations, and make yourself completely master of its defense. It will be useful that this knowledge should extend to your principal officers; and that your officers in general should be acquainted with the ground on which they are to act. I shall be glad also you would

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they were fairly under way, General Washington projected an attack on Stony Point, in which matter he took counsel of General St. Clair. At his request, the latter made a survey of the enemy's works, and reported on the expediency of the attempt. On the 9th of July, General Washington asked General Wayne, who had on the first been ordered to advance with his light infantry towards Fort Montgomery, to inspect the enemy's works at Stony Point and Verplanck's, and see how best they could be approached. On the 10th, he was instructed to make preparations for an attack, but at Wayne's suggestion the attempt was postponed. On the 15th, at night, under peremptory instructions from General Washington, Wayne made the successful and brilliant assault on Stony Point which marked him as one of the best fighters of the army. For the best account of this action, see Dawson's "The Assault on Stony Point."

The above letter requires to be supplemented by the following from

GENERAL SCHUYLER TO GENERAL WAYNE.

SARATOGA, *July* 31, 1779.

Dear Sir:—Yesterday, I was honored with a line from our amiable General, advising me of the reduction of Stony Point, and dwelling on the propriety with which it was executed. It was not the least part of my satisfaction to learn that you conducted it; and I most sincerely congratulate you on the increase of honor which you have acquired. Such of the enemy as have hitherto held erroneous ideas of the bravery and military prowess of our troops, must now be perfectly convinced of their mistake.

Pray make, *not my compliments only, but my love, to General St. Clair*, and especially to that great and good man, General Washington, to whom we are all so much indebted.

[1]General St. Clair was at this time at West Point.

have an eye to the works to be erected, to hasten their completion as fast as possible.

GENERAL ST. CLAIR TO PRESIDENT REED.

WEST POINT, *July 25th*, 1779.

Sir:—Your favor of the 15th, by Mr. Broadhead, came to hand two days ago. All the attention shall be paid to his case[1] that is possible, and if he can be admitted into the line, it will be very agreeable to me. His having been left out was not owing to his being a prisoner, but to an idea that prevailed that he had declined all thoughts of the army, and meant to follow a mercantile life, in which it was confidently asserted he was engaged in that way (the most obnoxious to the officers), known by the name of speculation. Justice and favor, I hope, will ever govern the determinations of the officers when called upon to decide upon the rights of each other, and I can assure you there does not appear the smallest disposition to add injury to the misfortunes of those who have been prisoners; at the same time, it is a pretty general sentiment that the bringing in the officers of Pennsylvania taken at Fort Washington, into the regiments they then belonged to, is a piece of very great injustice to the officers now of these regiments. The places of these gentlemen having been filled up by the Council of Safety, and the regiments now raised having nothing of the old ones remaining but the ——— numbers, and, in some cases, a few of the principal officers, for whom vacancies were kept open.

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[1] The case of Lieutenant Broadhead seems to have excited deep interest. General Washington also, under date of July 25th, asked St. Clair to prompt, if possible, favorable action. Upon Washington's recommendation, the matter was referred to a board of field officers. It would seem, from a letter of St. Clair's to President Reed, from West Point, August 2, 1779, the board reported against the application, as it was found that he was precluded by a resolution of Congress. Broadhead had himself, unfortunately, mentioned the resolution, of which the board were ignorant; and it was the harder on him, as several others in the same circumstances had been introduced previous to that resolution.

The following paragraph concludes the letter of St. Clair of that date:

"No movement in the enemy's army, of consequence, has yet taken place. They are retired to York Island, from whence I think an embarkation will soon take place, and, from some accounts I have received, it appears to be destined for the eastward. However, if Sir Harry is superseded, a new plan of operation may probably be adopted. This post will soon be in a state that will not so much require the protection of an army."

It gives me great satisfaction to see that you have taken up a subject to which you can do so much justice.[1] I do, for myself and the rest of the officers, offer you my very sincere and hearty thanks for your elegant address, in the character of a citizen of Philadelphia, which can not fail to make impressions favorable to the plan you are about to propose, as it has added to the grateful sense the officers have of your attention to their interests. It is a matter I have long wished to see some person of capacity and influence undertake, as the situation of the officers, especially those who have families, which is the case with a number, from the exorbitant prices of the necessaries of life, and the depreciated state of our currency, is really deplorable. For my own part, it will be impossible for me to continue in the service without reducing mine to beggary, as I have already spent all the money I had been able to get beforehand, and lost upwards of twenty thousand pounds, by the money in which I was paid for my farm.

The demands upon us for wagoners weakens the line considerably. Could not some means be devised to get wagoners from amongst the militia? Their pay is considerable, and the service easy. I think it is not less than twenty pounds per month.

Many of our regiments are very weak, and, in the course of this campaign, will dwindle to nothing, and the means of recruiting them grows every day more difficult. The people of Virginia, I am told, raised their last recruits, to the amount of two thousand, by taxing the several battalions of militia with a certain number of men to be ready at a certain day, and, in case of failure, they were to be drafted, leaving it to the battalions to make what terms they pleased with the individuals who were willing to engage. It succeeded with them, the fear of being drafted (thereby raising the bounty) acting on the lower class, and the same fear prompting those in easy circumstances to make the bounty very considerable. Would not some such scheme succeed with us? The seventy-five dollars allowed by Congress to the recruiting officers might be applied as part of the bounty.

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[1] This refers to a plan which President Reed had formed for securing legislative provision for the officers and their families, either in lands or in money. He not only created public sentiment for it by communications in the newspapers, but in his address to the Assembly, on the 9th September, he pressed the subject upon the attention of the Representatives. It was through the efforts of Mr. Reed and Judge Thomas Smith, the very handsome provision made by Pennsylvania (which a year later was dwelt upon by Washington as a model for other States) was secured.

I am very happy to inform you that the uneasiness that prevailed amongst the soldiery, with respect to the time they stood engaged for, is at an end. The present made by Congress, of two hundred dollars, to those who were engaged prior to January last, came most opportunely, and was made so good use of, that the whole, very nearly, have accepted it, signing, at the same time, an acknowledgment that they were enlisted during the war, so that I have the strongest hope we shall be no more troubled with mutinies, conventions, and desertion, which had risen to a very alarming height, and threatened very serious consequences.

This will be delivered by Captain Ziegler, who goes for a further supply. A small guard is necessary for an escort, but, as we know not how soon all the men we have may be wanted, he goes without one, trusting that a few of the invalids might be sent up with him, who would answer the purpose perfectly well, and save so many men from the line. Some of them might also serve as State men and assistants to the commissaries, which we are obliged to furnish, and which takes from us some of our best sergeants.

The reduction of Stony Point you have received an account of. It was a very gallant action, and reflects great honor upon General Wayne and all the officers, both for the vigor and intrepidity with which it was executed, and the humanity and generosity with which the prisoners were treated. There is not an instance of a place carried by assault where so few of the defendants have been put to death. My friend, Colonel Butler, commanded one of the attacks, and distinguished himself. The enemy have again taken post there, but not, I think, with an intention to hold it, but the better to cover the evacuation of the post on the opposite shore, which they will probably soon abandon. But, be that as it may, they are certainly on the eve of some important movement, their whole army, the garrisons of these posts excepted, being drawn down to King's Bridge, and dispositions made, it is said, for evacuating New York.

Will you please, sir, to present my most respectful compliments to Mrs. Reed and the ladies of your family.[1]

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[1] President Reed replied to the above letter at length, August 8th, approving, very warmly, all the suggestions contained in it. He hoped the plan for providing for the officers who had been prisoners would be successful. "I know it is not popular to urge their claims," said he, "but I trust I am not actuated by any other motives than those of justice and duty." "Your attention to accounts for recruiting are very acceptable to us, and I am sure will be so to the Assembly, for amidst such waste of public money an officer assisting his country in this respect is *rara avis in terris.* I am glad to

GENERAL GREENE TO GENERAL ST. CLAIR.

WEST POINT, *August 4th*, 1779.

Sir:—I have been writing, and am now writing to all the general officers, on a subject which respects myself.

When I was appointed Quartermaster-General, I made a special reserve of my rank, and, consequently, of my command. In the late arrangement, I have no particular command designated me. This I conceive to be an injury, and, therefore, have appealed to the officers to learn their sentiments upon two points. First, whether my right to command, in consequence of my rank, in not unquestionable. Secondly, whether any officer, upon just military principles, will have reason to complain of an injury from my exercising command, in time of action, agreeable to my rank.

To these two points I wish you to give your sentiments. There can be numberless instances adduced in answer to my claim from the custom and usages of other armies; but the particular reserve I made, I should suppose puts the matter out of all doubt.

If an officer is to lose his command, and be totally excluded from the honors of the line, in consequence of being appointed Quartermaster-General, it will be a bar against any officer of rank accepting the appointment. That an officer of rank is necessary at the head of this business, everybody must be sensible.

I have collected the opinions of several of the officers. They are clear and decided in my favor, upon the right and propriety of my claim. Your opinion will much oblige your friend.

GENERAL ST. CLAIR TO GENERAL GREENE.

WEST POINT, *August 10th*, 1779.

Sir:—I now sit down to answer your favor of the 4th instant, which was brought to my quarters when I was absent, and I have not before had leisure to consider the subject of it.

You desire my opinion upon two points. First, whether your right to command, in consequence of your rank, is not unquestionable. Secondly, whether any officer (upon just military principles) will have reason to complain of your exercising command agreeably to your rank in time of action.

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hear that you have composed the minds of the old soldiers; one of them is worth three new ones."

As to the first, it is certain that a right to command is a consequence of rank, where there is not an exception, express or implied; both of which may happen. Sometimes, rank is merely honorary, and the exception to command taken expressly in the appointment, as I believe was the case with General Wilkinson's. It is implied where the acceptance of a staff office destroys both rank and command, but the rank is reserved in the appointment. This I take to be the case with you, as it was also with your predecessor, General Mifflin.

The intention of Congress in these reservations seem to have been that the serving in the office of Quartermaster-General should not throw the gentlemen who might fill that station out of the line of the army, when they ceased to fill it, but it is very clear to me they did not intend they should exercise command in the line whilst they continued staff officers, and this, I think, must have been some time ago your own view of the matter, as I recollect to have heard you complain of being put upon duty in camp, out of the way of your office.

There can be but little satisfaction drawn from the custom of other armies, the constitution of most being very different from ours. We have had, however, an instance before us, in the British army, of the Quartermaster-General acting in the staff and commanding in the line at the same time, which seems to make in favor of your pretensions. But I well remember another, in the same army, directly against them. It was this: Sometime in the campaign of 1758, the late General Stephens (then, I think, a major of Provincials), commanded at Fort Ligonier, upon the Loyalhanning, when Sir John St. Clair, Quartermaster-General, with the rank of colonel, arrived at that Port. He immediately assumed the command, and ordered Major Stephens to make returns of his garrison and stores to him. The major insisted on his command, and refused to make the returns. Sir John put him in arrest. The major complained to General Forbes, and demanded a court-martial. Whether a court-martial sat upon the matter I do not recollect, but this is certain, the major was released, restored to his command, and Sir John censured.

I can not conceive that an officer whose rank is reserved can be considered as totally excluded from the honors of the line, by a temporary suspension of his command, in consequence of his filling a station, for the most part incompatible with it; on the contrary, it seems to me, the honors of the line are expressly secured to him by the reservation; neither can it be a bar against an officer of rank,

accepting the office of Quartermaster-General. I think with you, an officer of rank ought to be at the head of that department, but I know not that of necessity, he must be a general officer. It is a case that does not reach me; I am, therefore, unbiased. But I should think it an exceeding great injury to see an officer brought from the staff the day of an action, to take the command of the troops I had had the care and trouble of during the preceding part of the campaign, and snatch the palm that was due, perhaps, to the pains that had been bestowed upon them in that time. I should most certainly give up all command that very moment.

I am sorry to differ in sentiment with other officers, but, when my opinion is asked as a friend, it is a duty to give it candidly, without considering what may be most acceptable, or what others think of the matter.

GENERAL ST. CLAIR TO PRESIDENT REED.

WEST POINT, *August 24th*, 1779.

Sir:—I have now the pleasure to acknowledge the receipt of your favors of the 8th and 19th insts., which came duly to hand, and to congratulate you again upon another piece of success that has attended our arms under Major Lee. The affair, considered abstractedly, is of very little moment; but it shows that a spirit of enterprise exists amongst us, makes the enemy in some measure ridiculous, and serves to support the soldiers under the incessant fatigue they are employed in at this post.[1]

Inclosed, you will find the recruiting accounts, stated by a board of field officers, with as much exactness as they were able, but they are far from being complete. The officers were absent or detached with the infantry, the amount of whose accounts are not carried out. I think the furnishing officers who may be employed in the recruiting service with powers to draw money from the county lieutenants, a bad method. It would render the settlements of the accounts much easier if money on that account was issued to the colonel, or officer commanding the regiments only, the recruiting officers to settle with him, he for the whole with the State. If they were either negligent or unsuccessful, he would naturally discharge them and send others, and nothing would be allowed in their ac-

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[1] Major Henry Lee, Jr., surprised the enemy at Paulus Hook, not over a mile and a quarter from New York, on the night of the 19th of July, killed about fifty, and took one hundred and fifty-seven prisoners, exclusive of seven officers of superior rank.

counts but what he was sure would be allowed to him in the general account.

The officers can not have too high a sense of your exertions in their favor, and it gives me a very sincere pleasure that you find the gentlemen in public business so readily concur with you, and that the spirit of animosity is not so great as it once appeared to be. Time must wear off the sharp edges, and I fondly flatter myself to see all parties so mellowed down as with cordial unanimity to pursue the public interest, which has, without doubt, in some instances, been left out of sight. Parties may, indeed I believe not, exist in every free State, but when the public good is the principal aim of both, they will not produce private enmity.

In conversation, yesterday, with Colonel Moylan, his regiment came upon the carpet. A resolve of Congress seems to have had in view that the regiments of horse that have been raised in particular States should be considered as part of their quota in the Continental army. He would be very happy to find himself in that situation, and though the officers have not all been taken from Pennsylvania, the men were, I believe, all raised there. I will be obliged to you if you will please to communicate your sentiments on that head.

I have very frequent applications for orders to the commissary, in different parts of Pennsylvania, to issue provisions to the wives and families of soldiers, who have left them behind, and are, as they say, starving. It is really a very hard case, but I do not consider myself as authorized to give any such orders. Something, however, should be done for them, and I am told that all the women of Colonel Proctor's regiment draw provisions in Philadelphia. . .

I received, last week, two letters from Colonel Nichols, inclosing the attestations of six recruits, but two of them only are come on, the others having deserted on their way to camp. This is really paying very dear for soldiers, and some other way should be fallen upon than sending them on with small parties of two or three men, who can not pay the attention that is necessary to prevent desertions. Perhaps it would be well enough to allow them to do duty in the Invalids until a sufficient number is collected, and then an officer with a proper party might be sent from camp to bring them on. Mr. Gibbons arrived a day or two ago, and is now on trial before a general court-martial.[1]

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[1] President Reed replied to the above letter on the 5th September. He approved of St. Clair's suggestion as to the proper manner of supplying money to regiments; did not think he could do any thing for Colonel Moylan; the issuing of supplies to the wives of soldiers would be attended with many

GENERAL ST. CLAIR TO GENERAL WASHINGTON.[1]

WEST POINT, *October* 4, 1779.

Sir:—I have been revolving in my mind the matters your Excellency had under consideration last night, and beg leave to submit my sentiments upon them; but they are only broken hints, as I have a very imperfect knowledge of the locality, not having been upon the grounds for many years, and then not having viewed them in a military light.

From Fort Washington to the high grounds at the bottom of the Bay, below Harlem River, is a front to that river of three miles, at no part more than two miles from the North River. Our troops, drawing down toward King's Bridge, would probably induce the enemy to take this position.

About six miles below Fort Washington, a bay makes in from the North River, from the bottom of which, across the island to the East River, the distance is one mile only. Supposing the enemy obliged to change their first position, this would probably be their second, as it has these advantages, that, be our superiority in numbers what it may, they can present an equal front, neither flank can be turned, and, in so short a line, great obstacles can be immediately thrown in the way. But, query: Whether their left flank would not be exposed to the fire of the ships from the North River with the enemy in the first position, as above described. The difficulties in the way make this less eligible than first supposed. In the second, it appears very eligible, as the distance across is, I believe, very capable of defense, and they would thereby be cut off from the town, where, doubtless, the stores of all kinds are deposited; but unless it was made with perfect secrecy, the attempt would probably prove abortive.

Drawing the troops to King's Bridge and Harlem River would certainly induce the first position, as it promises to be effectual, for

inconveniences. "There are such demands for every species of woman's work that no industrious woman can suffer. In special cases assistance is given them. I believe Colonel Proctor, who is very ingenious in that way, did get some rations issued to women belonging to that regiment, but when it was discovered it was stopped. Relief may be granted in particular cases, but it would never do to consent to it as a general system."

[1] These hints as to plan of campaign were based upon the supposition that Count D'Estaing would force his way into the North River, and offered at the request of General Washington.

preventing the passage of that river, and, from its contiguity to the North River is also convenient for preventing a landing in the rear.

A landing on Long Island, it seems, may be easily effected from Harlem River, either above or below the mouth of it, and the collecting of boats there would not discover the real design, as they are equally necessary in either case. Flushing, the same distance above, is a very convenient place, if not occupied by the enemy. It is four miles from thence to Jamaica, and eight from that to Bedford, where there is a capital pass, which should be instantly possessed, otherwise the army would be obliged to make a considerable circuit by New York to approach Brooklyn. It is an open country, and good roads from Flushing to Bedford.

The Count D'Estaing can land his troops anywhere upon the southern coast of Long Island—Jamaica Bay, for instance—whence a junction could easily be made near Bedford. The distance, I think, is not more than eight miles.

The ships may certainly be destroyed from Long Island, as they must run into the East River, and the post at Brooklyn will soon fall. With these New York, be its garrison what it will, must fall also. This appears to me the most eligible method, as there is great probability of success, and much less risk than in forcing a passage over Harlem River, or landing on the island by the North River, in either of which the fate of America must, in a great measure, be set upon a single cast.

When once established upon Long Island, perhaps a sufficient number of troops may be spared to reduce Rhode Island.

If the posts on the North River are not drawn in, I suppose two thousand men might, in a week, with a proper artillery, reduce Stony Point without breaking in much upon the greater operations of the army. Verplanck must follow immediately.

These hints are all founded on a supposition that we can deceive the enemy, and throw ourselves on Long Island, whilst the gross of their army remains upon York Island; but it is not improbable that they will betake themselves entirely to Long Island, in which case the high grounds, according to the idea I retain of them, from Flat Bush to Bedford to the East River, would be a good position.

GENERAL ST. CLAIR TO PRESIDENT REED.

CAMP, *October 10th*, 1779.

Dear Sir:— . . . I have heard with much pain of the unhappy disasters that have prevailed in town,[1] but have not been able to divine the cause. It surprises me exceedingly that Mr. Wilson could have been pointed out as an enemy to his country, as his conduct has, from a very early period, been uniformly friendly, although his opposition to the Constitution of Pennsylvania has been, perhaps, too warm. His advocating the causes of the accused persons should certainly not have been considered as a crime, as it is both a part and a consequence of that liberty we have been struggling to establish. I am pleased, however, that your spirited conduct in quelling the riot meets with general approbation, and that you were happy enough to rescue that gentleman, as it was pretty generally known that you were not upon the most friendly terms.

May I hope that it will have the effect to remove any coolness that subsisted? If I could see you perfect friends, I should be very happy; for I know his worth, and would spare no pains in my power to bring it about. But I have said enough of this, and perhaps too much.

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[1] This refers to "The Fort Wilson Riot," which disgraced Philadelphia, October 4, 1779, and which is traceable to two causes, viz.: (1) The extortions growing out of the depreciation of the currency; and (2) the violence of party feeling between the Constitutionists and Anti-Constitutionists. Most of the Continental soldiers in the Pennsylvania line, with St. Clair at their head, were of the latter party in sentiment, but supported the Constitution and Government under it during the war. Leading civilians, their friends, were of the same opinion, which was publicly expressed by Hon. Edward Biddle: "Our present Government is lamentably defective, and has in it the seeds of the worst of tyrannies, but to attempt by force to overturn it, would in my judgment be wicked, as well as impolitic." Congress and the States attempted to mend the difficulties—high prices, the oppressions and the frauds—incident to a paper currency born of revolution, by laws to govern prices and punish engrossers. Washington himself had been moved to indulge in very passionate language. He rejoiced that Pennsylvania proposed to bring the murderers of the patriotic cause, the monopolizers, forestallers, and engrossers, to condign punishment. "I would to God," said he, "that some one of the more atrocious in each State was hung in gibbets upon a gallows five times as high as the one prepared by Haman. No punishment, in my opinion, is too severe for the man who can build his greatness upon his country's ruin." But despite such legislation, which really defeated the end sought to be accomplished by making victims of the conscientious and allowing rascals to escape, paper continued to depreciate

GENERAL ST. CLAIR TO GENERAL WASHINGTON.

CAMP AT TOTOWA, *November 2d*, 1779.

Sir:—In cantoning the troops, there are two objects which seem to claim particular attention—the securing West Point and cover-

and prices to rise. The popular excitement in Pennsylvania became intense, and a self-constituted committee of citizens of Philadelphia, attempted to regulate the prices of salt, sugar, coffee, flour, and other staple articles, to which regulation Robert Morris and other leading merchants refused to conform. In this they were sustained by Hon. James Wilson, the eminent citizen who, as a signer of the Declaration of Independence, and member of Congress, had been foremost in the cause of the Colonies. This seemed to incense the party seeking to control the sales of articles of consumption, beyond all bounds, as it was the second time he had stood in their path. When they had attempted to drive out the wives and children of the Loyalists, and caused the indictment of persons suspected of sympathizing with the British when they occupied Philadelphia, Mr. Wilson had, with true courage, stood forth as their defender in the Court; and, although they succeeded in having two Quakers executed, he secured the release of twenty-three other *suspects*. They were now resolved on having revenge on Mr. Wilson, and all others who had reprobated their course.

Several hundred militia assembled on the 4th of October, with arms in their hands, and after participating in a violent meeting, paraded the streets. It was whispered about that they intended to seize Mr. Wilson, and they marched, for that purpose, to the City Tavern, expecting to find him and his friends there. Disappointed in this, they moved towards his residence, situated at the south-west corner of Third and Walnut streets, under the lead of two desperate characters—Bonham and Pickering. Friends of Mr. Wilson, including General Mifflin, General Thompson, Captain Campbell, and other Continental officers and friends, to the number of thirty or forty, had gone to Mr. Wilson's house to defend it. They were all armed. The mob approached, with drums beating, and dragging two pieces of cannon, in a very threatening manner. There is a conflict of testimony here—one account saying that as the mob was passing the house, Captain Campbell (a one-armed veteran of Hazen's regiment), fired a pistol at them through an open window; and others, that the mob fired upon the house, and that the defenders responded. Captain Campbell, in the house, and an unknown person on the street, were killed. The mob forced a door on the Third street side, but as they entered were met with a well-directed fire, which dropped several of them. At this point, President Reed appeared, followed by Major David Lenox,[1] at the head of a detachment of the City Troop, and succeeded in dispersing the mob. Arrests were made on both sides, but there were no prosecutions, as the Assembly passed an act of free and general pardon. After this, party contests were less violent.

[1] Major David Lenox, a gallant, patriotic, and useful soldier of the Revolution, a citizen of Philadelphia, from 1784 to 1786 a partner of General St. Clair, in mercantile operations, and at the time of his death, in 1828, President of the Pennsylvania Society of Cincinnati.

ing Jersey in such a manner as to preserve an easy communication with Pennsylvania. But West Point requires two thousand eight hundred men, and, for the Northern posts dependent on it and the necessary detachments below, a thousand more will not be an extravagant allowance. I will suppose, then, that the army may be cantoned to answer these purposes in this manner: The corps at West Point to remain there, and those under your Excellency's immediate command to take post in Jersey. But of the first, there will, on the first day of January remain little more than three thousand men; and, of the last, about two thousand four hundred. Should those posted in Jersey be in the vicinity of the enemy, they would be liable to have their quarters beat up; they would probably have a new position to take, which may be very difficult in the winter season, and be exposed to the loss of their baggage and artillery, as it will not be possible to maintain the horses at the army. Should they be removed to any considerable distance, in order to place them in greater security, they could not answer the purpose of covering the country. It is not probable that many recruits will have arrived by the first of January, be the measures of the States ever so decisive—a part, however, of the quotas of Pennsylvania and Connecticut may, perhaps, be counted on, which is all, I apprehend, may be expected before the month of March, at soonest. Should the troops be posted in the upper part of Jersey, or in the vicinity of West Point, the most valuable part of that State will be left entirely open to the enemy, the communication with Pennsylvania become more difficult, the carriage be greatly increased through a rough country, and where forage is not abundant. Difficulties present themselves on all sides; but, on the whole, I think some middle station should be chosen, in Jersey, so situated as to be within a few hours' forced march, with light troops, of the Newark Mountain, which appears to me a barrier of considerable importance; but I have not a sufficient local knowledge to be able to point out a particular place. There will be a time when the army there, supposing that disposition should be thought proper, will be very weak; but then a body of the militia might be called out, which would not much interfere with their filling their battalions, as the number of men they would want is not considerable, and, from the season, not at all with the affairs of husbandry. With them joined to the troops, there would be no great danger of any serious attempt from the enemy, from the distance they would have to penetrate into the country, and the difficulty of a retreat in case of misfortune.

But at West Point there are only the number of men necessary merely for the works, and, therefore, not a sufficient number for its defense, should it be attempted in any other way than by a *coupe de main.* It is not, however, probable that the enemy will sit down before it in the winter season, and, should that be their design, it must be discovered in time enough to throw in a reinforcement, and part of the York militia might also be called out without impeding the recruiting service, as their battalion are near complete.

On one hand the ease and comfort of the troops require their being cantoned as soon as possible; that their huts may be constructed before the severity of the winter sets in; more especially when we reflect upon the state of their clothing. On the other, until the winter is at least so far advanced as to preclude the possibility of an attempt upon West Point. But a serious attempt upon West Point, as I observed before, requires such previous preparation as can not well be concealed, and a body, I should suppose, of at least eight thousand men, and both sides of the river must be occupied, so that the probability is against its being made in the winter, when their communication with New York by water must be precarious. There is no probability at all of their marching to it, as the means of transporting the apparatus for siege, and the necessary provisions are not, I believe, within their power. I should, therefore, think that in a fortnight hence the camp may be broken up; but this will be, in some measure, governed by the weather.

After all, it must be owned that, should the enemy bend their force against the army I have supposed in Jersey, it would be a hazardous situation; but, as they have discovered no inclination to attempt any thing of that kind since the detachments have been made from this army, and, whilst the season was favorable to military operations, it induces an expectation that they will not be more enterprising, on great scale, at least, during the winter.[1]

I am most clearly of opinion that no troops can be spared, at this time, for the southward; neither do I see any offensive operation

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[1] The above observatious were called for by General Washington, and in the disposition of the army for the winter, and the design upon Staten Island, were fully approved by the Commander-in-Chief. It was proposed to quarter the cavalry in Connecticut, station a brigade at Danbury, a sufficient garrison at West Point, including the post at King's Ferry and Continental Village, a small body of troops at the entrance of the Clove, and the main body of the army in the country in the neighborhood of the Scotch Plains. Washington's headquarters were fixed at Morristown.

See letter to President of Congress, 24th November.

that can be undertaken with much likelihood of success. It appears, indeed, to me, that we have but one object—Staten Island—the garrisons of which are most probably reinforced.

GENERAL ST. CLAIR TO BRIGADIER-GENERAL IRVINE.

MT. LOKS, *Nov. 24th*, 1779.—2 o'clock.

Dear Sir:—I have met with Mr. Abeel here and he informs me that our position will not be determined until he has had a meeting with General Greene, which he expects this evening, so that, in all probability, we shall keep our present station to-morrow at least.

There are provisions at Morristown which he would send on to us, but as the commissary's wagons are broken down (the wheels I mean) if you please to order them on to that place, he will give them new wagons, which they can load back with the provision.

If any thing else occurs, I shall give early notice.

PRESIDENT REED TO GENERAL ST. CLAIR.

PHILADELPHIA, *Dec. 9th*, 1779.

Dear Sir:—Your favor of the 3d inst. is now before me. The delicacy of giving any directions with respect to the clothing, which might in any respect interfere with the views of the General, induced us to submit it entirely to his direction. In future we shall be on a more certain footing.

Your wishes to see harmony and good agreement prevail in time of public calamity, do honor to the goodness of your own heart. And I hope that, notwithstanding some unfavorable appearances, it may in due time be accomplished. I assure you I shall be so far from declining any overtures of that nature, that I shall cheerfully meet them. Mr. Wilson's understanding and abilities will always make him respectable, if he does not devote them too far to the purposes of party. He is one whom no man would choose to wish for an enemy, and I believe it entirely depends on himself to increase the number of his friends.

When, as I hope is the case with us, party has not rankled into personal enmity, I flatter myself civility and society may be restored. Time and mutual good dispositions alone can effect it.

It is a great satisfaction to see harmony so prevailing in the mili-

tary line. God grant it may continue and increase. Perhaps the influence of example may reach us.

GENERAL WASHINGTON TO GENERAL ST. CLAIR.

MORRISTOWN, *27th January*, 1780.

Dear Sir:—You will be pleased to repair to our lines and investigate the causes of the late misfortune and disgrace at Elizabethtown, and report your opinion thereupon, as soon as inquiry is made.[1] You will also examine into the state of our guards, and see if any change can be made in their position for the better; having respect, as far as present circumstances will allow, to the object in view, which are security to this camp, cover to the country near the enemy's lines, and prevention of that injurious and abominable traffic, which is carried on with the city of New York. While you are in the discharge of this duty, it is my wish that you would obtain, in as unsuspected a manner as possible, a perfect knowledge of the enemy's strength, situation, and guards on Staten Island and at Paulus Hook, the state of the ice on the North River, and such other information as it may be beneficial and important for us to be

[1] A detachment of British troops, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Bushkirk, crossed over from Staten Island at Trembley's Point, and entered Elizabethtown between eleven and twelve o'clock, on the night of the 25th of January. It consisted of one hundred dragoons, and between three and four hundred infantry. They took several prisoners, burnt the meeting-house, town-house, and another building, plundered some of the inhabitants, and retired without loss. A similar attack was made at the same time on a small party at Newark, and with equal success. The academy was burnt. In both places the surprise was complete. The whole number of prisoners taken from the Americans was four officers, and about sixty privates.—*Colonel Hazen's MS. Letter*, January 6th.

On the same day the above letter was written, General Washington informed Colonel Hazen that General St. Clair would go down in the morning to make an inquiry, and endeavor to find out if it would be possible to retaliate on the enemy; and, if not, if some different position of the grounds might not be necessary. He thought enterprises by small parties practicable, but the strength of the enemy would render too hazardous any thing more extensive. Since the North River was passable, he had thought it practicable to carry out the plan of Colonel Willett, for burning the enemy's transports, which were supposed to be frozen in the ice at Turtle Bay. Inquiry was to be made as to the fact of the boats being frozen up, first. If, then, Colonel Willett should choose to undertake it, he was to be indulged, and Washington recommended the selection of Webb's regiment, the men of which were clothed in red, as well calculated for such an enterprise.

acquainted with. It is my wish, also, that you may obtain a complete knowledge of the places and manner in which the enemy's shipping, flat-boats, and other craft are laid up and secured, thereby discovering whether some successful attempt, by stratagem or otherwise, may not be made to destroy them. The relief which went down to the detachment under the command of Colonel Hazen, when joined thereto, will form a body of two thousand rank and file; and as there were reasons for apprehending that the enemy had some offensive plan in view, which actually took place that very night, I ordered Colonel Hazen to remain there with his command a few days, or till further orders. You will please to take command of both detachments, and retain the old till the objects here enumerated are fulfilled, unless you should think best to order the return of it to camp before. If, in the course of your tour of duty below, and investigation of the enemy's posts, any operation upon a large or small scale presents itself, you will delay no time in communicating your ideas fully on the subject to me, provided, in the latter instance, a favorable opportunity is not lost by delay, in which case you are left altogether to your own discretion, bearing in mind always that new disappointments will add discredit to our arms. But, while the state of the ice admits a free and easy passage of troops from New York, any attempt otherwise than by surprise may be dangerous.

General St. Clair to General Washington.

Crane's Mills, *January* 28, 1780.

Sir:—I arrived at Colonel Hazen's quarters the night before last, and yesterday, with him, visited the several posts, which I found to be Rahway, Crane's Mills, Connecticut Farms, Elizabethtown, and Newark. Elizabethtown and Newark are occupied by small detachments only, and guards are posted at De Hart's and Halsted Points. A small guard is also kept at the New Blazing Star from the post at Rahway.

In this situation the troops are as compact as, I believe, the nature of the cantonment will allow consistently with the objects in view; yet they are far from being so much so as could be wished. The distance these different places lie from one another, and want of horse to communicate speedily any movements of the enemy, render it very easy to surprise one or other of the posts, particularly Rahway, which is only two miles from the Sound, and lies five miles from hence and five miles from the Blazing Star. The small detached

guard at that place may be very easily taken off; and then their flank, and even their rear, is entirely open.

To cover effectually such an extent of country as from Newark to Amboy, in the present state of the ice, would require a very considerable body of troops; and the dispersing them in small bodies, exposes them to many accidents, and greatly favors desertion, which, with much regret, I find has prevailed in these commands.

In Elizabethtown, I found a four days' guard, consisting of one hundred men, with a field officer. This I reduced to a captain and fifty, to be relieved daily, which I thought would answer every purpose that could be expected from the hundred, as they may, when on for one day only, be kept constantly alert, and half of them at a time patroling during the night. Indeed, I believe good patrols would answer every purpose better than small guards; but, where the distance betwixt posts is considerable, they should be composed of horse. The guards at De Hart's and Halsted Points are certainly much exposed, and if the enemy suffer them to remain, it must arise from extreme caution, or their having something of more importance in contemplation, for I can not suppose they want information of our position.

I have not yet been able to ascertain the enemy's number on Staten Island, or at Paulus Hook, but expect to-day to have pretty good accounts of the last, as also of the state of the ice on both the North and East Rivers; but from all that I can learn, and from the intelligence Colonel Hazen has received, their numbers on the Island amount to two thousand and upwards. The reinforcement thrown in from New York consisted of three regiments—supposed about seven or eight hundred men; part of them are cantoned, and part encamped about the middle of the island. Intelligence is, however, very difficult to be obtained, and is not, in my opinion, in a good train; the person who seems to be most depended upon bearing a very bad character, and known to act as an agent for the enemy. Indeed, it will be almost impossible to get it into another train, unless the intercourse betwixt the inhabitants and the island can be prevented; nor can a stop be put to the traffic carried on with the city, unless some other way of rewarding those we employ be fallen upon than countenancing it in their favor.

Nothing has yet presented itself to induce any attempt upon the enemy, which should at least have probability in its favor. Their advanced picket at Dungan's Mills might be taken off, but it is a trifling object, and the retreat of the party might be prevented. If any thing is to be done on the island, it must, I believe, be by open

force, which they seem to expect, as, from the information of a deserter, they are improving their works and adding *abatis*, and keep their troops as close to them as possible. They are also constructing a new work, with timbers, on a hill that commands the redoubt at the Watering Place. There is at present a passage to New York, but it is frequently interrupted by the driving ice.

Dr. Burnet expected a trusty, intelligent person from New York last night, and I shall see him to-day. By him, I expect the information your Excellency wishes with respect to the East River, and the situation of the enemy's vessels. If it favors Colonel Willet's enterprise, I shall desire him to wait upon your Excellency immediately. I find, by an order of Gen. Tryon's of the 13th, that a number of bateaux are to be laid up at De Nuys's Ferry, at the Narrows.

I suppose Colonel Hazen has informed your Excellency of the attempt the enemy intended upon the detachment at Rahway on Wednesday last, which was prevented by Colonel Gray's obtaining some notice of it. I can not help repeating that horse are much wanted to give any degree of security to the cantonments; but, a one object is to cover and secure the inhabitants, they ought, some of them at least, to be furnished by the State, and if these were trusty, good men, acquainted with the country, they would make the best patrols possible. I believe, too, they would more effectually check the spirit of traffic than it will ever be done by the soldiery, who hold it, in some measure, a disreputable employment.

I wish I could give your Excellency any hint that might help to check or prevent the shameful desertion that prevails, and for which the troops of Pennsylvania, especially, have so little reason. It would, perhaps, answer a good end, while the ice continues firm, instead of detachments from the army, to send whole corps; the first to be taken from those lines where that vice has not crept in. By the time one or two commands are completed, the communication will probably be more difficult.

I have inquired of every person I thought could give me proper information into the causes of our misfortune at Elizabethtown and Newark, and it appears to have been owing to negligence in not having the patrols out in proper time, and to their having fatigued themselves too much the night before; and it is certain that the captain had not a single vidette, nor even a sentry, on the stable where his horses were.

I am not quite satisfied whether your Excellency intended a formal inquiry, or that I should inform myself in the manner I

have done. Nothing further occurs at present. If any intelligence of moment arises, it shall be immediately communicated; and I will detain Colonel Hazen until I hear from your Excellency.

GENERAL WASHINGTON TO GENERAL ST. CLAIR.

MORRISTOWN, *January* 29, 1780.

Dear Sir:—You will be pleased to forward the inclosed letter by flag. It is from a Mr. Ranselair, who comes particularly recommended by General Schuyler. As he is impatient for an answer, as soon as one reaches you, I wish to have it sent up by express.

I want to be informed in what manner the troops are accommodated as to quarters, or whether any part of them are put to inconvenience on this account. I shall be somewhat influenced by this circumstance as to the continuing or recalling the detachment which went down under Colonel Hazen.

GENERAL WASHINGTON TO GENERAL ST. CLAIR.

MORRISTOWN, *February* 2, 1780.

Dear Sir:—I am this moment favored with your letter of this date.

The detachment which I mentioned as to march this morning, owing to some causes that have unavoidably intervened, does not leave camp till to-morrow.

With regard to the enterprise you have in view, should circumstances make it eligible in your opinion, I have no objection to your trying the experiment.[1]

GENERAL WASHINGTON TO GENERAL ST. CLAIR.

HEADQUARTERS, *February* 2, 1780.

Dear Sir:—I have received your second letter[2] of this date. As I wrote you this forenoon, I leave the enterprise in view entirely with you, and the execution to be attempted or not as you may

[1] As the letter of St. Clair to which the above refers is missing, it is impossible to tell the nature of the information he had received, and the enterprise he designed based upon it. The probability is that it was to be an attempt to surprise some post of the enemy. The letter of St. Clair to Washington, February 7, may give a clue to the design.

[2] Missing.

judge proper from a full consideration of all circumstances, the intelligence you have received, and the characters of the persons who gave it. If it should appear to you that there is a strong probability of its succeeding, the experiment can be made; if not, it may be best not to undertake it.

The dragoon has two or three bundles of prepared combustibles in charge, and some post funds.

GENERAL ST. CLAIR TO GENERAL WASHINGTON.

CRANE'S MILLS, *February* 7, 1780.

Dear Sir:—Nothing extraordinary has happened since my last, neither have I received any intelligence of consequence, my man from New York not yet being returned; I expect to see or hear from him this evening.—It is said that in consequence of the report of some deserters who got into Paulus Hook from Connecticut Farms, the day before the detachment was relieved, that post is reinforced every evening from New York. If this be true, which I hope to ascertain to-day, a stroke may be made upon them. The country was very much alarmed yesterday by the appearance of a party and a number of sleighs on the sound. The report reached me as I was on my return from Woodbridge, with the addition that they were actually landed and in Elizabethtown, which occasioned the troops to be got under arms that were nearest. It proved to be a party from New York, most probably carrying provisions; they came on the ice at Bergen Point, passed up towards De Hart's Point, about half way; and then turned off and landed near Deckers, on Staten Island. The sleighs were in number about one hundred, and the escort consisted of about sixty infantry and twenty horses.

I have made some alteration in the disposition of the cantonments. The body of the troops now lie in a line from Springfield to the southern part of Westfield, with one hundred and twenty men advanced to Connecticut Farms, and the same number in this neighborhood; fifty men detached to Newark, and fifty to Woodbridge. The different parties of mounted militia are instructed to patrol the roads along the sound from Newark to Amboy; fifteen of them are stationed at Newark, fifteen at Rahway, and fifteen at Woodbridge. These are a kind of volunteers who depend upon the Legislature for a reasonable compensation for their services. As the people came very readily into this mode, and discovered

an unwillingness to engage in any other way, I declined raising the twenty your Excellency had empowered me, and if these forty-five, in the manner they are stationed, will do their duty, there is little doubt but that, with the assistance of our foot patrols, every movement of the enemy will be timely discovered.

A son of Mr. Hadden, who was lately made prisoner at Newark, waited upon me yesterday with a request from Mrs. Hadden, who has your Excellency's permission to go to New York, that your Excellency would allow her to pass by Paulus Hook. I promised him to mention it, and I believe there is no doubt but flags will be received there. Major Skinner went in that way, and a flag came from thence the day before yesterday with a letter for him, and by opening that communication, some useful observations may, perhaps, be made.

General Washington to General St. Clair.

Morristown, *8th February*, 1780.

Dear Sir:—I received your favor of the 7th yesterday afternoon. As I can see no inconveniency from permitting Mrs. Hadden to pass in by Paulus Hook, you will, therefore, grant her request; and make such further use of that communication in the way of flags, while the frost continues, as you may judge essential for any purposes you may have in view, or for obtaining useful information. I would imagine, however, that the enemy will object to this line, for the same reasons which we may desire it.

I have no objection to Kemp and Crane going over to Kingston; you may, therefore, indulge the friends of the persons who were lately taken in their application.

General St. Clair to General Washington.

Springfield, *February 11th*, 1780.

Sir:—The enemy made an incursion into this State this morning, about an hour before day, in three different places from Staten Island, and one from Paulus Hook.

A party of about three hundred, commanded by Colonel Simcoe, landed at Woodbridge, a small party on Rahway Neck, and the most considerable body at De Hart's Point, and marched to Elizabethtown.

The guards at Elizabethtown and Woodbridge were timely apprised of their approach, and retreated to some little distance from

both these posts, and were not attacked, and have sustained no other loss than having each one man wounded.

I have not been able to ascertain the force of the party that came to Elizabethtown. The two persons that were made prisoners there seem entirely ignorant of it, and had followed the troops in order to plunder. Their numbers are said to have been two thousand, which is improbable; but from General Sterling and General Skinner, both being [unintelligible], they must have been considerable. A number of houses in the town have been stripped of every thing, and ten or twelve of the inhabitants carried off.

The party at Woodbridge committed no outrage of any kind upon either the persons or houses of the inhabitants, but carried off about thirty head of cattle. Their principal aim seems to have been the guard, and, missing of that, they stayed a very short time. On their retreat they were followed by the horse patrols, some of the militia, and the troops, who say they wounded several, but none were left on the ground. The party that landed at Rahway, in a very obscure place, plundered two houses and carried off two men, and seemed to have had no other object. But the surprising a party of fifty men seemed too trifling to have been the design of so large a party as that at Elizabethtown. Whatever it may have been, the finding the guard so alert probably induced them to desist. The party from Paulus Hook consisted of about three hundred horse, and landed at Hackensack. The person I had sent to New York, and who had been detained at Paulus Hook in consequence of orders the day before, to suffer no person to go out, came over with them.

They proceeded some distance into the country, and from the route they pursued, he thinks, intended to have passed the Cedar Swamp, and were very particular in their inquiries about the situation of your quarters, and where I was quartered, and the guards that were posted between Hackensack and Morristown. He says particularly that, after marching some way into the country, he heard an officer ask the commandant where they were going. He replied he could not tell him that, but they had more than thirty miles to march that night; that in a short time after this, finding the snow very deep and the roads not broken, they returned, and he was dismissed.

If their design was an attempt on your Excellency's quarters, the other party's were intended to divert our attention from that party of horse that were to have marched upon our left flank, and I hope you will pardon me for hinting that there is not a sufficient body of troops near enough to render you secure. Had they been designed

to have fallen upon our rear, which they might have done, they had troops enough to have given us full occupation, and them the opportunity. But supposing either of these designs, it is difficult to account for their retiring so soon, without even attacking the Elizabethtown guard, which was not above a quarter of a mile out of town.

The person from New York, says that the East River is still open; and, in general, gives the same account of the situation of the shipping guards and quarters of the general officers as I had the honor to transmit to your Excellency in a former letter. His account of Paulus Hook is an accurate one. It consists of a pretty large redoubt, with a smaller one within it, capable of containing about one hundred and fifty. The barracks about ten rods without the works, abatised to the landside; but not to the water, and not one piece of cannon planted that way. The garrison consists of about six hundred men, from which they detach daily a sergeant's guard to the Green Island, about a mile from the Hook, and lower down the river; and that they have ceased to send the reinforcements I mentioned before for some days.

I have had no authentic intelligence from Staten Island for some days, and, indeed, it is very difficult to obtain.

The inhabitants in general cry out so much against Morris Hatfield that I have not employed him, and they are all afraid of being detected by his brothers on the Island. I expect, however, to hear from there by to-morrow night, and if it is of consequence, will transmit it immediately to your Excellency. I still think Buskirk's corps may be taken off.

General Washington to General St. Clair.

Headquarters, Morristown, 12*th Feb.*, 1780.

Dear Sir:—I received yours of yesterday late last night. I am pleased to find that the vigilance of your guards and patrols disappointed the enemy, whatever might have been their intentions. I have taken precautions to guard against an attempt by such a party as might be reasonably supposed to be able to reach this in the course of a night, and I hope that a short continuance of this weather will make the ice impassable by horse; from foot, there is no danger at this distance.

If you still think an attempt upon Buskirk's corps practicable, you are at full liberty to try the experiment. I am confident you

will undertake nothing but what will be justified by appearances and a probability of success.

P. S. As the enemy have made an incursion with their horse by the way of Hackensack, will it not be prudent in you to extend your patrols of horse more to your left while the ice is passable? Whenever persons apply for liberty to go within the enemy's line, having the permission of the Executive of any of the States, Congress, or the Board of War, you may suffer them to pass without an application to me.

General St. Clair to General Washington.

Springfield, *Feb.* 20, 1780.

Sir:—The enemy made another attempt last night, about eleven o'clock, to surprise the party at Newark, and plunder the town, but, being happily discovered on their approach by the patrols, the guard and the inhabitants were alarmed, and obliged them to retire without their effecting any thing except carrying off two men, one of whom is supposed to have purposely thrown himself in their way. There was some firing betwixt their advance and the patrols, but without loss on our side, or, I believe, on theirs, though it is said that some of them were wounded.

The guard retired to a height in the rear of the town, until they discovered the strength of the party, which consisted of about one hundred foot, when, being joined by the inhabitants, they moved down to attack them.

The enemy immediately retired, and were pursued to the river, where they were obliged to quit about twenty head of cattle they had collected, and some horses, and I hear of nothing missing but one sheep and an old horse.

The ice still remains passable, both in Hackensack and Second Rivers, and in Newark Bay, and the Sound, but with some difficulty, there being many places, particularly in the Bay and Sound, that will support very little weight.

I believe the North River, though still fast, will not admit the passage of troops. Whilst they remain in that situation, perhaps the post at Paulus Hook might be attempted with probable success, as, from the intelligence I have, they are not very vigilant there; the garrison does not now exceed five hundred men, and, if I am rightly informed, the place is entirely open to the North River. I think there is no doubt but that the ice upon the Flats will be strong enough for some time, unless the weather should alter, and guides

may be procured to conduct a proper party clear of the inhabitants. The detachment here might be sufficient, for, if it is carried, it might be by surprise, and, in that case, numbers are of no great avail. I have not yet, however, such information as to enable me to digest a plan of attack, but am in hopes to receive it to-night, and shall immediately communicate it to your Excellency.

There is not much time to lose, but the critical moment is that in which the ice is sufficiently strong along shore, when it is too weak in the North and Sound.

General Washington to General St. Clair.

Morristown, *February* 23, 1780.—Half-past 10 A. M.

Sir:—I have this moment received yours[1] of seven o'clock. I apprehend, with you, that the circumstances you mention will prevent the execution of your project; for which reason, and the badness of the weather, I delay the march of the covering party till I hear further from you. If the intelligence you expect proves favorable, I shall be obliged to you to dispatch a second messenger, and I will take measures here accordingly.[2]

P. S. Will not the state of the moon be unfriendly to your attempt towards morning?

General Washington to General St. Clair and Lieutenant-Colonels Edward Carrington and Alexander Hamilton.

Morristown, *8th March*, 1780.

Gentlemen:—The powers herewith authorize you to proceed to Amboy, on the 9th instant, to meet commissioners on the part of the enemy, for the purpose of settling a general cartel. You will perceive what has been already done in this business by the papers

[1] Missing.

[2] General St. Clair ordered Colonel Sherman to assemble his brigade at Westfield, on the evening of the 23d, whence he was to march to Springfield, so as to arrive there at eight o'clock; all of the guards were to be called in except those at Rahway and Woodbridge; the men were to be marched completely equipped, but without their packs, and each man was to be furnished with a gill of rum. These orders were carried out, but the enterprise had to be abandoned at the last moment, on account of its having been ascertained that the enemy had been apprised of the intended movement, and was prepared.



accompanying this. The only instructions I have to give you are these: That you transact nothing under your commission but upon principles of perfect equality and on a national ground. If the enemy will not treat with you on this footing, you will put an end to the negotiations. But, after your official business is over, I wish you, in private conversation, to enter into a discussion of the proposals, so as to remove any difficulties they contain, and prepare the way for some future particular agreement, which may give relief to our officers and men in captivity.

If you enter into a general cartel, you must of necessity include the southern prisoners; but, if you are obliged to confine yourselves to what I now recommend, you will avoid including them. The proposals appear to me generally liberal, though, in some respects, exceptionable. The tariff, however, is moderate enough. Having entire confidence in your judgment and discretion, I think it unnecessary to enter into a detail of the exceptionable parts; persuaded that they will readily occur to you, and that you will take proper steps to have them amended. The settlement of accounts is a point of importance and difficulty. As the matter now stands, I am unable to give you any explicit directions on the subject. If you are likely to enter into a general cartel, you will immediately advise me, and I will obtain further instructions from Congress. If this is not the case, you will hardly be able to draw any engagements from the enemy on this head, and you will perceive this point is not to be made a preliminary nor ultimatum. You will do the best you can, endeavoring, by all means, to engage the British Commissioners to advance a sufficient sum of money to pay the debts of our officers for board and the like, and enable them to leave their captivity. You will communicate to me, from time to time, any matters you may desire my advice upon, and it shall cheerfully be afforded. I sincerely wish you a successful and honorable issue to your commission.[1]

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[1] The convention failed, as had been foreseen. In communicating the formal report of the American Commissioners to Congress, March 31st, General Washington alluded to the report transmitted by the Minister of France, that, on account of the difficulty in procuring men in Germany, the British Court had instructed Sir Henry Clinton to treat with General Washington, on national grounds. The unreliability of this report was shown by the result of the Convention at Amboy. Therefore, following Washington's instructions, the commissioners refused to treat on any other grounds. The British Commissioners insisted on the exchange being, at all events, extended to one-half of the Second Division of the Convention troops. General Washington said he would carry out such a plan if Congress ordered it, but he asked to be excused from deciding it. "On the one hand, the acquisition of

GENERAL PHILLIPS[1] TO GENERAL ST. CLAIR.

AMBOY, *March 20th*, 1780.

Sir:—I entered upon the commission which is now ended, promising myself there would be derived from it real advantages to the unlucky sufferers of both armies by a general exchange; unsuccess-

so many men will be of great moment to the enemy, if they meet with success at the southward; on the other, I see not how we shall be able to maintain our officers in captivity, and the expense is no trifling consideration."

General Phillips reported to Lord George Germain: "This attempt for a general cartel and exchange has proven ineffectual, as every former one had done founded on an objection to the powers given by Sir Henry Clinton; and your Lordship will directly observe the great object of the American Congress is to work some public act, in which General Washington may be concerned with Sir Henry Clinton in character of equality with Great Britain, on the principles of nation against nation at war; and the positive declaration of the American Commissioners on this matter fully evinces the fact, and that a general cartel can never take place on any other ground, which, it may be imagined, will never be suffered by Great Britain. In a number of attempts to release the troops of Convention, the matter was broken off under several descriptions. At one time, the American Congress would not exchange the troops in corps; at another, they were willing to exchange private soldiers to a certain number, but it was never understood what number or in what manner. Interested, as I have been, it has led me to hold conversations with a number of American officers, proving to them that the troops of Convention stood under a particular description, and that exchanging the officers without the men against American officers, prisoners of war could not be considered as equal, the American officers going to an immediate activity of service, and the Convention officers not doing so, as the regiments to which they belonged would still be in captivity; and, however eligible and convenient for the officers themselves, it would be of no advantage to the King's service."

[1] William Phillips, Major-General in the British army, who commanded the artillery under General Borgoyne in the investment of Ticonderoga. He had won distinction as a soldier in Germany, and from his experience there quickly saw the importance of having possession of Sugar-Loaf Hill, in the work of reducing the forts on Lake Champlain. He took part in the battles of Bemis's Heights, and was made a prisoner at Saratoga. The troops surrendered there under the terms agreed on between General Gates and General Burgoyne, were called Convention Troops, and were commanded by General Phillips on their march to Virginia. General Phillips was actively engaged in the South after his exchange, and died of bilious fever at Bollingbrook, on the James River, 14th May, 1781, one year after the correspondence with St. Clair, while General La Fayette was investing the place. It is claimed, by British chroniclers, that shot passed through

ful prosecution of that matter, the papers composing the minutes of our proceedings will explain.

I felt great satisfaction, however, at the proposition which was made by you and Lieutenant-Colonels Carrington and Hamilton to enter into a private conversation upon the subject of exchanges, and to try if it might not be possible to bring that purpose to bear under an usual and customary mode by letters between the two Commanders-in-Chief, without any future appointment of commissioners, which seems to have retarded rather than have hastened a business so very essential to the number of suffering individuals.

I am sure, sir, your candor will allow that I, as well as Lieutenant-Colonels Gordon and Norton, entered into your idea with the utmost cheerfulness, and I apprehend it was mutually agreed upon to converse upon the matter dispassionately, and to endeavor at removing those difficulties which might appear to act against a general exchange, in which the troops of Convention were to be connected. I allow this to have been done to a certain degree, when it became necessary for us to make a proposition that might fix certain stated points of time and characters, and put the matter upon a future indisputable footing. This drew from you, sir, a paper which you held to us as an ultimatum on your part,[1] that was so contrary to our expectations and seemed so little calculated to answer the good purposes proposed, that it forced us reluctantly to become silent upon a business which we found so very unlikely to be brought to any desirable issue.

I can not suffer you to depart from this place without making an observation or two upon the paper you delivered to me; and, in the first instance, I must be allowed to remark that Lieutenant-Governor Hamilton[2] is placed in a description of exchange which had never

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the house where General Phillips was dying, and that when La Fayette's attention was called to it, he refused to desist. This, however, is not true. General Phillips was buried in the old Blandford church-yard, from which his remains were never removed. His correspondence with St. Clair displayed a humane sentiment highly creditable.

[1]This was in accordance with the determination of Washington not to treat on any but terms of absolute equality. It was also important that the British army should not be speedily reinforced with the Convention troops. Hence, technicalities were more strenuously insisted on than they would have been, probably, under other circumstances.

[2]Henry Hamilton, Lieutenant-Governor of Canada, was captured at Post Vincennes, by George Rogers Clarke, on the occasion of his expedition to the North-west. Hamilton and several of his chief officers were sent as prisoners to Williamsburg, Virginia, where, on account of their alleged com-

been a part of our conversation on that subject; the proposition for his being released was mutual, and we offered to your view, at the same time, several officers who were in the same situation with himself; but the Lieutenant-Governor and these officers were always included in our conversation, to be exchanged against such of your officers, prisoners of war, as might be in Georgia; and never, in any time of our discourse, came into a calculation of that plan of exchange which comprehended the American officers prisoners of war in these parts.

The paper contains, in the second instance, a long interwoven matter, in the body of which is expressed, that the balance of officers, if any, after a discussion of certain points, shall be applied, as far as they will go, towards an exchange of the second division of the troops of Convention; but, Sir, the points to be discussed surround this offer in such a manner as to put out of question any possible operation. The persons who may be produced under no present certain description, and of Canadians who have been produced, must necessarily involve the matter in such a perplexed discussion as would, in course, prevent the troops of Convention from receiving any advantage from the American officers, prisoners of war, in Georgia, as described within the period of the 31st of December, 1779.

In the prosecution of an exchange on our part, the first object has invariably been, the officers and soldiers, prisoners of war; after them the troops of Convention, by corps; but in pursuing the latter, the greatest attention must be observed to avoid, not only the reality, but the appearance also, of partiality, and that in exchanging the first division the greatest care must be had to give effect to the exchange of those corps whose unlucky lot has put them into a second division; and it is necessary, also, that, after having agreed to your proposal, that certain general officers should go with each division. It should never be conceived those general officers would suffer themselves to be exchanged without a due consideration for the troops, and under such a description of numbers as

plicity in inciting the Indians to murderous attacks on the frontiers, they were thrown into jail and heavily ironed. Governor Jefferson finally ordered them released from their confinement, but the wrath of the people would not be appeased, On account of the claim of the State of Virginia to the control of Hamilton, General Washington could not authorize the Commissioners to recognize him as a prisoner of the United Colonies on the occasion under consideration.

might prevent any possibility of a seeming partiality, or a desire of being exchanged unconnected with the officers and soldiers.

The first division under the description is free of any doubt, but the operation of the second would bear a little hard upon my character, positively so upon my feelings, if I did not contend, even to a risk of the loss of my own liberty, that a proper and suitable number of officers and men should be absolutely exchanged with me, and a view left open for the future exchange of the rest, when there may be American prisoners of war in Sir Henry Clinton's hands, to enable him to propose an exchange for the remainder of them.

This might be done, I apprehend, consistent with the feelings and the honor of the troops of Convention, and of their general officers, supposing the proposition made by myself, Lieutenant-Colonels Gordon and Norton had been accepted, by which the balance of American prisoners of war in these parts joined with the American prisoners of war in South Carolina and Georgia, to the 31st of December, 1779, would go to the release of the troops of Convention, as far as they applied; the release of the remainder would depend upon the future operations of the war; and, although they might have occasion to lament their ill-fortune, would acknowledge the impartiality of the conduct used towards them, the corps being exchanged by lot, and the general officers in a proportion with those corps.

Had any exchange taken place, I should have contended that, after leaving a proper number of officers with each remaining corps of troops of Convention, the others might have had the liberty of going to Europe upon their paroles, under the stipulation that American officers made prisoners of war might have their paroles, also, agreeable to the terms of the proposal signed by me and the four American officers.

Having, thus far, explained to you my sentiments, I am free to declare to you that I think an exchange might have taken place, had not such particular terms been proposed as have put it out of my power, individually, to offer them as a man of honor, and so intimately connected with the exchange, to his Excellency, General Henry Clinton, and I am of the opinion an exchange may still take place, should you incline to recede from the particular articles which have combined to form the difficulty. I shall, at all times, be ready to meet you, personally, at Elizabethtown or Staten Island, and endeavor, with the consent of our superiors, to bring this very interesting matter to a happier conclusion than we have now been able to do.

I feel great pleasure in having met you, Sir, and beg to testify the greatest esteem for your very polite conduct towards me and the other gentlemen.

You will, in course, consider this a private letter.

MAJOR-GENERAL PHILLIPS TO GENERAL ST. CLAIR.

AMBOY, *March 22d*, 1780.

Sir:—When your leisure will allow you to examine the comparative views of the officers who are on parole of the British and American armies, you will perceive that, exclusive of some characters on both sides, for whom no estimate has been made, there remains a balance in favor of Mr. Loring, British Commissionary-General of prisoners, of forty-eight numbers, equal to something more than a major and a captain.

Having had very much at heart, for a long time, the situation of Major Harnage and Captain Hawker, of the Sixty-second British Regiment, belonging to the troops of Convention, the former of whom has a family, I am to request the favor of your interposition with General Washington that these officers may be allowed the liberty of going immediately upon their paroles to New York. The principles of liberality, exclusive of the equality of parole exchanges, give me, I apprehend, a just claim for naming these officers upon this occasion, and I am sure I need not say more upon the subject, being fully convinced they will be admitted upon their paroles.

It becomes necessary for me in this public letter, to give the same fair and honorable discription, as I hope I have done in every part relating to our commission, of what respects Lieutenant-Governor Hamilton.

Unacquainted with what rank he might hold in the army, and uncertain whether he derived any military rank from being Lieutenant-Governor of Detroit, I wrote to those persons and characters at New York who have a right to govern me in my transactions relating to that gentleman, and if his exchange had fortunately become a matter for our decision, I should have been fully competent to decide of what value he might be estimated in the tariff we have used in our calculations on this subject; but that being out of the question, I now offer, from motives of humanity on my part (which I have no doubt will govern you in your report of this matter to General Washington), that if Lieutenant-Governor Hamilton, Major Hay, Captain La Motte, and Mr. Justice Dejean be sent in upon

their paroles to New York, Colonel Mathews, an American prisoner of war on Long Island, shall be admitted to go out on parole for them. It is to be understood, at the same time, that this does not determine or bear on the question of rank, but that we are acting merely from motives of compassion to suffering individuals, in endeavoring to afford them, although not exchanged, the comfort of being with their respective friends. Should I, by accident, have omitted the name or description of any person capitulated for by Lieutenant-Governor Hamilton, and with him a prisoner of war, I request, through your interposition, the favor of General Washington's consideration for such person or persons, that they may be permitted to go into New York upon parole, and I give my full assurance that adequate ranks from the American prisoners of war shall be sent out for them.

I will not tire you with a recapitulation upon paper of the various conversations we have had on the subject of exchanges of prisoners of war, the troops of Convention being entirely out of the question, more than to assure you that I believe whenever his Excellency, General Washington, will permit it, the American officers, prisoners of war, violators of parole, to be admitted into an immediate exchange (provided only they can not be sent into New York), that a general exchange of the prisoners of war on both sides might take place.

I can not but feel much satisfaction that although this meeting of British and American Commissioners has ended like that of former interviews of the same nature, it has, however, served to describe the matter of a general exchange in such a manner as to offer a number of preliminaries to a fair and honorable view, and I most sincerely hope, as I am convinced you do, sir, that some more fortunate (they can not be more zealous) persons' may be employed on so humane a purpose.

I will add only one more paragraph to this long letter. It is a wish that, in the unfortunate contest between Great Britain and America, the professional character of liberality and humanity usual among military men, may be preserved and adhered to, upon all occasions where those feelings may operate to render individuals less unfortunate. I can not conclude without assuring you, sir, of the great satisfaction I have had in meeting you, and it is with great pleasure, as with great truth, that I declare how very much I esteem the fairness and liberality which has governed your conduct during the present meeting.

GENERAL ST. CLAIR. TO GENERAL PHILLIPS.

CAMP NEAR MORRISTOWN, *April* 3, 1780.

Sir:—I have now the pleasure to acknowledge the receipt of the three letters you did me the honor to write on the 20th, 22d and 29th[1] ultimo, and should not have so long delayed the acknowledgment of the first two had it been earlier in my power to have given you a satisfactory answer; that of the 29th came not to hand until yesterday.

I am happy to inform you that the American Commissary of Prisoners has received General Washington's orders to signify to Major Harnage and Captain Hawker that they have his permission to go to New York on parole, as their situation will thereby be rendered less irksome to themselves, and it will afford some gratification to you.

The General can not accede to the proposal respecting Governor Hamilton, and the gentlemen included with him, in the capitulation with Colonel Clarke. Although their release would have been considered in a general exchange, he does not think himself at liberty to make them the objects of a particular parole exchange, as they are claimed as prisoners by the State of Virginia; besides, the return on your part appears to him unequal.

It was extremely obliging in you to interest yourself in favor of Mr. Randolph and Mr. Fitzhugh. His Excellency will give the necessary orders that Lord Torphicen and Lieutenant Hudson may go into New York on parole, and will consider these gentlemen as opposed to them for the present, but he chooses to limit the stay of Mr. Randolph and Mr. Fitzhugh to a certain period; and it is expected that when they return to New York (if the British officers should not be recalled), that two other American officers of the same rank with Lord Torphicen and Mr. Hadden, and the oldest in captivity, will be immediately liberated on the same conditions.

It did not occur to me that the stipulation with respect to Chaplains had not been signed by the respective Commissaries of Prisoners, but it was fully understood, and Mr. Beatty has now orders to interchange with the British Commissary a certificate that the Chaplains belonging to either army, when taken, are not to be considered as prisoners of war, but are to be immediately released. If the persons agreed to be exchanged at Amboy, and opposed to the Americans who have been sent to Elizabethtown in consequence,

[1] Missing.

are not yet sent on, he will again have orders to return them with all possible dispatch.

Inclosed is a passport for Mr. Bibby. What the result of our conversations at Amboy may be I can not determine, but the desire I have, with you, to give relief to the sufferers of both armies, induces a wish that they may produce the hoped-for effect; but it will be yet some time before that can be known. Whatever it may be, it is the duty, as it can not but give pleasure to every humane and liberal man,to alleviate, as much as possible, the distresses of unfortunate individuals in this unhappy contest. As far as my influence or example reaches, it shall ever be my care.

It is very flattering to me that my conduct on the late Commission met your approbation, and I thank you for the very civil mention you have been pleased to make of it. I should be wanting in sincerity and politeness if I did not assure you that the satisfaction was mutual, and that nothing would give me more pleasure than to meet you again, and be an instrument in bringing to a happy issue a business in which humanity in general and your own present feelings are so much interested.

P. S.—I forgot to mention that I think there is little reason to expect any change with respect to those who have broken their paroles. All of them that can be come at will certainly be sent in; but I believe General Washington will never be brought to give them a preference in exchange, which he can not help considering as annexing a reward to a perfidious breach of honor.

GENERAL PHILLIPS TO GENERAL ST. CLAIR.

NEW YORK, *April 8th*, 1780.

Sir:—I yesterday received your letter dated the 3d inst., and am much obliged to you for the attention you have paid to my etters, which you mark to have received. The passport for Mr. Bibby came too late by forty-eight hours, but I shall, however, send him to Sir Henry Clinton by the first opportunity of a ship's sailing to the southward, and, perhaps, before that happens you may be able to write a little more explicitly than you have done upon the subject of our conversations after the Commission had broken up, for, if I recollect rightly, you were to have sent me some little idea how far you had impressed a certain body at Philadelphia with the likelihood of exchanges taking place under certain descriptions of private conversations between you and me.

The paragraph of your letter relating to Messrs. Randolph and Fitzhugh's returning, and for other officers being, then, sent out, is very reasonable, and there can be no doubt about it. I am sorry there appears no likelihood of a present exchange of officers, prisoners of war; for, you may depend upon it that, until the violators of parole are accounted for on your part, no other American officers, prisoners of war, will be exchanged, and it leads me to observe to you, that, in a review of the violators of parole, there appears a number of names, particularly in the rank of lieutenant, of persons taken at Fort Washington, who are undoubtedly within the same degree of exchange with any others on Long Island taken at that time, and I imagine if you will talk with Mr. [——] upon the subject he will explain it to you. I allow that the violators of parole do not deserve reward for what you properly term a "perfidious breach of honor," but I must be of the opinion that a stricture upon the conduct of these persons refers to them only, not to us, and that we have an undoubted right to hold their persons in actual captivity, or that they should be exchanged. I can not but much wonder you do not wish to get rid of them in that manner, more especially as you can not be ignorant of my being informed of the real state of your prisoners of war on Long Island, who can not be released without paying their debts for subsistence, which can never be held as entirely private, considering their public characters. I have no doubt of all the proceedings between the Commissaries of Prisoners, under our direction at Amboy, being carried into execution, and I request you will make my compliment of thanks to General Washington for his indulgence to Major Harnage and Captain Hawker.

This letter is carried out of New York by Major Von Stein, of Lieutenant-General Knyphaussen's regiment, a prisoner of war on parole here, and included in the estimate signed by the two Commissaries of Prisoners. He returns to Pennsylvania with money for the German officers, but particularly to settle his own private accounts, which he left undischarged there, when he came in upon parole.

This officer will, in course, have liberty to return into New York after he shall have settled his business, but, should he prefer remaining among his fellow-sufferers, I shall, in a future letter, name two captains in his place which will fill the measure of the estimate of the officers on parole before mentioned to have been agreed upon by the two Commissaries of Prisoners.

I am very happy in thus corresponding with you. Much good

accrues to suffering individuals by such intermediate explanations to superior officers, and I shall continue to write to you from time to time, as such occasions may offer, and request you will do the same to me. It can not fail of giving you pleasure, as I dare say you are convinced it will me, whenever we can have it in our power to alleviate the sufferings of unfortunate individuals.

P. S.—I inclose you a parcel of newspapers which contain, I believe, true intelligence as much as relates to Europe. Would to heaven that Great Britain and America were once again united; the riches of Spain would then, as usual, be shared among the sons and brothers of Great Britain and America.

General St. Clair to General Phillips.

Camp near Morristown, *April* 15*th*, 1780.

Sir:—I have been favored with both your letters of the 8th inst., and am very sorry that the passport for Mr. Bibby did not arrive in time. It was sent as soon as possible after the receipt of your former letter. However, from the delay, he may be able to carry with him the result of our conversations, with the intentions of Congress thereupon, which you will be made acquainted with as soon as they are known to the General.

It gives me great pain that the exchange of those persons who have violated their paroles should, in the first instance, be so strenuously insisted on, as I see but little probability of the proposal that has been made respecting them, on our part, being receded from. Any number of such, however, that were captured at Fort Washington, there will be no difficulty about, as they must be, at least, as early prisoners in their respective ranks as any, and Mr. Beatty will have directions to exchange them. It is very true any strictures upon these people's conduct can refer to them only, nor do I dispute the right you have to insist upon their exchange, or holding them in actual captivity; yet the exchanging them in preference to others who have preserved their faith and honor, holds out a strong temptation to the violation of both.

I took the earliest opportunity to present your thanks to General Washington respecting Major Harnage and Captain Hawker, and to mention Mr. Pausch to him.

He very readily consented to Mr. Pausch's going into New York on parole, on account of the relation in which he stands to his Excellency, General Knyphaussen; but he does not approve of Mr.

Williamson's being opposed to him. For the present, however, Mr. Williamson will not be ordered back; but, he thinks, when particular characters are wanted, on one part or the other, out of the general line of exchanges, there should be previous notice and agreement between the Commissaries.

I find myself extremely happy in your correspondence, both from the humane purpose of it, and the great respect I bear you personally, and have to regret that it must for some time be interrupted, as I am this day setting out on a visit to my family.

GENERAL ST. CLAIR TO GENERAL WASHINGTON.

[1] CAMP, *July* 3, 1780.

The reduction of New York, together with the British army, is certainly, of all others, the most desirable object, but the seige of any place, although not regulary fortified, furnished with such a

[1] To drive the British out of New York was the object always uppermost in Washington's mind. In 1779, he had hoped to do a stroke upon the enemy there, but circumstances did not admit of it. Now. that La Fayette had brought word from the Court of France that the Colonies would be sustained vigorously and efficiently by the King's army, navy, and money and that the Count de Rochambeau was on his way with a fleet, Washington recurred to the purpose nearest his heart, and invited the suggestions of General St. Clair as to the plan of campaign. Hence the letter above. It will be seen that, while St. Clair presented a comprehensive plan of attack (which Washington approved of and mainly adopted, as will be seen by reference to his letters to Congress, La Fayette, and Greene) he did not regard the undertaking as feasible as a combined movement against Canada. In this, he touched La Fayette in a tender place. It was a favorite scheme of the Frenchman, that of reconquering Canada and restoring the power of the monarchy in the North, only second to that of giving freedom to the Colonies. But whether he had impressed his views on St. Clair, or whether the latter, recalling his early military experience, and knowing that the possession of that country would be the most effectual method for destroying British power in America, is not known Nevertheless, he pressed the military movement on Washington's attention, and was supported by both La Fayette and Gates. Washington and Congress were averse to it for political reasons only. They doubted the wisdom of a policy which might bring about complications with France when the day of adjustments should arrive. It seemed cruel to let a shadow of suspicion against the French fall upon the devoted and pure La Fayette. "God grant," wrote he to Washington, in 1779, "that the sun of freedom may at length arise for the happiness of mankind." "Serving America is to my heart an inexpressible happiness." It will be seen that not only was the Canadian invasion scheme abandoned, but the attack on New York failed.

garrison as New York will be, is a very serious business, and though the enterprise may succeed, it has not that degree of certainty which in our circumstances should induce the undertaking it. The failing in some lesser operation might be very disastrous, but in one of that magnitude, it would go near to ruin us.

The force in New York and its dependencies is estimated at 8,000 effective rank and file; militia and refugees, 5,000; returned with Sir Henry Clinton, 3,000 (or 2,500); total, 16,000.

To offset these, we have, exclusive of the garrison of West Point, which, in case of an attempt upon New York, may be reduced to 500, 7,500; recruits may possibly come in to the amount of 6,000; and the French may be, perhaps, set at 8,000; total, 21,500.

With this force, possession is to be obtained of New York Island, which will, most probably, be very warmly disputed with us, and may lessen our numbers considerably for the campaign. But I will suppose that with 20,000 effective men, we have got footing on the Island; still, that number will be found insufficient to the purpose, because its operations must be directly against New York, or it must be divided to act at the same time on Long Island, which may give the enemy an opportunity to make a stroke at either, and their succeeding against either, defeats the designs of the whole. But still further, all prospect of success depends upon the command of the water,[1] and however answerable our force may appear to the purpose, it should be reduced to a certainty that the enemy, during the course of the siege (which may be expected to be of no small duration), can not oblige the fleet to abandon us.

But, supposing the point fixed, that the naval force is sufficient, would it not be a better way to distress the enemy, to operate in some distant section with a part of the troops and shipping, and keep them blocked in New York with the rest? Canada is an object of considerable importance, and the loss of it would be felt very sensibly. The troops of that country are valuable, and the friendship of almost all the savages on the continent depends upon it. The troops for its defense are not numerous, and the disposition of the inhabitants may, I believe, be depended on. If a body of troops, equal, perhaps, to the whole force in Canada, was to enter that country by Colonel Hazen's road, and another body of the French, of about the same strength, which should carry with them all the necessary apparatus for the whole, with a few ships of war, should enter it by the St. Lawrence, their junction (supposing no

[1] That the blockading fleet should be superior to the British, was indispensable.

accident to happen the fleet before Quebec), would not be difficult, and the reduction of the country the almost certain consequence. Even a greater force than I shall mention might be spared and enough left to preserve the blockade; and, indeed, it would, perhaps, not be improper that the body which enters Canada by land should be stronger than I have proposed.

If the exertions of the States should produce a very considerable reinforcement to our army, and the naval superiority of France be ascertained, another detachment of troops and ships might be made to operate against Halifax, which place, should the harbor be found too much fortified for the vessels to attempt to force the passage, may, nevertheless, be carried by the land, as there are many convenient places for landing at no great distance from it, and where there are good harbors—La Mére, particularly, on the Halifax side, which runs up, if my memory serves me, within fifteen miles, and several on the Bay of Fundy. I have said a few ships of war should enter the St. Lawrence; these, I think, need be no other than frigates, and may be very safe against a much superior force by occupying the Island of Condré,[1] which lays immediately below the traverse, where the passage of the river is narrow and difficult, and no anchorage until you get above the lower point of it.

A simple frigate in Penobscot will prevent the withdrawing the troops there, as I believe they can not march from there to any part of Nova Scotia.

St. Augustine will probably fall into the hands of the Spaniards, and the army under General Gates, though there is little probability that it can recover Carolina, may, however, check Lord Cornwallis, and perhaps oblige him to act on the defensive.[2]

These are my thoughts on the matters your Excellency was pleased to refer to me, and to all, or some of these points, our views and preparations should be principally directed; but how our finances and the resources of the country may accord with them, I can not determine. Canada can furnish wheat in great abundance, but little flour, and no meat.

The blockade of the British army if it can be effected, whilst our operations are carried on with vigor in some more distant quarter, would do them as much injury in Europe as the reducing them by force. It would render them ridiculous in the mean time, and

[1] In the St. Lawrence River, below Quebec.

[2] Gates was not only not able to cope with Cornwallis, but met with a crushing defeat, which compelled the reorganization of the Southern army under Greene.

might end in a submission, whilst it would effectually prevent the éclat that attends a vigorous and well-directed defense.

GENERAL ST. CLAIR TO GENERAL WASHINGTON

CAMP, *July 12th*, 1780.

. . . . . .

The fleet having entered the bay of New York, and that city being the object, it appears necessary to pass some vessels of force above the Narrows, in order to oblige the enemy to discover their intentions with regard to Staten Island. If they do not mean to dispute the possession of it, their garrison will be withdrawn instantly; but it may be that they may choose to sacrifice some part of the troops on that island, with a view to retard your operations. In either case, I think that island must be taken possession of and a junction formed upon it with the French troops, the debarkation of which, if the enemy keep possession, may be so regulated as to be made at the same instant that such part of this army as your Excellency shall think proper crosses to it; which will necessarily induce a division of the enemy's force, and render the resistance feeble against both—or, reduce them to suffer you to land without opposition. The commencing our operations from Staten Island will save so much transportation that it becomes an object of consequence. The passage from thence to Long Island is not often difficult, and its shores are, in many places, suited to the landing of troops, particularly along the bay side from New Utrecht by Gravesend, Flat Lands, and Jamaic Bay, when the wind is at or betwixt the North and West. The army being once established upon Long Island, the investment of the enemy's works at Brooklyn and their reduction follows, of course, if they do not previously give you battle; which, from whatever quarter the operations proceed, I am persuaded they will endeavor to do. But this is one reason why I would prefer throwing the army, or at least the greater part of it, over from Staten Island to Long Island, as that country does not present many advantages to the enemy, and you may possess yourself of the most favorable position, which is the high ground from Flat Bush, across towards the East River by Bedford, before them. If they give you battle there, and are worsted, the reduction of all river posts is forwarded, and I believe the city may be very much annoyed during the operations against Brooklyn—the works there once carried, it is no longer tenable. Another reason why I would prefer operating

upon Long Island is, that there is not so great a probability of a vigorous resistance at the entering upon it as upon York Island, for there are so many landing places that the enemy may be held in great doubt about those you mean to make use of. Supposing that they have discovered your general design, the country is by no means so favorable to them as York Island; and in order to prevent them from opposing it with their whole force, a body of eight or ten thousand men may be moved towards Morrisiana, which will oblige them to keep a force in that quarter sufficient, at least, to resist any undertaking they may suppose them equal to; or leave open the principal passage to York Island. These, together with the garrisons of Brooklyn and Paulus Hook, which can not be less than five or six thousand, will so much reduce them as to give little probability of success to an attempt upon your main body acting on Long Island. Besides, if boats are collected in the East River, which, were it only to amuse the enemy there, must be done, any part of that force at Morrisiana may occasionally be thrown over to Long Island. At any rate, a detachment of the army sufficient to restrain their foragers must be somewhere in that quarter. But suppose the post at Brooklyn carried, possession is still to be obtained of York Island, but it will then be easier as they must, of necessity, abandon the city, and we shall have the command of the shores of both rivers. It is not at all improbable that in the course of our operations the city of New York will be destroyed; indeed, I have very little doubt that it would be the most speedy manner of reducing them, as the greatest part of their magazines must go with it, and it may be worthy consideration, even if it should not be aimed at.

They will probably retire to the high grounds in front of Mr. Wall's house, where an exceeding strong camp may be formed; and there wait in hopes of relief till the most irresistible of all assailants, famine, humbles their pride and obliges them to sue for terms.

These are my general ideas about the attack on New York, upon the supposition that every necessary ship is taken to preserve the command by water—but it is very easy to take towns upon paper. Should there be any probability that the command of the water may be lost, the army should by no means be ventured upon Long Island.[1] Some frigates should be in the Sound.

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[1] In connection with St. Clair's communications of the 8d and 12th of July, above given, the reader should refer to a "Memorandum for concerting a plan of operations with the French army," under date of the 15th of July, sent by General Washington to Marquis de Lafayette, to be commuuicated

GENERAL WASHINGTON TO GENERAL ST. CLAIR.

HEADQUARTERS, *August* 1, 1780.

Dear Sir:—You will perceive, by the orders of this day, that the corps of light infantry is immediately to be formed. The command of it, for the campaign, is promised to the Marquis de Lafayette,

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to Count De Rochambeau, and Chevalier De Ternay. The most important paragraphs are the following:

1. In any operation, and under all circumstances, a decisive naval superiority is to be considered as a fundamental principle, and the basis upon which every hope of success must ultimately depend.

2. The advantages of possessing the post of New York, by the squadron of France, have been already enumerated to Count De Rochambeau and Chevalier De Ternay, and are so obvious as not to need recapitulation. A delay in the execution of this enterprise may defeat all our projects, and render the campaign inactive and inglorious.

3. To render our operations nervous and rapid, it is essential for us to be masters of the navigation of the North River, and of the Sound. Without this, our land transportation will be great, our expenses enormous, and our progress slow, if not precarious, for want of forage and other means.

4. With these ideas, and upon this ground, it is conceived that many advantages will result from the French squadron's taking possession of the inner harbor between Staten Island and the City of New York, and detaching a frigate or two above the *chevaux-de-frise* in the North River, opposite to Fort Washington, for the purpose of opening the navigation of the river, shortening the transportation by land on the upper and lower communication, and bringing the enemy to an explanation respecting Staten Island. Shipping so near the town would, at the same time they cover the frigates in the North River, keep the garrison in check, and be more likely to facilitate other movements of the army, than if they were to remain at the Hook or below the Narrows.

5. Our operations against the enemy in the City of New York, may commence from either of three points, to-wit: Morrisiana, or the height near King's Bridge, or Staten Island. Each has its advantages and disadvantages, but under a full view of all circumstances, the preponderancy is in favor of Morrisiana; especially since the aid of his Most Christian Majesty has come by the way of Rhode Island, instead of Cape Henry, as it was expected they would do, and touch at Sandy Hook, in consequence of advices lodged there.

6. As the means for carrying on our operations are not yet sufficiently appreciated, nor is the time by which our aids will arrive sufficiently ascertained, it is impossible to be precise as to the time the American troops can with safety rendezvous at Morrisiana; but, as it is necessary to fix some epoch, it is hoped that it may happen by the 5th of August. I would propose that day for the re-embarkation of the French efficient force at New London (if they should have come there), and that they proceed up the

for reasons which, I dare say, will be to you obvious and satisfactory. If we attack New York, the part which this corps will take will make it a most desirable command. Should it be agreeable to you to take it until the return of this gentleman, which is uncertain, it would give me great pleasure. I wish you, however, to consult your delicacy, and determine without the least restraint. I want your answer.[1]

Sound to Whitestone, on Long Island, or to such other place on that island, or on the main, as circumstances may require, and the Count shall be advised of. For, the operations against the enemy depending very much upon their holding all or dismantling some of their present posts, and upon contingencies on our side, it is not possible, at this time, to work out a precise plan, or determine whether our approaches to the City of New York shall be by way of York Island, Brooklyn, or both. Numbers must determine the latter, and circumstances of the moment the former.

7. It must be clearly understood and agreed between the parties, that, if any capital operation is undertaken, the French fleet and land forces will, at all events, continue their aid until the success of the enterprise, or until it is mutually determined to abandon it.

. . . .

George Washington.

[1] The answer has not been found. St. Clair, however, says in his narrative, that he joyfully accepted the command, grateful for this mark of the high consideration for him manifested in this act by the Commander-in-Chief, but the sudden return of Sir Henry Clinton to New York put an end to the proposed movement, and the light infantry did not have an opportunity to take part in active movements. This corps, says Sparks, "consisted of six battalions, each composed of eight companies, selected from the different lines of the army. These battalions were arranged in two brigades, one of which was commanded by General Hand, and the other by General Poor.[1] The light infantry were stationed in advance of the main army."

Referring to this projected movement against the British at New York (which must not be confounded with the plan concerted with the French), in which St. Clair was to have the post of honor, I find this explanation by Washington, in a letter to the Marquis de Lafayette: "Though I previously intended to attack New York, if Clinton had gone to Rhode Island, yet I did not send for you, because I thought it not improbable he would return in consequence of our movement, as has happened, and because your presence where you are, in the other case, would have been of great utility to the French fleet and army; but above all, because I was of opinion that it would be impracticable for you to arrive in time, as I intended to operate with the utmost celerity."

(1) General Poor died on the 9th September. He had been in continuous service from the beginning of the war, and, by intelligent action and devoted patriotism, had reflected the highest honor on his State (New Hampshire). He was a brigadier under St. Clair, and in the battle of Bemis's Heights, was very efficient. Washington and St. Clair held him in high esteem.

PRESIDENT REED TO GENERAL ST. CLAIR.

BLOOMSBURY, NEAR TRENTON, *August* 26, 1780.

Sir:—Your favor of the 19th inst.[1] was delivered to me at this place yesterday. I shall forward Major Church's list of promotions to the Council, in order to obtain their commissions. As there is no certain account of Colonel Connor, I think it would be premature to make an appointment in his place; for, though his country has not had the benefit of his service for some time, he ever bore the character of a worthy, deserving officer, and, the disorder with which he was afflicted having been contracted in the public service, justice, as well as gratitude, will entitle him to much consideration. Should he be alive, his feelings would be much wounded, and it would be difficult, perhaps impossible, to rectify the error. Under these considerations, therefore, I believe you will agree with me that it is best to postpone it till we have more satisfactory accounts. Colonel Harmer's merit is universally acknowledged, and I would gladly do any thing to promote his interests consistent with my duty, but I am sure he would not desire it at the expense of an unfortunate, brave brother officer. . . .

General McDougall showed me the petition, or remonstrance, of the general officers to Congress. As several of the particulars, such as half pay for life, pensions for widows and orphans, comfortable and decent clothing, etc., have been provided by Pennsylvania for its troops, unsolicited, and that upon a plan which was supposed to be highly satisfactory, I was somewhat surprised to see it had been signed in so unqualified a manner; unless the provision of the State was in time, quantity, or other circumstance, unacceptable, I think it would have been best to have discriminated, for many members of Congress now think that the troops of all States are in the same unprovided condition. I was always of opinion that the provision for the federal army should have been on a general scale; but, experience having shown a fatal defect in their arrangements, necessity, not policy, led me to promote a partial supply, and to make it honorable and effectual. But, if it is really the sense and desire of the officers to lay aside their State provisions, and return to an immediate dependence on Congress as the supreme governing power of America, I am sure there is not a person or public character in Pennsylvania that will give it the least obstruction. It is certainly the true line of Government, and, I am sure, if duly and regularly

[1] Not found.

lived up to, will render the army more effectual and independent of partial systems, local or personal prejudices. As this memorial was signed only by the general officers, you will easily have opportunities to know their sentiments on this point.[1]

We have sent to Europe for a complete supply of clothing for both officers and men, and, unless the accidents of the sea should disappoint or delay us, we shall, in a few days, send to Boston to secure some part of the great capture lately made there; but if a general plan of provision under the direction of Congress is likely to take place, we can transfer to the Continent what purchases we have made. But I should not choose to do this till there was a perfect understanding of acquiescence of all parties interested. . . .

GENERAL ST. CLAIR TO PRESIDENT REED.

CAMP AT TAPPAN, *Sept. 5th*, 1780.

It is certainly good policy to give the soldiery an interest in the issue of the contest, which, by making them public creditors, you do. And I believe it would be a means, if not of preventing it altogether, of rendering desertion much less frequent than it has been. The Eastern States had done this previous to the recommendation of Congress, and their troops are now in possession of Government security, payable at four different terms, and bearing interest. I hope the Middle States (and Pennsylvània in particular), which have always got the start of their eastern brothers in matters of generosity, will not be behind-hand with them in matters of justice.

. . . .

The enemy seem to confine themselves to the defensive. We lately foraged the country about Bergen in a very insulting manner, and with such a disposition of our troops that, if they had offensive designs, must have been a very great temptation, though, to be sure, the passage of the North River is not an easy operation. I wish their seeming listlessness may not proceed from too perfect a knowledge of our situation.

We are starving, and, unless something very efficacious for the

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[1] Colonel Walter Stewart to General St. Clair, Philadelphia, January 3, 1782: "Exertions have been and still are making in Congress to constitute us an army belonging to the United States, and leaving entirely out the idea of State troops. Whether it will be carried or not is yet uncertain, but we all hope, in this quarter, it may."

supply of the army is done very speedily, we must disband or turn *freebooters*—an evil of almost as much magnitude as the first.[1] You have much influence with members of Congress. I entreat you to make them sensible of the risk to which they are exposing their country, and of the double risk to which they expose themselves, for it begins to be a prevailing sentiment, both in the army and in the country, that a party amongst them have been bribed to drive things into confusion. When the resentment of a people is aroused their revenge does not always extend to the guilty only.

[1] "At this very juncture I am reduced to the painful alternative, either of dismissing a part of the militia now assembling (though, by the way, they were to have rendezvoused the 25th of last month), or let them come forward to starve, which it will be extremely difficult for the troops already in the field to avoid. . . . Every day's experience proves more and more that the present mode of obtaining supplies is the most uncertain, expensive, and injurious that could be devised. It is impossible for us to form any calculations of what we are to expect, and, consequently, to concert any plans for future execution. . . .

"I can not forbear recurring in this place to the necessity of a more ample and equal provision for the army. The discontents on this head have been gradually matured to a dangerous extremity. There are many symptoms that alarm and distress me. Endeavors are using to unite both officers and men in a general refusal of the money, and some corps now actually decline receiving it. Every method has been taken to counteract it, because such a combination in the army would be a severe blow to our declining currency. The most moderate insist that the accounts of depreciation ought to be liquidated at stated periods, and certificates given by Government for sums due. They will not be satisfied with a general declaration that it shall be made good.

"This is one instance of complaint. There are others equally serious. Among the most serious, is the inequality of the provision made by the several States. Pennsylvania maintains her officers in a decent manner; she has given them half-pay for life. What a wide difference between their situation and that of the officers of every other line in this army, some of whom are actually so destitute of clothing, as to be unfit for duty, and are, for that cause, only obliged to confine themselves to quarters. I have often said, and beg leave to repeat it, that the half-pay provision is, in my opinion, the most politic and effectual that could be adopted. On the whole, if something satisfactory be not done, the army (already so much reduced in officers by resignations, as not to have a sufficiency to do the common duties of it), must either cease to exist at the end of the campaign, or it will exhibit an example of more virtue, fortitude, self-denial, and perseverance, than has perhaps ever yet been paralleled in the history of human enthusiasm."—*Washington to the President of Congress, August* 20, 1780.

GENERAL ST. CLAIR TO GENERAL WASHINGTON.

CAMP, *September* 9, 1780.

The attack on New York always appeared to me a very hazardous and doubtful enterprise.[1] I think it now out of the question altogether, on account of the advanced season; our scant force; the precariousness of our supplies, and the want of a sufficient naval force, in which a decided superiority is necessary to give the undertaking the least probability of success. If the Second Division of the French Fleet should arrive soon, and that naval superiority be obtained, it would require some time, as well as bringing forward the apparatus and stores for a siege, and I should still hesitate about the propriety of commencing operations against that place. We could not, probably, reckon on more than two months to keep the field. Winter would be upon us, and, with the force the enemy have there, it is not unreasonable to suppose that they could successfully contest the ground with us for that space. I should hesitate, still more, because, though there have been instances of sieges carried on in winter, there is an uncertainty of a constant and regular supply of provisions, and a failure in that would as certainly

[1] From this letter, it will be seen that the opinion had been reached that, owing to the non-arrival of the Second Division of the French Fleet and troops, as expected, it would be a desperate undertaking now to attack the British at New York. The fleet, under the Chevalier de Ternay, was inferior to that of the British under Admiral Arbuthnot, and, for this reason, although a plan for a joint attack was formed with the present force, and communicated to Count de Rochambeau, that officer refused to approve of it. He held that, unless he should be reinforced by the Second Division of French troops, or succors should arrive from the West Indies, where the Count de Guichen was engaged, or Sir Henry Clinton should detach a part of his force to the southward, it would be wiser to act on the defensive. Washington approved of this, although greatly disappointed in the inaction of the campaign. His anxiety was great, as, without money and without provisions, it was impossible for him to keep an army in the field. "The Commander feared," said the Count de Rochambeau, "and not without foundation, considering the absolute discredit of the finances of Congress, that the struggles of this campaign would be the last efforts of expiring patriotism. He wished, at any hazard, to risk an attack upon the enemy in the stronghold, while he had the French troops at his disposal." The Chevalier de Ternay decided to make his station in Boston Harbor, and Washington gave orders for his troops to recross the river, and proceed to Dobbs's Ferry, about ten miles from King's Bridge, where he intended to establish a more eligible communication, in case New York should prove to be the eventual object of the Americans.

subject us to a miscarriage, as if the enemy defeated us; it is, indeed, the most disgraceful of the two, because it might be foreseen.

The season is too far advanced for an attempt on Canada also. From the misfortunes to the southward,[1] North Carolina is in danger of being entirely overrun; nor are the frontiers of Virginia in perfect safety. The troops proposed to be raised in that country and Maryland may not be completed in time to check the torrent, and, when completed, no great dependence can be put upon them for some time, as the greatest part of them will be raw, and the whole undisciplined. It will, therefore, it appears to me, be necessary to make a detachment from this army to that country, which, with the others, may form an army of observation, and keep Lord Cornwallis in check. The new troops will acquire discipline from the example of the others, and from being, probably, frequently engaged in small parties with the enemy, and the whole brought to such a state as to be fit for offensive operations as occasion may require. That occasion will probably happen soon, for if the Second Division of the French Fleet arrives this fall, it will be at the time most proper for acting in South Carolina. If then the superiority at sea is certain, I would propose to embark the French troops, and send them to Charleston. This would oblige Lord Cornwallis to fall back, the army of observation would enter the country at his heels, oblige the inhabitants to return to their allegiance to the States as they proceeded, intercept his convoys, harass him in his march, cut off his communication with the country, and, finally, by a junction or cooperation with the French, facilitate and secure the reduction of Charleston. All this might be done in the course of this winter, and the greater part of the troops employed in it rejoin the main army before the opening of the next campaign. But this is all upon the supposition that provisions and all other things necessary are to be had in that country, and that proper means have been used to procure them—without these, men are useless anywhere. If there is still a prospect of acting against New York, the detachment I have proposed can not be made, nor, indeed, can it be a very large one, in any case, for though at present the prospect of offensive operations being over, a considerable one might possibly be spared, attention must be paid to what our force will be in January next. Another consideration should have some weight, viz., that Sir Henry Clinton may very probably expect that we will detach from this

[1] This was the defeat of the army under General Gates on the 16th August, about eight miles from Camden.

army, and may wait that opportunity to change his operations to the offensive.[1]

This is the best opinion I have been able to form on the several matters your Excellency was pleased to lay before the Council.

TO THE OFFICER COMMANDING AT WEST POINT.

ROBINSON HOUSE, *September* 27, 1780.

Sir:—You will immediately make a distribution of the troops under your command to the several posts, that the whole may be in a state of defense at the shortest notice. You will also have each work supplied with ten days' provisions, wood, water and stores, and keep up constantly that supply; and you will take every other precaution for the security of the post. The enemy will have acquired, from General Arnold, a perfect knowledge of the defenses, and will be able to take their measures with the utmost precision. This makes it essential that our vigilance and care should be redoubled for its preservation. You will do every thing in your power to gain information of the enemy's designs, and give me intelligence, as early as possible, of any movement against you.

A party of militia, who have been employed cutting wood, and another as guards to the stores at Fishkill, that have been called in, are to return to their destinations.

Colonel Gouvion will remain a few days at this post, to assist in the necessary arrangements. I am, etc.,[2]

GEO. WASHINGTON.

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[1] The general plan here outlined in September is very similar to that pursued by General Washington in the winter He dispatched Greene to South Carolina, to confront Cornwallis, and when Sir Henry Clinton sent a detachment to Virginia, under Arnold, he appealed to Governor Jefferson to call out the militia, and ordered Lafayette, with a corps of Continental troops, to Virginia, to co-operate with Baron Steuben, asked Rochambeau to send a portion of the French fleet to operate in the Chesapeake Bay and the James River, and suggested a co-operation of the French, Spanish, and American vessels against the common enemy at St. Augustine, and for the purpose of recovering South Carolina and Georgia. See correspondence with Count de Rochambeau, General Lafayette, and Congress, December, 1780, to February, 1781.—*Washington's Writings*, Vol. VII

[2] The following indorsement, in the handwriting of General St. Clair, is on the back of the letter of instructions: "On the announcement of Arnold's desertion, an immediate attack being expected. I was sent to take the command from Tappan."

On the day that the above instructions were written, General McDougall

General Washington to General St. Clair.

[Instructions.][1] Tappan, *October* 1, 1780.

Sir:—You will repair forthwith to West Point, and take the

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was directed to take the command at West Point till the arrival of General St. Clair.—*Sparks, W. of W.*, Vol. VII., p. 221. *Note.*

For several months, beginning while he was in command at Philadelphia, Benedict Arnold had been carrying on a secret correpondence with the British commander at New York. After he obtained the command at West Point, his treasonable purposes were brought to a sudden issue. On the 20th of September, John André, Adjutant-General of the British army, went on board the sloop of war Vulture, and proceeded up the Hudson, with a view of holding an interview with Arnold. On the night of the 21st, a boat was sent by Arnold to the Vulture, which brought André to the shore, about six miles below Stony Point, "and there, under the shadow of the mountains, after midnight, the conspirators met." Thence they proceeded to the house of Joshua Hett Smith, within two miles of Stony Point, where they breakfasted and completed arrangements for the surrender of West Point. Plans of the works, their armament, the number of troops, etc., were furnished to André, and concealed by him between his stockings and his feet. As the Vulture had been fired on by the Americans, she dropped down the river, and this necessitated André's remaining concealed at Smith's house all day. Arnold furnished him with a pass, under the name of John Anderson, which was to be used with the guards. Smith refused to put him on board the Vulture, but agreed to escort him beyond the American lines. They started in the evening, crossing the river at King's Ferry. They traveled eight miles, and were stopped by an American patrol, who accepted the pass, but advised them not to proceed farther that night. The next morning they started again, and when the neutral ground was reached, Smith returned to the river, and André continued his journey. He had exchanged his uniform for plain clothes, and now regarded all danger as past. Hence, when he was stopped soon after by three men, one of whom was dressed in British uniform, André's caution deserted him, and he imprudently exclaimed, "Gentlemen, I hope you belong to our party." "What party?" was asked. "The lower party," said André. "We do," said the other. Thereupon, André declared himself to be a British officer, and told them not to detain him, as he was on important business. The three men—John Paulding, Isaac Van Wert and David Williams—then informed him he was their prisoner. No offers of compensation could swerve them, and André had met his doom. From Colonel Sheldon's headquarters, André sent a letter to General Washington (September 24th), informing him of his real name and position, but denying being a spy.

On the morning of the 25th, Arnold, whose headquarters were at the Robinson House, was startled by receiving a message from Washington, announcing that he would breakfast with him. While Washington stopped to

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[1] See note 1, p. 529.

command of that post, with its dependencies, till further orders. The troops under your command will consist of the Pennsylvania division, Colonels Meigs' and Livingston's regiments of Continental troops, and a body of Massachusetts and New Hampshire militia. The inclosed is a copy of the instructions left for the commanding officer, which you will please to observe. Unless you should think it necessary, for the immediate security of the post, to draw the First Pennsylvania Brigade nearer to West Point, I should wish it to remain somewhere in its present position, as it may then, at the same time, serve the purpose of reinforcing the main army in case of a movement against it. But, on the first appearance of the enemy coming in force up the river, that brigade should have previous orders to march to your succor.

Orders have been given, in the case last mentioned, for the posts

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inspect some posts, Lafayette and Hamilton rode forward to the Robinson House, where they arrived as Mr. and Mrs. Arnold were about to sit down to breakfast. They were invited to join the family, which they did. Pretty soon, an officer arrived with a letter to Arnold, which contained the information that André had been captured. Arnold saw that all would soon be discovered to Washington. Excusing himself, he withdrew and proceeded to make preparations for flight. Before leaving, he confided his secret to his wife. Some hours passed after Washington's arrival before the terrible facts became known to him. He then took instant steps for defeating the plot. He caused the arrest of Hett Smith, and secured Arnold's staff-officers, who, however, were ignorant of all proceedings. On the 26th, Washington wrote to the President of Congress, and on the 27th, issued the above order.

For the best accounts of the treason of Arnold, the reader is referred to "The Life of Benedict Arnold," by Isaac N. Arnold; and to Irving's Life of Washington.

[1] At the time the above order was received, General St. Clair was quite ill with fever. He, however, immediately responded, and found no more leisure time for sickness. Before arriving at West Point, he dispatched the following brief letter to Mrs. St. Clair:

Dear Madam:—I had intended to write you a long letter, but am so much hurried that I can only tell you that I am now pretty well recovered—perfectly of my fever, but have not quite got my strength again; the fine season coming on will bring that with it. General Arnold's desertion has been the cause of my going to take the command of the posts where he was, from whence you shall hear from me very soon. I will send a man to you with such necessaries as you want and I can procure, and for farther particulars must refer you to business letters. I was very much pleased with one I had lately from John Murray,[1] as well with the matter of it as with the writing, which was better than I expected. Tell him he shall have what he wrote for. My love to all the children. I long much to see you all."

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[1] His third son.

of Verplanck's and Stony Point to be evacuated, with all the cannon and stores, and the garrison added to that at West Point. But I would not wish this step to be precipitated; as, in case of an attempt to surprise you, these posts will not only be useful to give you the alarm, but they will probably, in all cases, gain you time, as the the enemy would hardly venture to pass them with the transports full of troops. The baggage and extra stores may be sent off at the first aspect of a serious movement; but the troops should not evacuate until the enemy are in a situation to invest the posts. Dobbs's Ferry may also serve you as an outpost; but care must be taken to distinguish the firing against a single vessel passing from that against a number, which will, of course, be more continued. Great vigilance should be used in patroling on the east side of the river, as it would otherwise be easy for the enemy to land a body of men below, and surprise Verplanck's Point. I must entreat your particular care of the boats on the river; to keep them in repair, and, as much as possible, collected. All those at King's Ferry—more than are wanted for the necessary service of the communication—should be moved up the North River. A part of the militia at Verplanck's and Stony Point may also be drawn to the main garrison.

GENERAL WASHINGTON TO GENERAL ST. CLAIR.

HEADQUARTERS, ORANGE TOWN, *6th October*, 1780.

Dear Sir:—Four brigades, which are to compose the garrison at West Point, march from this camp to-morrow morning. As soon, therefore, as a sufficient number of men to relieve the Second Pennsylvania Brigade and Meigs' regiment arrive, you will direct those corps to join the army, which will lay near Pickaness,[1] by the shortest route. I have myself given orders to General Wayne to move to-morrow morning, with the First Brigade. You will be pleased to remain yourself, until relieved by another Major-General.[1]

The following note was indorsed on the letter:

Dear General:—My position occasioned my taking the liberty of

[1] The change indicated in the above letter was brought about by General Greene, who, on the 5th October, solicited the command. Greene was senior Major-General, and a great favorite with the Commander-in-Chief, on which Greene relied confidently. "I shall make use of no arguments," said he, "being persuaded my pretensions and inclinations will have their full operation, and that nothing short of the public good and military prosperity will contravene my wishes. Washington endeavored to dissuade Greene,

opening your letter, suspecting it might concern me. We will be up in the morning.

I am, etc., WM. IRVINE.

GENERAL ST. CLAIR TO GENERAL WASHINGTON.

WEST POINT, *7th October*, 1780.

Sir:—I received your Excellency's letter of yesterday, and am very glad that you have ordered up the troops which are to compose the garrison, as it is very necessary they should be here, that things may be got into some kind of order before the winter. At present they are very much deranged. The laying in a proper stock of firewood is a very heavy but a very essential business, and the militia which have been employed in cutting it, I am told, have done little more than supply the post at Fishkill, and are very little ahead. I expect a report of the quantity to-day from Colonel Hughes, to whom I have recommended to allot them a moderate task per day, as the best means to make them most useful.

The magazine of provisions is very nearly exhausted; thirty barrels, only, of salted meat on hand, exclusive of what is in the works (about five days' for the troops posted in them), and no cattle, and the men have been, some days, reduced to three-quarters of a pound of flour. I expect, however, two hundred barrels of that article to-day, and have written to Colonel Hay (to be laid before the Legislature of this State), very pressingly, to have an immediate and ample supply of provisions thrown in, as it may not be possible to do it some time hence, from the state the river is frequently in, about the beginning of winter.

I directed Colonel Livingston[1] to collect and send up here all the boats that were not necessary below; provided they had not been ordered there by your Excellency for some particular purpose. His answer is, that they were ordered there for transporting the cannon, in case it became necessary to evacuate the posts he commands. They will, therefore, remain there, unless I have your directions to the contrary; but, I must beg leave to suggest to your Excellency that, after the intention of the enemy becomes apparent with respect to

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but to no purpose. West Point he must have. This display of selfishness does not make us forget the merit of the man.

General Greene remained at West Point from the 9th to the 16th of October, when he was relieved by General Heath. He was appointed to the command in South Carolina.

[1] Colonel Livingston commanded at Verplanck's Point and Stony Point

them, it will most probably be too late to evacuate them with any probability of saving the cannon and stores. If they be evacuated before their intention is discovered, it will be in their power to occupy them, after they may have failed in an attempt upon this place. I find some heavy brass field-artillery here, which is not, I suppose, intended for garrison use, and had better be removed. Some repairs have been making upon the carriages, but that might as well be done anywhere else. The Pennsylvania Brigade shall march as soon as the other troops arrive.

The times of the militia begin to expire on the 14th, and will be all expired on the 24th. I have not heard from Major Tallmadge, nor have any accounts from New York by any other way.

General St. Clair to President Reed.

Trenton, *January 4th*, 1781.

Sir:—The Marquis and myself, with several other officers, arrived at this place about 3 o'clock. The mutineers, consisting nearly of the whole Pennsylvania line and the regiment of artillery, are at Princeton, where they arrived last night, and this day has been spent in negotiating betwixt them and General Wayne, Colonel Richard Butler, and Colonel Stewart; and I have the honor to inclose you a copy of the terms proposed by them, with General Wayne's answer. These are the only officers they allow to have any communication with them, or to pass within their posts, which are, I am told, well chosen, and the guards very regularly mounted; and a committee of sergeants manages their business. You will see how extravagant their proposals are, and General Wayne has gone as far as he well could do in compliance with them. They have, as yet, done very little injury to the inhabitants, and profess that they do not mean any; but they begin to talk of their neighborhood to New York, which makes it justly feared that there are amongst them some emissaries of the enemy. This circumstance induces Governor Livingston to think that it would be prudent, in case they persist, to suffer them to pass the Delaware, as it would then be out of their power to go to the enemy; and, if force should be necessary, a part of the militia of this State might be thrown over to co-operate with those of Pennsylvania in their reduction. No definitive resolution is, however, taken upon that head; but it is necessary your Excellency should be apprised that it is in contemplation, that the proper measures may be concerted, in case of necessity.

We propose to go to Maidenhead, to-night, to be able to get to them early to-morrow, before they have opportunity to intoxicate themselves, and your Excellency shall have the earliest notice of what may happen, or of any thing that may occur to-night that comes to our knowledge.[1]

P. S.—The chief justice of this State, and some members of the Legislature, went up to.day to expostulate with them, but were not permitted. An express is this moment arrived, that they have refused General Wayne's terms, and propose to march to-morrow.

GENERAL ST. CLAIR TO GENERAL WASHINGTON.

MORRISTOWN, *7th January*, 1781.

Sir:—Your Excellency has heard of the shameful defection of the Pennsylvania line; and I am very much concerned to inform you that, as yet, there is no prospect, as we know of, of any desire appearing in them to return to their duty. I happened to be in Philadelphia the day the accounts of it arrived there, and set out early next morning, in company with the Marquis de Lafayette, to make trial of what influence we might have; but, though we were suffered to come into Princeton, and there was an appearance of satisfaction in the countenances of the troops, we were not allowed to have any communication with them. A committee of sergeants, who are doubtless at the bottom of the whole, have got the business into their own hands, and no person is allowed to speak to the soldiery but through them.

Their demands are no less than an almost total dissolution of the line. They are, to the best of my recollection, the discharge of all those who have been enlisted in the years 1777 and '78, and who received the bounty of twenty and one hundred and twenty dollars; immediate payment of their arrears and depreciation; and a general indemnity. General Wayne, in answer to these demands, made

[1] The revolt of the Pennsylvania line took place at nine o'clock, on the night of the first of January. A few refused to join, but a great proportion, including the artillerists, formed and marched toward Philadelphia. A few subordinate officers resisted, and were roughly handled. Captains Billings and Talbot lost their lives. The demand of the troops was for an immediate discharge. They moved under the direction of a board of sergeants. The regiments were under the immediate command of General Wayne. That officer, and Colonels Butler and Stewart, continued with the men.

them such promises as ought to have satisfied reasonable men, looking only for redress of grievances, whether real or imaginary, but they were rejected; so that I have no doubt but emissaries from the enemy are amongst them, and believe that nothing but force will reduce them to reason. Unhappily, however, there seems to be no disposition in the militia of this State to come to that method; and it was the opinion of the Governor and such members of the Legislature as we saw at Trenton, that they should be suffered to pass the Delaware. This I informed Governor Reed of, from that place, that he might have time to take the proper measures; but they seem disposed to keep post at Princeton. Whilst we were at the last place, Colonel Laurens came up, and we very soon after received a notice that our being in town was very disagreeable, and desiring us, for our own safety, to retire; and our stay was afterward limited to an hour and a half. As we had no prospect of being of service, we set off, lest they should think of detaining us. We have since heard that they have made General Wayne, Colonels Butler and Stewart, prisoners; but the most alarming circumstance is, their having organized themselves, and appointed all the necessary officers.

There are still a few men at the huts, to whom I have sent this morning, with an assurance that they will be considered principally in whatever may be done for the line at large, and have directed that they may be collected and marched to Persipenny, to render their communication with the revolters more difficult; and have given directions for removing the remaining artillery and ammunition to Suckysunny.

We were unfortunate to miss Major Fishbourn, and have no knowledge of your Excellency's intentions. I thought it probable that you might have come down to this place. If that is not your design, I beg I may be favored with your Excellency's instructions.

P. S.—I have not learned that any movements of the enemy indicate an intention to enter Jersey, yet I can not persuade myself that they will not endeavor to avail themselves of this disaster, though, perhaps, they may defer it until it is certain that force is necessary.

After Major Fishbourn's departure from Princeton, from a desire expressed by the committee to confer with some of the Council of Pennsylvania, General Wayne sent an express to Philadelphia, requesting some of that body to meet them. They were expected to arrive yesterday.

GENERAL ST. CLAIR TO GENERAL WAYNE.

MORRISTOWN, *January 7th*, 1781.

Sir:—His Excellency is not yet arrived; neither have we heard from him, having, somehow, unfortunately missed of Major Fishbourn on his return, but we are in expectation every moment to see him. He will certainly be very desirous to meet you and the other gentlemen who have been with the troops, to hear your report, and have you convey to them his comments. They must be convinced, from the knowledge they have of his character and his friendship for the soldiers, that every redress of real grievances within his power will be granted to them.

I would wish you to meet them as soon as possible, that an end may be put to this unhappy business.[1]

GENERAL ST. CLAIR TO BRIGADIER-GENERAL WAYNE.

MORRISTOWN, *January* 9, 1781.

Dear Sir:—This will be brought to you by a person who has been sent by Sir Henry Clinton with proposals to the discontented troops, and was honest enough to bring them to me. In order that we might be certain of their intentions with respect to the enemy, we have thought it best to suffer him to go on with a message, and he is to return here with the answer.

We have heard that they have already detained two who came to them on the same errand. If this person should meet with the same fortune, you will be pleased to have him discharged, if in your power.

I am extremely anxious to hear how matters are going on, and what prospect there is of the affairs being terminated. I beg my respects to Colonel Butler and Colonel Stewart, and hope soon to have the happiness to see you in more agreeable situations.

GENERAL WASHINGTON TO GENERAL ST. CLAIR.

NEW WINDSOR, *January* 10, 1781.

Dear Sir:—Your favors of the 7th and 8th[2] instant, from Morris-

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[1] This was expected to fall into the hands of the mutineers, and so worded as they might expect the arrival of the General.—*Note by General St. Clair.*

[2] Not found among the St. Clair Papers.

town, have both reached me in the course of this day. I can not conceive how Major Fishbourn could have misunderstood me as to my intention of going down. The postscript of my letter of the 3d to General Wayne,[1] which was added after I had consulted Governor Clinton and the general officers, was to the contrary. Upon receiving your letter of the 7th, I sent directions to General Heath to assemble all the general officers, and officers commanding corps, at his quarters, to-morrow morning, where I shall meet them. What I have to propose is of too delicate a nature to commit to paper; neither can I say, until I have had the meeting, whether it will be prudent for me to go down towards Morristown. You shall hear from me after the meeting is over. I think it appears, by the letter which has fallen into your hands, that there has not been much, if any, intercourse between the mutineers and Sir H. Clinton; and, if the future correspondence can be intercepted, it will embarrass the British and the troops. You will have been the best judge of the kind of answer which it would be proper to give to Sir Henry's message; but, as we had not force sufficient to wish to decoy him out, perhaps it will have been most prudent to answer him in the negative.

I am certain that, in consequence of my letter of the 8th to General Wayne, every offer that could with propriety be made, has been made.[2] What further is to be done can be better determined by you on the spot, than by me at this distance. The steps you have hitherto taken are judicious and strictly proper.

Be pleased to thank the Marquis and Colonel Laurens for their letters, which a press of business prevents me from answering.

If I do go down, it will be by Chester, Warwick, Colonel Seward's, Davenport's Mill, and to Morristown. You will send expresses on that route, but do not let it be known that I mean to take it.

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[1] The following was the postscript referred to:

"P. S.—January 4th, 7 o'clock A. M.—Upon second thought, I am in doubt whether I shall come down, because the mutineers must have returned to their duty, or the business be in the hands of Congress, before I could reach you, and because I am advised by such of the general officers as I have seen, not to leave this post in the present situation of things, temper of the troops, and distress of the garrison for want of flour, clothing, and, in short, every thing."

[2] "At this distance it is impossible to recommend any particular line of conduct, but only in general to observe, that such measures founded in justice and a proper degree of generosity as will have a tendency to conciliate or divide the men, appear most likely to succeed. Certain it is, that should they finally go to the enemy they will be a considerable augmenta-

GENERAL WASHINGTON TO GENERAL ST. CLAIR.

NEW WINDSOR, 12*th January*, 1781.

Dear Sir:—The receipt of your letter of the 9th,[1] inclosing one from General Wayne, has, if possible, added to my embarrassments. I had heard from General Sullivan and Lord Stirling, that the mutineers had delivered up the British emissaries immediately upon their arrival at Princeton. From this I was in hopes that they had precluded themselves from all assistance from that quarter, and that the reduction of them by force, should matters come to extremities, would not be difficult. But now, their conduct appears to me in this light: they have made known the propositions offered by Sir Henry Clinton only by the way of threat, and seem to say, if you do not grant our terms we can obtain them elsewhere.

At the meeting with the general and field officers yesterday, it was almost a unanimous opinion that their men might be depended upon. I, therefore, gave directions for a detachment of one thousand men (this number should be exaggerated if spoken of), to be prepared and held in readiness. If things are in a train of negotiation, as would seem to be the case from General Wayne's postscript, to move a force between Trenton and the enemy might create suspicion in the minds of the mutineers and make them fly to the enemy for safety. I do not think it prudent to write to the committee of Congress, to Governor Reed, or to General Wayne, lest my letter should be stopped; I think, therefore, from a consideration of the subject in every light, that it will be best for you to go down to the Pennsylvania side, opposite to Trenton, and send for some of the gentlemen over there. Inquire minutely into the situation of affairs, and if there are no hopes of a reasonable compromise, get from them an opinion of what ought ultimately to be done. If force should be determined upon, the Governors of Pennsylvania and Jersey should instantly make arrangements for bringing out as many of their militia as can be collected, while the detachment above mentioned is marching from hence, that the intercourse between Trenton and this place may be as expeditious as possible. Desire Colonel Nelson to fix a relay of expresses from the neighborhood

tion of strength against us; or should they be dispersed, their loss to the service will be severely felt. Both these evils are, therefore, to be avoided, if there is any proper ground on which it can be done."—*Washington to Wayne*, 8*th January*.

[1] Not found.

of Trenton to Morristown, and let the quartermaster at Morristown continue them from thence to this place.

GENERAL WASHINGTON TO GENERAL ST. CLAIR.

NEW WINDSOR, *January* 15*th*, 1781.

Dear Sir:—I have duly received your favor of the 11th,[1] together with one from the committee of Congress of the 9th inst. As I had just dispatched an express to you with my letter of the 12th, I have detained your messenger until this time in expectation that something so decisive would have turned up as might have fixed the line of conduct which we ought to pursue.

But nothing new having come to my knowledge which could give sufficient ground for determination, since my last, I can only refer you to it.

The detachment shall be held in readiness till I hear from you, which I anxiously expect every moment. Indeed, nothing can be of greater importance than to communicate with the utmost rapidity every incident that may happen during the continuance of this unhappy affair.[2]

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[1] The letter is missing from the St. Clair Papers.

[2] When the news of the revolt reached Philadelphia, Congress appointed a committee, consisting of General Sullivan, Mr. Witherspoon, and Mr. Mathews, who were instructed to confer with President Reed on the subject. The latter proceeded to Princeton and the committee to Trenton. Meanwhile, the mutineers delivered up two emissaries sent by Sir Henry Clinton, which showed their attachment to the American cause. These were tried by a court, consisting of Generals Wayne and Irvine, and Colonels Butler and Stewart, and Major Fishbourn, condemned and executed on the 11th. The following proposals were offered to the mutineers by the committee and President Reed:

"1. To discharge all those who had enlisted indefinitely for three years, or during the war; the fact to be inquired into by three commissioners, to be appointed by the Executive, and to be ascertained, where the original enlistment could not be produced, by the oath of the soldier.

"2. To give immediate certificates for the depreciation on their pay, and to settle arrearages as soon as circumstances would admit.

"To furnish them immediately with certain specified articles of clothing, which were greatly wanted."

These terms, which General Sullivan assured Washington were such as the critical situation of affairs warranted and justice dictated, were accepted on the further stipulation that three commissioners should be deputed by the line to act conjointly with the others in determining what soldiers

GENERAL WASHINGTON TO GENERAL ST. CLAIR.

NEW WINDSOR, *3d February*, 1781.

Dear Sir:—The unexpected reduction of the Pennsylvania line[1] from the late unfortunate affair, adds to the necessity of the greatest attention to improve the measures adopted for recruiting it. I do not know precisely what these are, but I am informed, in general, that money is raising for the purpose, and that the recruiting service goes on with success. In order to have it conducted with regularity and activity, I am to request you will undertake to super-

should be discharged. Thus the dispute, which had its origin the previous year, as mentioned in St. Clair's Correspondence, as to the real term of enlistment—for three years or for the war—was finally authoritatively settled. It gave a great shock to the country, and filled the minds of the chief officers with apprehensions for the future. It is not at all likely matters would have come to this pass and the cause placed in such jeopardy, but for the insubordination of leading officers of the Pennsylvania line on the occasion of the appointment of Major McPherson to one of the regiments by General Washington. The chief offender on that occasion was General Wayne himself. The example set by him then was not forgotten by the sergeants and the troops on the present occasion.

[1] Under the arrangement entered into between the Congressional Committee and the mutineers, advantage was taken and a majority of the men returned home. This nearly destroyed St. Clair's division, and, as active operations would not be undertaken until in May or June, an effort was to be made to restore the line. The Pennsylvania Council notified St. Clair, on the 5th February, that the State was prepared to aid in the work, and requested him, through Secretary Matlock, to designate the places of rendezvous, and order the officers to repair to their stations. It was announced that, in order to meet traveling expenses, an additional sum of ten pounds to each officer and six pounds to each subaltern would be allowed, on account of depreciated money. St. Clair invited General Washington to select the place of general rendezvous, with which he complied in the following note:

NEW WINDSOR, *18th Feb.*, 1781.

Dear Sir:— . . .

In my opinion, Bristol and that neighborhood will be, upon many accounts, most suitable and convenient for this purpose. It is on the most direct communication to the army, from whence the troops assembled may be drawn without loss of time, upon an emergency. I would wish them to be cantoned as compact as possible, for the better preservation of discipline, and on account of exercise and maneuver, both of which should be constantly practiced.

I hope to hear that the gout, of which you were apprehensive, has had its turn, and left you in good health. I shall set out on Thursday for Newport, and shall probably be absent between a fortnight and three weeks.

intend it, and will make your arrangements with the State accordingly. Inclosed you will find a copy of the instructions of the recruiting officers of the other parts of the army, which will also be proper for the Government of those of your State.

We have found, from experience, that, by some means or other, numbers of men are lost between the place of enlistment and that of rendezvous. To prevent this, as far as possible, will be worthy your particular attention.

I have permitted General Wayne to retire for a while. General Irvine will immediately assist you in the execution of this business.

It seems a great part of the soldiers of your line have fraudulently procured a discharge, by the precipitate admission of their oaths before the papers relative to their enlistment could be produced. In right, this can not exempt them from their engagements, and, after what has happened, if it were thought expedient to compel the return of such as being explicitly engaged for the war, have thus perjured themselves, I should have no doubt of its justice, and should not hesitate to take effectual and convenient measures to notify them that if they did not immediately return to their duty, they should be considered and treated as deserters. I perceive there are objections to the measure, and, unacquainted as I am with all the circumstances, I can not competently judge of its propriety. I, therefore, shall be obliged to you for your opinion.[1]

Let me hear, from time to time, of your progress.

General Washington to General St. Clair.

New Windsor, 22*d February*, 1781.

Dear Sir:—You will, by the time this reaches you, be acquainted with the destination of the detachment under the command of the Marquis de Lafayette,[2] which, though as large as could possibly be afforded from the troops in this quarter, is not so competent to the certain completion of the object in view as I could wish. By some accounts from Philadelphia, I am led to hope that further assistance

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[1] For a reply to this letter, see letter to Washington under date of 2d March.

[2] General Lafayette was provided with a detachment of about twelve hundred from the main army, and was instructed to proceed to Virginia to act against the corps of the enemy under Arnold, in conjunction with the militia, and some ships from the fleet of Chevalier Destouches, which had sailed for the James River on the 9th February from Newport.

may be derived from the Pennsylvania line. If you find it practicable to form a battalion of eight companies of fifty rank and file each, three officers to a company, and two field-officers to a battalion, in such time as the Marquis shall think will answer his purpose, you will be pleased to do it, and put it under his command. The detachment will be but temporary. The nomination of the field-officers I leave to you. It is possible that the battalion may be formed, but not in time to embark at the Head of Elk with the other troops. This will not be so material, provided it can be done in a short time afterwards. That time, you and the Marquis will determine. If the companies can not be completed to fifty each, I would have them at forty rather than lose the reinforcement, or even half a battalion of two hundred under the command of a field-officer, rather than none. Transports can be provided and held ready at the Head of Elk, should they not embark with the other troops. The places of rendezvous of the first, second, fifth, and sixth battalions are none of them very distant from Elk, and I should imagine the detachment would be most readily and conveniently formed from them. But this I leave to your judgment.

GENERAL WASHINGTON TO GENERAL ST. CLAIR.

NEW WINDSOR, *26th February*, 1781.

Dear Sir:—Congress, by a resolve of the 20th instant, have determined that the Pennsylvania line, except Moylan's dragoons, and the troops upon command to the westward, shall compose part of the Southern army, and have directed me to order it to join the army in Virginia by detachments, as they may be in readiness to march. You will, therefore, in obedience to the above resolve, put matters in a proper train to carry it into execution with all dispatch possible. You will now, in case circumstances should permit the detachment under the command of the Marquis to proceed down the Chesapeake, not confine yourself to a single battalion of four hundred men, as mentioned in mine of the 22d, but endeavor to send as many as possible by so good and expeditious a conveyance.

I think it essential that one of the brigadiers should proceed to Virginia with the first detachment that moves, and there be ready to receive and form the remainder as they come on. There may be greater necessity of an officer of rank being at hand, as the line, from the late disturbances in it, will have lost somewhat of its discipline. General Irvine being employed in superintending the re-

cruiting business, the duty devolves upon General Wayne. I have written to him on the subject.

General St. Clair to General Washington.

Philadelphia, *March 2d*, 1781.

Sir:—Your Excellency's letters of the 3d and 9th of February came duly to hand, but I delayed answering them from an expectation that you were absent from the army, and in case I had nothing explicit to inform you of with regard to the recruiting, that business not having come before the Assembly until yesterday, although General Irvine, General Wayne, and myself, have constantly attended to press them upon it. A committee have reported a plan recommended by us, which is, in general, to call forth the number of men required by assessing them upon the classes of inhabitants under a very heavy penalty, and, at the same time, to carry on the recruiting by voluntary enlistments. It is yet uncertain whether the House will come into it, but it is a favorable circumstance that it has met with the approbation of the Council.

It is certain that a great many of the soldiers obtained their discharges in a most flagitious manner, but nothing better was expected from the alternative allowed them. I am, however, of opinion that no good consequences would flow from the attempt to punish them.[1] It was threatened by some of the officers, and has driven a great many out of the State. They are too numerous, and it would carry with it something like a breach of faith, which the Government does not like to incur, and, though the measure was certainly entered into hastily, it appeared to the gentlemen who transacted it to be necessary.

Your Excellency's favor of the 22d came by express to Potts Grove, the night before last, and I returned immediately to this place to confer with the Marquis. You may imagine my chagrin at not being able to comply with so small a request upon such an occasion; but, after mature consideration it was thought imprudent to attempt it, as none of the men have yet been settled with, nor to this moment are the auditors appointed for that purpose, nor any of the promises that were made them at Trenton complied with, and a very few only of the furloughed men returned. Our number at all the different places of rendezvous does not exceed five hundred, and

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[1] See Washington's letter to St. Clair, 3d February *ante*.

those extremely discontented. I shall again press the Council and Assembly to an immediate settlement of the accounts, and order the men on furloughs to join their regiments that your Excellency's orders of the 26th, which I have just received, may be carried into execution as soon as possible. But I fear few or none can be got ready in time to second the Marquis, as it is indispensable that they be clothed and settled with, and that provisions be provided for them on their march. I can only promise that nothing on my part shall be wanting to expedite it.

General St. Clair to the Board of War.

Philadelphia, *March 4th,* 1781.

Gentlemen:—As the troops of Pennsylvania are ordered to march to Virginia by detachments as soon as they can be got in readiness, it will be necessary that camp equipage be provided for them, and sent forward to Yorktown as soon as possible; but, as it will be some time before the whole quota of the State can be raised, and I am not certain what that will amount to, I have to request that tents, knapsacks, haversacks, camp-kettles, and blankets and canteens, be got ready for two thousand men and sent to that place as soon as may be, having hopes that in a fortnight a considerable part of that number will be able to move. I shall take care to give timely notice to the quartermaster if further provisions be necessary.

General St. Clair to the Speaker[1] of House of Assembly.

Philadelphia, *March* 22, 1781.

Sir:—I beg leave to lay before you an extract from a letter of General Irvine to me, dated Carlisle, March 14, 1781, which came to hand yesterday:—

"I think there is great defect in the mode of communicating the laws or resolves. I mean by newspapers. Some counties never hear of a single Act till the county member gets home—as a proof, the commissioners of this county are only now making out the class rolls for the first class. The regimental returns will show how slow things go on. I do not think we shall be able to take the field much before the first of June."

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[1] Frederick Muhleuberg.

The law the General refers to, is that passed last session for completing the quota of the Federal army, which will be found to be, if my information is right, in every other part of the State, as well as Cumberland county, totally inadequate to that purpose. I mention this to show the necessity of immediately adopting some other effectual measure for speedily raising and completing the quota of this State, and as they are to compose part of the Southern army, the fate of that country may depend upon the exertions of this. It is likewise very necessary that means be fallen upon to pay off the arrears due to the soldiers, as I have it in command from General Washington to send them forward by detachments as soon as possible, and the sending troops to that country in a discontented mood may be attended with consequences of a most disagreeable nature.

GENERAL ST. CLAIR TO PRESIDENT REED.

April 3, 1781.

Sir:—I beg leave to acquaint you that I have received information from several cantonments of great uneasiness prevailing among the soldiery, occasioned by the detention of their bounties and the non-payment of the gratuity to the re-enlisted soldiers.[1] It has been represented to me, that unless they are soon made easy on these heads, it is likely to end in general desertion. I hope I may not be thought importunate, as I know the difficulties that exist respecting money, and am sure that the Council are as anxious to remove them as I could wish, but I should be wanting in my duty if I neglected to communicate to them such information as I receive. I must mention, also, the case of Colonel Moylan's regiment. The General expects it to march with the detachment; they have not more than fifty horses fit for service, and are in want of every kind of equipment. The time of the furloughs granted at Trenton is now expired. I shall call upon all those to whom they have been granted, immediately to join their regiments under pain of being considered as deserters; but the more effectually to enforce their re-

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[1] To this, President Reed replied from his residence on the same day:

"I have just received your favor, which is a melancholy confirmation of the accounts received from the commissioners for recruiting, who represent that they can get no money from the county treasurers, nor can the commissioners of purchase get any to feed the troops, so that I fear we shall, in a short time, experience some disagreeable effects. The treasury here is exhausted by the various demands, so that Mr. R. Henhoren can not make out money sufficient to pay the members of Assembly their wages."

turn, I could wish the magistrates in the different districts were directed to make strict inquiry into the cases of all persons within their districts who are or have been soldiers, and to commit such as may be found with furloughs when the time has expired. I could also wish that some printer in this city was directed to receive advertisements for deserters.

GENERAL ST. CLAIR TO GENERAL WASHINGTON.

PHILADELPHIA, *April* 6, 1781.

Sir:—My last to your Excellency was of the 2d of March, since which an excruciating fit of the gout, which still deprives me of my right hand, has rendered me almost totally incapable of business. As soon, however, as I was able to bear motion, I had myself brought down here to be at hand to forward the preparations for marching the detachments, and to keep the Assembly in mind of the necessity of recruiting the line, but can not boast of my success in the last instance, as there is nothing yet done in it, and the session has already been drawn out to so great a length that I am very apprehensive the House will rise without taking the matter up.

The detachment, which will consist of nine hundred and sixty rank and file, properly officered to form three battalions, will march, I think, in about ten days, as I have reason to hope that money will be provided for them by that time. A sufficient quantity of clothing for that number sets off to-morrow for the different cantonments; and the arms and camp equipage will arrive at Yorktown, where the troops are ordered to assemble, in the course of the succeeding week. I have ordered the four pieces of artillery that are with Colonel Proctor's regiment, with a proper detachment from it, to join this body, as it is probable, from the circumstances of the 16th ult., that General Greene may be in want of them. The route I intend the whole shall pursue is from Yorktown by the head of Patapsco and Alexandria to Fredericksburg, in Virginia, from whence General Wayne will be best able to judge of the route he must follow to join General Greene. After this detachment marches, we may possibly collect three or four hundred more of the old soldiers, and that I think is the extent we have any reason to reckon on, so that unless the Assembly takes some very decisive steps the recruiting business will very soon be closed in this State. Whatever may be determined upon, I shall take the earliest opportunity to acquaint

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your Excellency with it, and propose to pay you a visit as soon as able to ride.

Colonel Moylan's regiment is in such a situation, that it must be a considerable time before they can possibly move, having but eighty men and fifty horses fit for service, in want of every equipment, and no money in any of the departments to procure them.

An express arrived, last evening, from General Greene, who informs me that after laying three days at the iron works in expectation of Lord Cornwallis' advancing, and preparing himself for his reception, he received accounts of his having suddenly retreated towards Cross Creek, leaving behind him all the wounded prisoners taken at Guilford,[1] and his own hospital. Colonel Stewart, of the guards, was killed in the action of Guilford. General O'Harra, Colonel Tarleton, and Colonel Webster, wounded, and from every circumstance it appears they have suffered very severely. Your Excellency must have heard of the arrival of the reinforcements in Chesapeake. We have no accounts of any operations, except that they are plundering the inhabitants in small parties on both sides of the bay, some of which I am sure up as far as the head of Elk.

The inclosed is a return of Colonel Proctor's regiment. The cantonments are at such a distance, and the conveyance so uncertain that the returns are at hand very irregularly, but I shall endeavor to have them sent on by the time and in the manner desired by the Adjutant-General.

General St. Clair to General Washington.

Philadelphia, *April 15th*, 1781.

Sir:—I have been favored with your Excellency's letter of the 8th inst., which has been in great part answered by mine of the 6th. In that, however, I was too sanguine as to the time when the detachment would march, which I fear it will not do in less than three weeks yet. The application from the State to Congress for a loan of so much money as was necessary to put it in motion miscarried, and there is now no hopes of any until a sufficient sum of the new money ordered to be struck by the House of Assembly can be got ready, which, the President informed me yesterday, would yet require a fortnight; and as the re-enlisted soldiers and new

[1] The battle of Guilford Court-House, N. C., was fought on the 15th of March. Although a defeat for General Greene, it was disastrous to the British, as the sudden retreat towards Virginia above mentioned proved.

levies have not received their bounties, nor the retained men the gratuity ordered them; and as one-third of the depreciated notes is to be paid by commissioners at the different cantonments, it is not extravagant to allow a week more to these affairs. I do assure your Excellency that nothing has been left undone, on my part, to forward the march of the troops, or to reassemble the scattered remnants of the line, and there is a perfect good disposition in the officers of all ranks to promote the recruiting, but the ridiculous mode that has been prescribed by the Council has, in a great measure, put it out of their power. I can not help, however, being surprised that General Wayne (which, from your Excellency's letter to him, he must have done) should have given you expectations that the detachment would march much sooner, which, had there been no difficulty even about money, they could not have gone a day before the time marked in my former letter, on account of the want of clothing, arms, and camp equipage.

The Assembly have risen and though they have not, as I suspected, left the recruiting unnoticed, they have done very little better, having only made some loose resolves for continuing the recruiting by voluntary enlistment under the direction of Council, and empowering them to raise the bounties as they may think proper, and that recruiting parties shall be kept in the State until the quota is completed, which I am sure will not happen in that way during this war, should it last these fifty years. Council have not yet made any order in consequence.

I very much suspect that I have set the number we may possibly collect after the march of the detachment considerably too high in my former letter, and I have no hopes at all from the recruiting, but the detachment will be completed to ninety-six rank and file.

General Knox, with your Excellency's approbation, has, I see, ordered a considerable addition of artillery. The guns and stores will be in readiness, but Proctor's regiment is certainly not equal to so many pieces; and, if General Greene has not to spare, your Excellency may think a further detachment from the corps of artillery necessary.

I am very sensible of the necessity of great exertion from all classes, but have but little hopes of seeing them; such a listlessness and inattention seems to have taken hold of the people that I doubt if even the cannon of the enemy would rouse them. For my own part, I feel very sensibly yet the influence of both duty and patriotism, and I have made such representations to our humble bodies as I thought the nature of the case required, and beg leave to repeat

that nothing in my power to second your Excellency's wishes shall be wanting.

General Washington to General St. Clair.

New Windsor, *April 25th*, 1781.

Dear Sir:—I have received your favors of the 6th and 15th. I am sorry to find, from the last, that unavoidable obstacles have been thrown in the way of the march of the first division of the line at the time you expected. I can only recommend to you to get them off as soon as possible, and in as good temper as possible. It is essential that General Greene should be regularly advised of the motions of those troops; you will, therefore, be pleased (if you have not already opened a correspondence with him) to inform him, from time to time, of every circumstance relating to them.

Captain Craig, of Colonel Proctor's regiment of artillery, who is stationed at Fort Pitt, has applied to me to have his company completed. That can not be done in the present state of the regiment, but you will be pleased to consult the commanding officer of it, and let Captain Craig have as many men as will put his company on a level with the others.

I imagine Colonel Harrison's regiment, Colonel Procter's, a detachment with the Marquis, and a strong Maryland company lately gone from hence, will be sufficient to work the artillery that General Greene will usually carry into the field with him.

General St. Clair to General Wayne.

[Instructions.] May 2, 1781.

Sir:—The parties from the several regiments which are to compose the first detachment, have orders to march from the cantonments to Yorktown the moment the auditors have finished the settlements, respectively. You will, therefore, please to repair to Yorktown as soon as conveniently may be, to make the necessary arrangements and take such measures as may prevent, as much as possible, any delay at that place. You will please to take the command of it upon yourself, and proceed, by the inclosed route, to join General Greene with all the dispatch that the nature of the case will admit of. Should any operations of the enemy render the passage at Alexandria precarious, you are not to consider yourself as bound by the route, but will make choice of such other place to

pass the Potomac where it may be done with safety, making as little detour as possible. As several of the parties must pass through Lancaster and there be supplied with provisions to carry them to Yorktown, your giving yourself the trouble to attend to that article in your way may facilitate their march, and prevent disappointment. I wish you a prosperous journey, and all happiness.

P. S.—You will please to favor me with an account of the return of the numbers you march with, and direct the brigade quartermaster to forward a return of the camp equipage and utensils received by him. Let me know, also, what number of arms were sent on to York. If there is any surplus, they may be stored and left under the care of the commanding officer at that place, as also any surplus of blankets beyond that which completes the detachment.

GENERAL ST. CLAIR[1] TO GENERAL WASHINGTON.

PHILADELPHIA, *June* 16, 1781.

Sir:—Upon my arrival at this place I found the Assembly met, and no apparent disposition amongst them to do any thing to forward the recruiting service; indeed, a passage in the President's message, which represents the line as in respectable strength, seemed calculated to induce them to believe it unnecessary. I, therefore, thought it my duty to call their attention to that object, and wrote to the Speaker of the House upon the occasion; my letter was read, the business immediately referred to a committee, and another appointed to bring in a bill. From the report of the first, we had formed the most sanguine expectations that the line would have been filled immediately, and the necessity of sending militia to Virginia superseded; but the bill which General Irvine has inclosed to your Excellency is in a very different spirit, and nothing is to be expected from it but disgusting the people. It is distressing to see how things go on here; a considerable part, and much the most respectable, of the Legislature are disposed to do every thing that is necessary and that circumstances will admit, but the majority, under some mischievous influence, seem intent only on defeating the de-

[1] On the 5th of June, General St. Clair addressed a very urgent appeal to the Pennsylvania Assembly for funds and necessary legislation to complete the enlistments. He said that the enemy were making such rapid advances that, unless the most vigorous measures were taken, it would not only be impossible to afford proper support to the Southern States, but they might soon have the mortification to feel the enemy in the heart of Pennsylvania.

signs of the others, without regard to the general welfare or the particular disgrace the State incurs.

The accounts from Virginia are vague and uncertain; but Cornwallis has a force much superior to the Marquis, and, it is to be feared, will prevent the Baron [Steuben], who is at the Fork with about seven hundred new levies and some militia, from joining him. Tarleton and Simcoe have been detailed to attack him, and though he may escape them, most probably the stores will fall into their hands, or be destroyed. What his Lordship's designs are is hard to divine, but, as yet, he does not seem to intend fixing himself in that country, as I can not learn that he has, as yet, made one post, but is moving on with his army towards the Potomac, and ravaging the country below him with detachments. I sometimes think he designs for Pennsylvania, nor is it altogether improbable; for though he has no force equal to a conquest, it would be a very effectual way of counteracting your Excellency.

General Wayne joined the Marquis on the 9th instant. I have no accounts from him since he left Yorktown. A letter of his of that day came to hand a few days ago; the inclosures I now transmit to your Excellency, though I doubt not he made similar reports to headquarters. The deficiency has been occasioned by desertion and sickness; there now remain at the different cantonments about one hundred men, most of whom are unfit for duty.

Your Excellency will oblige me by marking the precise time it will be necessary for me to join the army. I would not wish to delay it a moment, but the state of Mrs. St. Clair's health (who I found very ill, and still continues so) makes me desire to postpone as long as the service will permit. I hope Mrs. Washington's health is perfectly re-established, and request you will do me the favor to present my compliments.

P. S.—General Irvine, who is very uneasy at the inactive state he is obliged to remain in, has proposed to endeavor to raise some corps of volunteer horse and lead them to Virginia. If it can be done, it may be of general service by turning the attention of the better class of people again to arms. I have encouraged him in it, and hope it may meet with your Excellency's approbation.

GENERAL GREENE TO GENERAL ST. CLAIR

CAMP BUSH RIVER, S. CAROLINA, *June* 22, 1781.

Dear Sir:—I have received your favor of the 6th of May.

I am happy to hear that so respectable a body as eleven hundred

men are on their way to reinforce the Southern army; and it would give me particular pleasure to be informed that the second brigade was in readiness to move, and that you were at the head of the division.

I am persuaded you will use every means in your power to forward the business, and I rely much upon your assiduity and attention. The critical situation of our affairs calls for every exertion. The enemy are formidable in the field, and this army is reduced to a mere shadow from hard service and severe action.

Notwithstanding all our difficulties, we have been favored with some very important successes. The enemy is divested of all of their posts in this State and Georgia, except Charleston, Savannah, and Ninety Six. The last was closely besieged for near thirty days, and we were upon the point of reducing it, when Lord Rawdon, who has been reinforced from Europe, advanced to its relief, and obliged us to raise the siege. I lament that we were not more successful in this enterprise, as the post is of great consequence to the enemy, and our troops have been exposed to excessive labor and annoyance in the attempt.

But these disappointments we shall ever be subjected to while the enemy continue masters of the sea, and our force and means are so incompetent.

General Washington to General St. Clair.

New Windsor, *June* 23, 1781.

Sir:—Yesterday I received your favor of the 16th. I am much obliged by your care and attention for the public service. I, at the same time, lament the small probability of success which you have reason to expect from the representation you give of the disposition of the Assembly of Pennsylvania. Some favorable circumstance, or some adverse fortune, may very possibly yet draw forth their exertions. Your zeal for the common cause, I dare say, notwithstanding these disagreeable prospects, will induce you to continue your utmost endeavors for the general good.

General Wayne has given me a similar return with that you have inclosed to me. I am sorry to observe the smallness of his numbers. I hope, however, they will soon be increased.

Of the military stores you mention to have been left at Yorktown, you will be pleased to order such as want repairs to be sent to the laboratory at Carlisle, to be immediately fitted for use.

Those which are in order may remain at York, and be delivered for the use of the next troops which may rendezvous at that place.

It appears somewhat strange to me, that our accounts of the operations in Virginia are so vague and uncertain; equally unaccountable appear to me to be the designs of Lord Cornwallis from his rapid and devious movements. By his latter conduct, it would seem that the effect of all his operations in North and South Carolina are totally lost, and the enemy are likely again to be reduced to the possession only of Charleston.

The time of your joining the army must depend upon the exertious of the State—their success in furnishing such number of troops to their line as shall give you a suitable command in the field. As soon as this shall be effected, I shall wish you to go on without delay.

I am sorry to hear the ill state of health of Mrs. St. Clair. I have the pleasure to inform you that Mrs. Washington is in a fair way of recovery.

The army in this quarter is now taking the field. Their first point of encampment is at Peekskill, where I expect to be joined by the Count de Rochambeau, with his troops, which are on their march from Rhode Island. I have wrote General Irwine on the subject of his proposal.

General Washington to General St. Clair.

Headquarters near Dobbs' Ferry, *July* 10*th*, 1781.

Dear Sir:—I have been favored with yours of the 24th ult. and 4th inst. I am pleased to find by the first that the Assembly of Pennsylvania have at length passed a law which seems likely to procure the number of men voted.

You certainly misunderstood me when you were at New Windsor, if you conceived it was my intention that you should serve this campaign with the army in this quarter. I, at that time, foresaw the difficulty there would be in providing commands for the general officers who were already here, and which I have only been enabled to do by appointing General Heath and Lord Sterling to the command of wings, which are in fact no more than divisions, and which also have their major-generals attached to them. There would be an indelicacy, as you very justly observe, in sending you to Virginia at present, because you must necessarily supercede Marquis de Lafayette, who has had much trouble, and who appears to be just now reaping the fruits of his labor; I can, therefore, only ad-

vise you to remain in Pennsylvania a while longer, where you may be very usefully employed in fixing the levies under the new law, and at the same time have an opportunity of attending to Mrs. St. Clair, whose situation I sincerely lament. Should General Greene come into Virginia, the difficulty would cease, and you might go there at once without any inconvenience.

General St. Clair to General Washington.

Philadelphia, *July 22d*, 1781.

Sir:—I have received your Excellency's letter of the 10th inst., and am very sorry that the state of the army and the situation of affairs will not permit my being employed this campaign in that part of it under your Excellency's immediate command, and shall therefore prepare myself for a southern march; but there is no probability that it can take place very soon, as there will be much difficulty and delay in equipping the troops after they are raised, as the State of Pennsylvania has no money and little credit, and there is a great scarcity of the necessary articles of clothing. From the present view I have of it, there seems little likelihood of any considerable body being in readiness much before the first of October; perhaps something may turn up to render it then unnecessary.

The Invalid Corps is at last in motion; nothing has delayed them so long but the want of money, which Colonel Nichols has been indefatigable to procure, and has at last succeeded for such a sum as has got them on board in tolerable temper. A day or two before their embarkation, the inclosed list of charges against him were exhibited[1] to me, but as they could not be inquired into here, without detaining many of the officers, I thought it best to transmit them to your Excellency. They have been communicated to him, but he is not arrested upon them; the taking him from the command of the regiment at that time might have been inconvenient. Lieutenant Bigham's court-martial has never come to hand, and he remains here in a state of suspense. If your Excellency has decided upon it, will you please to direct it to be sent on. This will be delivered by Major Dunn, who, as I have very little employment for him, wishes to be in a more active station until there is occasion for him. I have given him leave of absence for a few weeks, and if any thing happens that may require more gentlemen about your

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[1] The Invalid Corps marched to West Point, where a formal inquiry was had as to the charges, which were not sustained.

Excellency than those of your own family, he will be a happy man to have the honor of being employed, and I think your Excellency may depend upon him. My most fervent wishes for your success attend you—the most brilliant that can happen will not exceed them, and wherever I am I shall always find myself interested in your fortune.

P. S.—Should Lord Cornwallis return to New York with all or the greater part of his force, will not the Pennsylvania levies be most wanted with you? Will you please to let me know your opinion upon that case?[1] I believe you may expect all the infantry that have horse will go to Carolina.

General St. Clair to Brigadier-General Irvine.

Lancaster, *August* 16, 1781.

My Dear General:—The alarm that my Lord Cornwallis has spread, and which produced my last letter to you by Dr. Lyon, has brought one. I thought then that the stroke at the prisoners that was feared was barely possible, but, as such, ought to be guarded against; and the Board of War detained me in town for a week, and at last consented to my going, under a promise to inform me when it might, or whether it might, be proper to countermand the order for drawing our people together. I was very glad to find, by your letter to Captain Christie, which I met with and opened to-day, that you had forbid the march of the troops at Reading, concluding from thence that you would not now think it necessary to march those on the west side of the Susquehanna. You will observe that I have directed the arms at . . [several lines defaced] . . . . . . than they will be equipped; however, Council are doing what they can. Woolen clothing it seems impossible to procure—only forty suits are on hand; but a number of hunting-shirts, which, though not the most desirable uniform, is better than none. It seems that a letter of mine, immediately after my return from headquarters, you have not received. It was, not, however, of consequence—containing only an information that we were to make a southern campaign together. I had before regretted that you were destined to

[1] Washington replied to the above letter on the 7th August at length. Referring to St. Clair's request he said: "The movement of Lord Cornwallis, with the troops under his command, will probably be soon decided. On the circumstances of this event may hang many of our future movements, of which, so far as they relate to your command, you will be duly notified."

that service. You may believe it was no very agreeable news to me; if any thing could make it in any degree less so, it was that we are to make it to gather No news. Adieu.

GENERAL ST. CLAIR TO GENERAL IRVINE.

PHILADELPHIA, *August* 26, 1781.

Dear Sir:—From the current report, and from the circumstances that a considerable part of the army are in Jersey, and some of them advanced as far as Trenton, it seems probable that some stroke is meditated to the southward; in which case, the General will certainly expect that corps to be joined by the troops in this State. I would, therefore, wish you to have all on the west side of Susquehanna in perfect readiness to move at a moment's warning. It is at present my intention to draw them to Lancaster, expecting, if my conjecture is right, that the whole will embark at the head of Elk; and I shall to-morrow order the different articles of clothing that are provided to be sent to Lancaster, that the whole may be distributed there. I am sorry, however, to inform you that it is not sufficient for the few men we have, although the upper garment consists of a hunting-shirt only. Should this arrangement not be approved of, I will give you timely notice, and at any rate advise when it will be proper to put the troops in motion.

Colonel Mentgez gave you, a few days ago, an extract from a letter of the General to me. You will be pleased to give the most pointed orders about the returns, and I shall be glad to know exactly the amount of the two regiments and the recruits—the last, however, I do not expect amount to much, if the people in these counties, at least, have followed the example of those more interior.

I was favored with yours of the 15th. The first certain account of the movements of Lord Cornwallis, I got from your letter to Captain Christie, which I met with betwixt Reading and Lancaster and opened. Your orders in both cases were perfectly correspondent with those I had given; but I find a letter I had wrote you on my return from headquarters must have miscarried; it contained, however, nothing of any consequence. I showed that part of yours relating to the armorers to the Board of War, but they had given their orders; they do not mean, it seems, to remove the stores, etc. Whenever I receive any account from headquarters, I shall write you again.

P. S.—The French fleet expected every moment. The arms,

I hope, are repaired, and should be glad they were sent to Lancaster.

GENERAL WASHINGTON TO GENERAL ST. CLAIR.

KING'S FERRY, *August 22d*, 1781.

Dear Sir:—I have to request you immediately to assemble all the recruits in the State of Pennsylvania at their respective places of rendezvous, where they may be properly equipped to march, on the shortest notice, to the southward; and those recruits that are raised in the State of Delaware, I wish you to inform whoever has the direction of them, that they assemble at Wilmington and must be in the utmost readiness so as to march when they receive any further orders.[1]

GENERAL ST. CLAIR TO GENERAL IRVINE.

POTTSGROVE,[2] *September* 6, 1781.

Dear Sir:—In my last, I gave you my conjectures about the movements of the army, and requested you to have the men on the west side of the Susquehanna in readiness to march to Lancaster and to send the arms to that place, expecting that they would march from thence to the head of the Elk. I am now to inform you that they are to march by land to the southward, in consequence of which they will rendezvous at Yorktown, as soon as camp equipage can be sent on for them, which, together with the clothing, I am in hopes to accomplish by Sunday or Monday next; and, if the arms have not already been sent to Lancaster, you will please to countermand the order. The General left Philadelphia yesterday with the first division of the French troops, and was preceded by General Lincoln with a division of Americans, and the second division of the French troops marched to-day. This moment a gentleman arrived from town with this day's paper, in which is a letter of the General's to the President of Congress, from Chester, informing that he had just received the account of the arrival of the

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[1] In attempting to carry out the above order, General St. Clair found that the paymaster did not have the necessary funds, and he thereupon applied to Congress, through Hon. Thomas McKean, President, for assistance in raising the money.

[2] Pottsgrove, Philadelphia County, where St. Clair resided for several years.

French fleet in the Chesapeake, consisting of twenty-eight sail of the line, exclusive of the Rhode Island squadron, which had not then joined. It is added to a letter from General Gist, that they had taken a British frigate at the mouth of York River, and landed three thousand men on the south side of James River, so that it seems highly probable that Lord Cornwallis is in the toils, and can not escape. Lord Rawdon, too, was taken in packet from Charleston.

It is very mortifying that we should have no chance for a share in this business—it certainly must be over before we can get up, but we may possibly get in at the death before Charleston. Adieu; I hope to see you soon, though I am not without my fears that the want of money may delay us longer than I think for, and am, etc.

P. S.—Pray order a return to be sent me specifying the number of men that have been furnished by the classes.

General St. Clair to General Irvine.

Pottsgrove, *September* 14, 1781.

Dear Sir:—Your favor of the 1st, by Mr. Duncan, came to hand two days ago, and, on the evening of the same day, I received that by Major Moore, inclosing the court-martial. He had sent it forward to General Mifflin, who had never thought of it. I am sorry it has been delayed so long, for, when punishment follows crimes so slowly, the effect of it is, in a great measure, lost.[1] I issued an order yesterday approving the sentences, and directed Nagle and Gill to be hanged at such time and place as you think proper, and pardoned the others that were condemned to death, and ordered the punishment to be inflicted on the others, except Charles Kelly, to whom I have remitted it.

I find I was much mistaken about the time when the camp equipage and equipments would be got away from Philadelphia—a thousand obstructions have come in the way, and, what is most provoking,

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[1] It would seem, from the following order, which I find in the handwriting of General St. Clair, directed to General Irvine, that military trials then were almost as much delayed as civil trials of the present day:

(Without date) 1781.

Sir:—I find in the report of the guard this morning, a man confined two and forty days. Unless there is something very particular that prevents it, you will please to order a court-martial for his trial, and the other prisoners who are accused of desertion.

obstructions that might have been easily removed or avoided—indeed, they appear to have been laid with a design to retard us—however, by Monday every thing will set out, and the detachment will be ordered to York by the time these may arrive. One month's pay in specie will be paid, which is all I could obtain, but there is every reason to believe it will be regular in future. I do not doubt but the detachment in Virginia may be in want of some articles of clothing, but their distress can not be such as it is represented, or very little care has been taken of them—indeed, these representations were made to me before they reached Potomac River; but, be it as it may, I can do nothing for them at present. Colonel Butler would have been very acceptable to me, but it is Colonel Craig's tour of duty and he will go on it. Please present my compliments to Colonel Butler. I have received his letter, and will answer it by the first opportunity; at present I have not time.

GENERAL ST. CLAIR TO MAJOR FOUNTLEROY.

PHILADELPHIA, *September* 19, 1781.

Sir:—On receipt of this you will immediately put your corps in motion for this place—every man and horse that is able to move, and take provisions at Lancaster to bring them here.

The exigency is pressing, and I request that not a moment may be lost. If your clothing is not arrived and you should meet it on the road, which I wish you to be attentive to, you must either bring it back or distribute it where you meet it, as may be most convenient. If the last, it will be the best, as these people will return with great reluctance.

PRESIDENT REED TO GENERAL ST. CLAIR.

PHILADELPHIA, *September* 21, 1781.

Sir:—In the present situation of affairs, I should be happy in being assisted with your good judgment and advice in forming such arrangements as may be most effectual for drawing forth the strength and resources of the State in the most effectual manner, and concerting a previous general plan for this purpose, and defending this city.

I shall, therefore, beg the favor of your company in Market street at 1 o'clock, to meet a few other gentlemen proper to be consulted on such an occasion.

GENERAL ST. CLAIR TO GENERAL WASHINGTON.

PHILADELPHIA, *September 29th*, 1781.

Sir:—I have been honored with your Excellency's letter of the 15th instant,[1] which came to hand on the 26th. Previous to the receipt of it, Congress had ordered me to draw all the levies of this State to Philadelphia, from an apprehension that strongly prevailed and some intelligence they credited, that Sir Henry Clinton, with a body of about five thousand men, intended, by way of diversion to your Excellency's operations, or to counterbalance your success, to visit this city and either plunder or destroy it. It appeared, in deed, to me a very improbable movement, for, though it might have been possible for him to force his way through Jersey to the banks of the Delaware, the passage of that river might have been rendered doubtful, and the Jersey militia with the troops General Heath might throw down to their assistance would have made a retreat very difficult. If he attempted it by water, the difficulty of returning was increased, and the danger of losing all his ships added to it. Your Excellency's letter was immediately communicated to Congress, and this day they have repealed the order and left me at liberty to join the army, which I shall do with as much expedition as possible, and, I hope, I need not assure your Excellency that the being detained here in a state of idleness when the army is in the field has been a most mortifying circumstance, and what I would have studiously avoided had the prospects been ever so unpromis-

[1] The letter of General Washington referred to, contained an earnest appeal for more troops to assist him in his operations against Cornwallis. It exhibited a good deal of impatience. He could not understand why the recruits for the Pennsylvania line should be held back for clothing or equipments, while others were "doing duty in the field, and combatting almost every distress imaginable in the want of every necessary." He, therefore, ordered the troops to be marched forthwith by water to the James River, Virginia. The letter of St. Clair explains why the troops had been detained. Congress had become alarmed, fearing lest Sir Henry Clinton should make a descent on Philadelphia, and refused to let St. Clair or the recruits leave the State. Following is the order in the case:

"*By the United States, in Congress Assembled:*

"ORDERED, That Major-General St. Clair cause the levies of the Pennsylvania line in Pennsylvania, to rendezvous at or near Philadelphia, with all possible expedition."

Under this order the troops had been collected at Philadelphia, but upon the receipt of the peremptory letter of General Washington before referred to, and the representation of General St. Clair, the order was rescinded, and the troops immediately marched to join the army.

ing. They are now so favorable as might tempt forward the least inclined to the service. Neither has there been any neglect to forward the equipment of the detachment. The delay has arisen from cruel necessity; their march, however, will be rather expedited by their having been brought here, as it will render wagons needless, which I believe the quartermaster would not have been able to procure, nor has Mr. Morris had it in his power to give them one farthing, which has so soured both officers and men that I dread the consequences. The Assembly have passed a law to raise money for the recruiting service upon the delinquents under the former law; it will be some time, however, before it will be produced. The place for carrying it on I expect to settle with Council to-morrow, and shall put the execution of it under the direction of Colonel Hampton, as General Irvine is ordered to Fort Pitt.

P. S.—A considerable body of the militia are encamped at Newtown; the whole of the city, and counties of Chester, Philadelphia, and Bucks, are called out. Sir Henry Clinton is upon Staten Island with about five thousand men, and has removed the cannon from the battery of York. Admiral Digby is arrived with three ships—a ninety, and two seventy-fours. The Princessa suffered so much in the action that she is laid up in the East River—the Terrible was abandoned and set fire to, and another seventy-four is still missing.

General St. Clair to Mrs. St. Clair.

Headquarters before York, Va., *October* 16*th*, 1781.

Dear Madam:—I take the opportunity of an express to acquaint you that I arrived here last night after a journey of nine days, during which nothing of any consequence happened, and we were lucky enough to have no rain during that time, which has been, however, a misfortune to the country, and you know I have public spirit enough to bear easily some personal inconveniences where the interest of the community is concerned, and should, therefore, have borne a good ducking with much *sang froid*. Lord Cornwallis has not yet given up the ghost, but he will be now constrained to surrender, and I think myself very fortunate to have got up before it took place, more especially as I find the command of the American army vacant for me.

I hope your health continues, and that you will be careful to preserve it. Give my love to all the children, and believe me to be, with much affection, etc.

GENERAL ST. CLAIR TO CAPTAIN GERLACH.[1]

CAMP, NEAR YORK, *October* 25, 1781.

Sir:—By the bearer, one of my aids, you will receive the papers laid by you before his Excellency, General Washington, relative to the goods and clothing brought by you in the flag-vessel *General de Reidesel*, which have been submitted by him to a board of general officers; and, as it has been made clearly to appear to them that the vessel was diverted from her proper voyage and part of the cargo applied to purposes not only different but contrary to those for which the passport was granted, your request to proceed with them to the German Convention troops can not be complied with. The goods, according to the custom of nations and the laws of war, are forfeited, and you are desired to deliver them forthwith to the clothier of the American army, who has orders to take them into his possession.

GENERAL WASHINGTON TO GENERAL ST. CLAIR.

[Instructions.] NEAR YORK, IN VIRGINIA, *October* 29, 1781.

Sir:—The detachment of which you will have the command, for

[1] Captain Gerlach, deputy quartermaster to the Brunswick troops, was in charge of a flag-vessel, *General de Reidesel*, having on board clothing and provisions for the Convention troops. He touched at Portsmouth, where a British General gave permission to British Commissary Hooksby, who was included with him in the passport, to dispose of other goods that had been shipped on the vessel to the troops at that place. When Lord Cornwallis arrived there, Gerlach applied for permission to proceed with the clothing for the Convention troops, but was refused, his Lordship considering the vessel as under the protection of the flag. The vessel was afterwards ordered to York, at which place the clothing and provisions intended for the Convention troops were delivered to the garrison during the seige. At the time of the capitulation, Captain Gerlach asked Cornwallis to make provision for the goods brought for the Brunswick Convention troops, who declined, and advised him to lay the matter before General Washington. He did so, and General Washington referred the business to a board of officers, of which General St. Clair was president. It was decided that the protection due to the flag was lost by permitting goods not embraced in the permit to be shipped to the British army actively engaged in the field, and, consequently all the public property was forfeited, as well as the private merchandise. The clothing thus forfeited was valued at more than £15,000, a part of which the Colonial Treasurer Morris agreed to take. The sum paid each officer in the army before Yorktown, £20. St. Clair suggested that bills be drawn accordingly.

the southward, is to consist of the Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia Continental troops.

You will march them by the most convenient route, and in the most expeditious manner, without fatiguing the troops, towards Wilmington, in North Carolina, of which, or other posts in that State, you will endeavor to dispossess the enemy, if their situation, from the intelligence you shall receive as you advance, shall, in your judgment, render it practicable and advisable. If it does not, you will continue your march to the Southern army, and put yourself under the command of Major-General Greene.

As Wilmington, and other places in North Carolina, may cease to be objects, from a change of circumstances in the States to the southward of this, it will be necessary for you to open an immediate communication, by letter, with General Greene, and govern yourself by his advice and orders; and it may be well to communicate, in confidence, to the executive of the State of North Carolina the enterprise against Wilmington, that you may procure such information and aid as it may be in their power to give.

For ordnance and stores, and for the means of transportation and other matters in the quartermaster's department, you will consult General Knox and Colonel Pickering, and will make your arrangements with the commissary or State agent for supplies of provision.

P. S.—If there are any men upon detachment, they are to be called in and marched with their regiments. A sufficient number of officers must be left to carry on the sick and invalids as fast as they recover. Some good field-officers should remain to superintend the business.

General St. Clair to Governor Nelson.

Camp, at Richmond, *November* 9, 1781.

Sir:—I am sorry to be obliged to trouble you in your present indisposition, from which, however, I am happy to hear you are recovering.

Having left York with a very large convoy of military stores and a considerable train of artillery for the southward, with horses scarce able to carry themselves, but which were the best could be procured, and flattered with the expectation that I could be supplied in this State, I have reached this place, but on application to the council, on that account, have been informed that the authority of your Excellency was absolutely necessary (a sufficient number of

councilors not being assembled to do any act of themselves). Fifty horses, at least, must be exchanged here, and then it will be with difficulty I shall be able to proceed. I have, therefore, to request your Excellency to grant an impress warrant for that number, and if you should think proper to make it include a greater, you may be assured that a wanton use will not be made of it. If your Excellency can not comply with the request, I shall be reduced to the necessity of taking horses where they can be had as the others fail, which will be attended with much inconvenience and delay; besides, the circumstances of the people from whom they may be taken can not be attended to, and the disgust that attends all acts of mere power will rankle in their minds, and may, hereafter, impede the public service.

The object of my march is important, and requires all possible dispatch; and I am sure you will give every assistance in your power.

GENERAL ST. CLAIR TO GENERAL WASHINGTON.

RICHMOND, *November* 14, 1781.

Sir:—On the afternoon of the 9th instant I arrived at this place, and this day will have all the troops and stores over the river. You will, doubtless, be surprised at the time that the passage will have taken up, and, indeed, it has been a very mortifying delay to me; but notwithstanding that Major Clayborne, the quartermaster-general for the State, had been sent forward to make the necessary preparations to give us dispatch, I found not the smallest provision was made either for that purpose, or to procure forage for our horses, and I have been forced to get on the best way I could with the common ferry-boats, only one of which would take in a wagon. The quartermasters seem to be every-where a very useless set of people, but peculiarly so here. I could not even obtain one of them (and they are numerous) to go forward to Petersburgh, that the same difficulty might not again meet us there; however, means are taken to prevent that happening. Your Excellency knows the wretched condition in which the horses were when I left York, particularly those that drew the pieces, and I mentioned the hopes I had of meeting with some assistance from the Government here; unfortunately, the Governor is too sick to attend to business, and there is neither council nor assembly. However, sixty horses arrived last night from Annapolis for General Greene's army; these I must detain, and, by means of them, I shall be able to get forward without

seizing from the inhabitants, which I must otherwise have been obliged to do, and from which I am glad to be relieved, both on account of the unequal manner in which the burden falls, and the disgust it creates.

On the 10th, I sent an express to Colonel Febiger, at Cumberland Court-house, directing him to put the Virginia troops, which I expected would at least have amounted to five hundred men, in motion for Taylor's Ferry, and yesterday received the inclosed letter in return, by which your Excellency will see that the utmost I can expect of them is one hundred and fifty men, which will make General Gist's brigade about five hundred, and, with General Wayne's, may enable us to bring twelve hundred men to action. I have inclosed the returns for your own particular satisfaction.

The accounts I have from Carolina are from General Jones, of the 9th instant. The enemy still occupy Wilmington—their force about four hundred British and six hundred Tories; they have erected some works about the town, and have a block-house at a bridge over the Northeast River, about ten miles above it. About two thousand militia have taken post on the south side of Cape Fear River, with a view to prevent the enemy from crossing by land to Charleston. . . . .

GENERAL ST. CLAIR TO GENERAL GREENE.

RICHMOND, *November* 14, 1781.

Sir:—I have the honor to acquaint you that I am now on my march, with the Pennsylvania and Maryland troops, to join your army, and shall leave this place to-morrow for Petersburg and Taylor's Ferry, at which I propose to cross the Roanoke. The route I shall afterward pursue through North Carolina is not at present fully determined, and will depend upon such intelligence of the force and situation of the enemy in that country as I may receive; for should it be such as offers a probability of making a successful stroke at them *en passant*, I shall do it, and join you as soon after as possible. Whenever I shall have fixed upon it, I shall take care to give you as early notice as I can, and it is not improbable but you may have it in your power to co-operate with me. But as from our successes in this State, there may have happened a total change of circumstances in the Southern States, you will oblige me much by communicating what may have come to your knowledge, and I shall be happy to receive your orders and advice.

GENERAL RUTHERFORD[1] TO GENERAL ST. CLAIR.

WILMINGTON, *November* 18, 1781.

Dear General:—I have been informed you are marching to the southward with a body of Continental troops, and that you intended to take this place in your route.

I am happy to inform you that the glorious event of the 17th ult. in Virginia has probably extended its influence to this post, seeing the enemy evacuated it with great precipitation on the 14th inst., supposed to be ordered to reinforce Charleston.

This circumstance may, perhaps, induce you to alter the route of your army. This country has suffered so extremely whilst under the enemy's influence, that it would be scarcely possible to subsist an army here, even for a short time. The bridges, which are numerous in these parts, have also been destroyed; repairing them will be a business of time. I shall hold post here a few days until the enemy are entirely gone, as some of their vessels are yet seen at the mouth of the harbor. Whether detained by the weather, or seeing vessels off, we can not tell, but we flatter ourselves they can hardly reach Charleston.

I shall with pleasure receive your orders, if you think proper to write me, and shall also convey you the earliest notice of every event which may appear to interest the public welfare in these parts.

Perhaps you will find it most convenient to direct your march past Cross Creek, as I have ordered provisions to be driven and collected at that post, and others adjoining, purposely to supply your army.

GENERAL ST. CLAIR TO GENERAL WASHINGTON.

TAYLOR'S FERRY, *November 26th*, 1781.

Sir:—On the 22d instant I arrived at Williamsborough, in North Carolina, to which place I had gone in advance of the troops (leaving them to be conducted from Petersburgh by General Wayne), in order to settle the route it would be proper to pursue, and take the necessary measures for provisions.

[1] Griffith Rutherford, appointed a brigadier by the Provincial Congress, in April, 1776; commanded a brigade in the battle near Camden, August, 1780, where he was taken prisoner, and, having been exchanged, commanded in North Carolina when the British evacuated Wilmington. After the war, he removed to Tennessee, where he died about 1794.

A report had prevailed, for a day or two, that the enemy had evacuated Wilmington, and there I received such information respecting it as left no manner of doubt of the fact, which happened on the 14th instant, two large ships, which lay in the mouth of Cape Fear River, having taken the garrison on board, which, no doubt, are gone to Charleston. This circumstance leaves me at liberty to take the most direct way to join General Greene, which I shall do with as much expedition as possible by Salisbury, Charlotte, and Camden, which, though not absolutely the nearest route, is nevertheless, from the best information I have been able to procure, much the easiest and most plentiful, and by following of which time will be gained. As the evacuation would have taken place at all events, it is fortunate for the troops that it happened so early, as they would have been exposed to much difficulty in a march through a very barren country, intersected by many rivers that are not fordable. Whether I should reckon it fortunate for myself, or not, I am not so certain. But I am always satisfied with what produces any advantage to my country, and another State being freed from the power of the enemy is a circumstance of no little importance at this juncture. It has also freed me from an uneasiness that hung upon my mind, that I might probably find them so posted as not to have it in my power to dislodge them, and be reduced to the alternative of an uncertain assault, or that of leaving them unmolested.

Since I sat down to write, a letter has come to hand from Colonel Febiger, by which I am informed that I can expect no part of the Virginia troops, as they are not in a condition to be marched at present. It also contains the copy of a letter, or memorial, from the officers to him, on their being made acquainted with the orders I had sent for immediately marching to this place all the men that were equipped, which I take the liberty to inclose. It is true that they have reason to complain, but it pains me that they should take such means and such an occasion to express it; and I was much surprised to see Colonel Posey's name to the memorial. I have wrote to Colonel Febiger, and taken no notice of the receipt of his letter, desiring him to halt the detachment I had ordered until the whole are in readiness, as it is now too late for them to join me, and, from a change of circumstances in North Carolina, it is not so necessary.

GENERAL ST. CLAIR TO COLONEL DAVY.

WILLIAMSBOROUGH, N. C., *November 28th*, 1781.

Sir:—The enemy having left Wilmington has determined me to pursue a different route to South Carolina than that I had in contemplation, and I have to request that you will direct provisions to be laid in for three thousand men, on the road from this place to Camden, by the High Rock Ford, Guilford, Salisbury, and Charlotteburgh. The particular places I can not so well point out, where our day's marches will end, not being perfect master of the distances, but the general direction to the High Rock Ford will be Harrisburgh, Colonel Stephen Moore's, Caswel Court-house, and Henry Williams's. We shall want provisions, bread especially, at as many places on our march as it can be laid in with any convenience, as we have not the means to carry above one or two days' supply with us. The intermediate places between Guilford and Charlotte I have not mentioned, but doubt not you will be able to direct the commissioners to make deposits for us, where it is proper and convenient.

GENERAL WASHINGTON TO GENERAL ST. CLAIR.

PHILADELPHIA, *30th November*, 1781.

Dear Sir:—I have received your favor of the 14th instant, and am very sorry to observe the difficulties and impediments which have attended the march of the troops under your command; they are such as I feared, but such as I trust the resources of your genius will surmount.

The returns you inclosed I am sorry to see so small; the deficiency in numbers must be made up in the vigor of your operations. Your prospects against Wilmington, I think, are not unpromising, on the ground you mention—though there is no accounting for the events of war. If your attempt should fail, whatever may be the censures of the people at the moment of the event, yet, I doubt not that your character will eventually obtain that justice which I flatter myself your conduct will ever merit, an instance of which you have already had in the course of this war.

Inclosed you will find extracts from the resolutions of Congress on the occasion of our late success in Virginia. I transmit them to you, to be communicated to the troops under your command, that they may know the sense in which Congress are pleased to estimate their late services.

Colonel Febiger's return of Virginia troops appears to me very extraordinary. I fear that a dislike of the Southern service, or some other reasons, have operated to lessen their numbers beyond what ought to be. I wish you, sir, to write to him in the most pressing manner, to bring on every man engaged for a permanent term, and who is possibly able to march, and let him know that no excuse can possibly be admitted for unnecessary detentions.

General Greene to General St. Clair.

Headquars Round O., South of the Edisto,
December 18*th*, 1781.

Dear Sir:—From intelligence received, I have reason to believe that the enemy mean to make a push into the country to destroy the forage; to prevent which, I have to request that you will march on with all possible dispatch without injury to the troops, and bring with you thirty thousand cartridges as a supply for this army. You will move by McCord's ferry, on the Congaree, Orangeburg, and Ferguson's Mill, on the Edisto to this place.

I have received your letter of the 14th of November, dated at Richmond, but as Captain Pendleton, one of my aids-de-camp, was charged with instructions and a letter to you,[1] I thought an answer would be unnecessary.

General St. Clair to General Washington.

Camp near Osborne's, *February* 4*th*, 1782.

Sir:—Your very obliging letter of the 30th of November, came to hand about ten days ago, and the Resolve of Congress was communicated to the troops, with which they appeared to be highly satisfied.

Nothing could have been more acceptable than the kind manner your Excellency has been pleased to speak of my conduct. I do, indeed, aspire to your approbation, and do flatter myself that in all events, whether fortunate or otherwise, I shall never do any thing to forfeit your esteem.

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[1] Captain N. Pendleton, aid-de-camp, sent a message to General St. Clair, from Warsaw settlement, November 24th, by which he conveyed the wishes of General Greene, which were, that he would leave his heavy baggage and stores, and all of the artillery except four pieces, and hasten to his assistance.

I joined General Greene on the 3d of January, after a march of fifty-seven days, during which we had a great deal of bad weather, yet, notwithstanding, averaged about eleven miles for each day, without fatigue to the troops, who performed it without murmur or discontent, and, since our arrival, the enemy have not shown their noses, and I believe are impressed with the idea that my detachment is a very great one.

The situation of my private affairs requires my attention to them this summer, which, if I do not give, they must go to absolute ruin. I, therefore, propose to leave this country with that view, about the beginning of April, if circumstances will admit it, and I think it highly probable that if we have no opportunity to fight the enemy before that time, it will not happen at all, and that they will either evacuate the country entirely, or content themselves with holding the possession of Charleston, until a treaty of peace shall take place, an event all the officers think very near. I hope we shall not think it so near as to neglect the necessary preparations for continuing the war, which is much to be feared, but which I hope will be prevented by your Excellency having your residence this winter in Philadelphia. Congress, I am informed, have lately vested your Excellency with power to employ such general officers as you may think proper, the others to retire upon half-pay until called for. I am very loth to leave the army whilst the war continues, and yet I do not think I can possibly return to this country; not from any dislike to the service here, but simply from the situation of my family and affairs. I could wish that your Excellency would not absolutely determine for my return, before I have the pleasure to see you, or that you will hear from me on the subject again.[1]

General Harmar to General St. Clair.

Camp Ashley Hill, S. C., *September 29th*, 1782.

Dear General:—In consequence of the resolution of Congress of

[1] General St. Clair commanded the lines of investment around Charleston, while in South Carolina, but the dreary business of a siege brought no stirring events worth recording. Correspondence was carried on with Colonel Small and Major Prevost, of the British army, which bore chiefly on communications between the beleagured Tories and their friends in the country. Frequent attempts at imposition finally led to an order forbidding all intercourse.

In the month of May, St. Clair returned to Philadelphia, being compelled thereto by the embarrassed state of his finances.

the 7th of August last, directing a reform of the army to take place on the 1st of January, 1783, I do myself the honor of inclosing you a return of the non-commissioned officers and privates belonging to the Pennsylvania line, specifying the number enlisted for the war, and those whose times shortly expire. Perhaps you may judge it necessary to lay this return before the Secretary of War, in order that he may be enabled to make his arrangements accordingly. A list of our officers, with their determination to continue in service or retire, I have handed in to General Greene, which I apprehend will be transmitted to you by this conveyance.

Since your departure from this army, we have frequently experienced a want of provisions, chiefly owing to the neglect of the State Commissary, but are now agreeably relieved with beef tolerable good and plenty.

Sickness rages to an amazing degree; in the course of this month we have buried near one hundred men, with the cursed disorder, ague and fever, incidental to the climate. The sweet, delicious Northern breeze I am panting after, and long to snuff the fragrant gale. We have been in great hopes of the enemy evacuating Charleston for this month past, they have certainly made every preparation for embarking, and I believe now only wait the arrival of transports. Had they ere this arrived, the autumnal equinox would have prevented their going. The 20th of October, I set down as the day we are tc enter the town—a joyful day it will be!

Our present position is about sixteen miles from Charleston, with our left to the Ashley, and reckoned by the inhabitants as healthy a spot as is in South Carolina, but we are prejudiced against it; the climate at this season breathes nothing but disorder, and ill agrees with Northern constitutions.

You, no doubt, have heard the unfortunate fate of Colonel Laurens; he was killed the 27th of last month, in a conflict with a detachment of the enemy foraging in the Combahee River. His fall is greatly lamented.

I shall be happy in being honored with a line from you.

Colonel Harmar to General. St. Clair.

Camp Ashley Hill, *December* 16, 1782.

Dear General:—I had the pleasure of addressing you per Lieutenant Harper, on the 29th of September last, since which we have been in continual expectation of the evacuation of Charleston.

That joyful event took place the day before yesterday. At 8 o'clock in the morning, the light infantry companies, the legion and two six-pounders, under command of Brigadier-General Wayne, took possession of the town. The army still keeps its old position. What our future destination will be is yet unknown.

Orders have arrived from the Secretary of War, to form the Pennsylvania troops into one regiment; the formation has taken place, and General Greene has ordered the officers present upon the spot to be arranged; inclosed you will please to receive a copy of the arrangement. This strikes at the principle of seniority, and must displease the senior captains and subalterns in the State. My mode of arranging, upon a supposition that we raise two regiments only, would be thus:

The oldest captain in the first regiment.

The next oldest in the second regiment, and the same rule to be adopted with the subalterns.

But the grand objection to this arrangement would be that the troops would remain without officers; therefore, General Greene, to avoid fluctuation, has thought proper to arrange the officers here upon the spot, and his intention is that the arrangement should be permanent.

In consequence of the resolve of Congress of the 7th August last, which directs a reform of the army to take place on the 1st of January next, and that the staff officers shall be taken from the retiring officers, I have resigned my post of Adjutant-General of the Southern army, and taken immediate command of the regiment. The General has been pleased (in orders) to compliment my conduct while in that department. Major Edwards is my successor, and Lieutenant-Colonel Mentgez is appointed inspector to the Southern army.

I do myself the honor of inclosing you a copy of the last return of the regiment. I expect, in a few days, to be able to obtain clothing sufficient for the men, and then we shall cut the proper military appearance.

Be pleased to present my compliments to Dunn and Keene.[1]

[1] Aids-de-camp to St. Clair.

General St. Clair to General Washington.

November 26th, 1782.

Dear Sir:—Agreeably to my promise, I ought, in a very few days, to set out on my return to the army, but, I am sorry to say it, I find it will be impossible at the time I proposed, as I am now so far from having completed the purpose for which your Excellency was pleased to allow me to be absent as the day of my arrival. I have had several interviews with Mr. Morris; he says, and I am sure it is so, that he is making every exertion in order for a handsome payment to the army, and that he has expectations of soon having it in his power, but that, notwithstanding it depends upon so many contingencies, he will not venture to fix upon the time. I could not ask him for a partial payment to me, though I am persuaded that, if he had been in cash, from the friendship that has long subsisted betwixt us, he would have offered it, as I let him very explicitly into my present circumstances, which is, in short, Sir—I am not master of one single shilling, nor will any thing that I am possessed of command it; I am in debt, and my credit exhausted, and, were it not for the rations I receive, my family would actually starve. This is rather hard, after sacrificing, as I have done, ease and independence, and the best part of my life, and having settled accounts in my hands for more than three thousand pounds, and considerable sums due, the accounts of which have not yet been liquidated. This will, I hope, induce you to excuse my overstaying the time limited for my return, whilst you do me the justice to believe that, whatever uneasiness I feel from the distress of my private circumstances, which, I own, is not a little, I have not less from being forced to a breach of my duty, the first of the kind in my whole life, and that I shall be happy to return to it the moment I can, by any means, put myself in a situation.[1]

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[1] The distressed situation in which General St. Clair's family were placed in 1782, by the failure of the Government to pay him what was due to him, caused him the greatest pain and anxiety. He had, hitherto, made up all deficiencies out of his own private means, but when landed property no longer brought even a twentieth of its value, that source failed. When in South Carolina, he wrote a pressing letter to the President of Congress, asking that his accounts might be settled and some of the sums he had paid out for the Government refunded; and, when he returned to Philadelphia he laid full details of his condition before his friend Robert Morris. The latter sympathized deeply, and assisted him to the extent of his power; but it was a time when he was straining every nerve to supply means to keep troops in

GENERAL ST. CLAIR TO GENERAL McDOUGALL, COLONEL OGDEN, AND COLONEL BROOKS, A COMMITTEE FROM THE ARMY AT WEST POINT, TO CONGRESS.[1]

December (without day), 1782.

Gentlemen:—As it is of consequence that the representations to

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the field. How he found relief for his family is not told in his papers, but that the trial was a long and distressful one, is shown by the fact that he was able to remain with the army but a few days in December, and that Washington found it necessary to recall him in February. See letter of the 19th February.

[1] The close of the year 1782 and the winter of 1783, when there was a prospect of peace, but an uncertainty as to whether or not negotiations might fail and a new campaign be required, was a period of great anxiety to the leading patriots, and of very great danger to the cause of a republic. There seemed to be no resources left, and there was a total want of harmony between Congress and the States. In October, 1782, Washington wrote to the President of Congress, referring to the proposition to reduce the army: "I can not help fearing the result of the measure in contemplation, under present circumstances, when I see such a number of men goaded by a thousand stings of reflection on the past and of anticipations of the future, about to be turned into the world, soured by penury and what they call the ingratitude of the public, involved in debts, without one farthing of money to carry them home, after having spent the flower of their days, and many of them their patrimonies, in establishing the freedom and independence of their country, and suffered every thing that human nature is capable of enduring on this side of death. I repeat it, that when I consider these irritating circumstances, without one thing to soothe their feelings or dispel the gloomy prospects, I can not avoid apprehending that a train of evils will follow of a very serious and distressing nature. On the other hand, could the officers be placed in as good a situation as when they came into service, the contention, I am persuaded, would be, not who should continue in the field, but who should retire to private life."

When the army had taken up their winter-quarters at Newburg, and, during the days of idleness, reflected on their situation, with accounts unsettled, and no provision for future liquidation of them, there was much excitement, which resulted, finally, in the appointment of a committee to wait on Congress and explain the grievances of the army. The committee consisted of General McDougall and Colonels Ogden and Brooks. The memorial which they were charged to present embraced the following points: 1. Present pay; 2. A settlement of the accounts of the arrearages of pay and security for what is due; 3. A commutation of the half pay allowed by different resolutions of Congress for an equivalent in gross; 4. A settlement of the accounts of deficiencies of rations and compensation; and 5. A settlement of the accounts of deficiencies of clothing and compensation.

This was courteously received by Congress, and resolutions adopted look-

be made to Congress on the part of the army should be general, and all the different lines agreed as to the subject of the proposition, but from their situation it is impossible that the sense of some of them—of the Pennsylvania line in particular—can be known in time to be conveyed to you, I have thought it might be of some use to state what I conceive ought to be their sense of matters, which you are at liberty to make such use of as you shall judge most conducive to the end in view. The State of Pennsylvania very liberally adopted the resolution of Congress recommending the half pay, and has enacted a law entitling the officers who shall continue in service until the end of the war to receive it during the residue of their lives, but they have provided no funds nor appointed any mode for the payment of it. As this law was founded on a promise of Congress, the Pennsylvania line will not consider the United States as discharged from the obligation of that promise should the State fail to carry the law into execution, and would certainly be very desirous that a fund should be provided by their authority to render the receipt of the half-pay unequivocal; and it is indeed a very reasonable and modest expectation that some provision should be made for them in the future, as a recompense for the time they have given to the public, for the sacrifice of their best years and all their prospects in life; and perhaps it might not be amiss to remind Congress that when they took up arms it was not with a view to make them a profession. Certainly, had it been expected that the war would have been drawn out to the length it has been, many, particularly those who have families, and have thereby ruined them, would not have engaged in it. I say, then, I have no doubt but that, at the same time that they have the firmest reliance upon the honor and generosity of the State, they would be glad to see a

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ing to an adjustment of the claims. Pending the negotiations—there being a divergence of views of the States as to the question of half pay—the excitement in camp was heightened by the appearance of anonymous appeals, calculated to inflame the passions of the men, and giving rise to the suspicion that Congress would be deposed and a government established with Washington at the head. The latter was equal to the emergency, and by rare tact brought patriotism to the front, and succeeded in getting a declaration from the soldiers in that spirit, proposing to uphold the government. The authorship of the remarkable papers was attributed to General John Armstrong.

For an account of the "Newburg Addresses" and the proceedings of the meeting of soldiers, over which General Gates presided, which forever put at rest all doubt of the patriotism of the men who had borne the brunt of the war, see *Sparks' Writings of Washington*, Vol. VIII., pp. 551-568.

counter-security established by Congress. Neither is the forming a fund all that strikes me as necessary; the application of it should likewise be pointed out—that is, an officer should know with certainty the qualifications that will be necessary to entitle him to receive it, and the times and the place to which he must resort. As for past pay, I take it for granted there is no reason to expect it will be paid up. That must, therefore, be put on a footing to secure the payment of the interest regularly. Whether it would not be the best mode with respect to that to coalesce with the other public creditors is worthy of very serious consideration. It appears to me that it would have this consequence: that an interest in favor of the army as general public creditors would be created in each State, and the whole thereby have a better chance of being provided for; whereas, were the army to insist upon a special and separate provision, the weight of the other creditors would be against them, as removing a provision for themselves to a greater distance. As to the accruing pay for the present and every succeeding year, Congress ought to be informed, in the most express and positive terms, that it is of absolute necessity that, without an immediate payment and a certainty of it in future, at stated periods for that and every succeeding year, the army can not be kept together, and that without it there is every reason to expect a convulsion of the most dreadful nature and fatal consequences. These, then, I take it, would be the expectations of the Pennsylvania officers, viz: a Continental security for their half-pay and arrears of pay, and an assurance of their current pay in future. As to other demands, they are precisely in the same situation with the rest of the army. What satisfies that, will doubtless satisfy them. Permit me to remark that, whatever mode is adopted to produce that purpose, the whole army ought to throw themselves upon Congress. The services that have been performed, from which the right to the demand arises, have been performed for the United States; that, separately, the States are not bound to recognize them, and that whatever dispositions some of them may discover, the sentiments of the different legislatures are extremely fluctuating, and when danger is past and interest has its full operation unchecked by fear, they may be very different from what they are now.

This matter may also be viewed in a political sense. The confederation is a very imperfect one. The grand committees of the nation are without power, and the individual members may, as they have often done, adopt the little local policy of their respective States. They may be restricted by express instructions. If the

debts due to and the provision to be made for the army can be thrown upon the continent at large, and the army kept together, their hands would be strengthened. They could speak with some degree of authority to any refractory State, and it might be the happy means of procuring justice to ourselves and others, of making and keeping us a great and respectable people, by securing the national faith and national character. Without something of this kind, we have the melancholy prospect of having spent our best years, our fortunes, and our blood to no purpose, or to a very bad one, that of becoming the most abject and despicable people on the face of the earth. An objection, I know, arises from the dislike some of the States have to the name of a pension. I can not believe them serious in it, but make use of it only to cover their dislike to rewarding the men who have made them free—a horrid instance of ingratitude, which, though a disgrace to human nature, is unhappily not uncommon. I have seen it somewhere laid down as a maxim that "kings *may* be ungrateful, but republics *must* be." If there is, then, any thing in the nature of a republic that subjects it to this vice, so much the more reason have we to guard against its operation.

But what I have proposed above by no means prevents the legislature of any State from entering into a compromise with the officers of that State for their half-pay, but it would put the officers in a situation to make the bargain upon more equal terms. Should a State choose to give them a sum of money instead of half-pay, and they agree to receive it, what is the consequence? Simply this: a ratio of the payments to be made by that State to the public proportionate to what the half-pay list of that State bears to the whole half-pay list, would cease, and that Congress would very easily manage.

Permit me to observe that there is a part of the army which must depend upon Congress solely. These are the foreign officers, our own brevet officers, and Hazen's and Armand's corps. Some lines, particularly that of Connecticut, are also very averse to a dependence upon their States. Should the army divide, and some throw themselves upon Congress and some upon their respective States, nothing will be done by either. Congress will want the power, and the States, I fear, will want the will.[1]

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[1] General St. Clair very clearly outlines the views of those who, while suffering in the field for eight years, had found dependence upon the States a broken reed, saw that the peace of society and permanency in government

GENERAL WASHINGTON TO GENERAL ST. CLAIR.

HEADQUARTERS, NEWBURGH, *February* 19*th*, 1783.

Dear Sir:—It is a considerable time since I received the letter in which you informed me it would be impossible for you to return to the army at the period appointed, on account of your pecuniary and domestic affairs. Sympathizing deeply in your private distresses, I have delayed to recall your attention and presence to your command as long as the circumstances of service, my own personal feelings, and the duty I owe to the public, would suffer me to do it. Before the receipt of this letter, you will have learnt my sentiments respecting the duties that are expected of the general officers of this army, from a late order transmitted to you officially by the Adjutant-General. In addition to that information, I now take the liberty, in this private and friendly manner, to acquaint you, that, in case you wish to retain a command in this army, it will be essential for you to come on immediately, prepared to remain with it, as I must make it a point for every officer who will have the honor of commanding any corps of troops in it, to take upon himself the charge and trouble of maneuvering, disciplining and forming that corps for the field.

I do not here enter fully into a detail of the reasons which now make it particularly necessary for the general officers, who have been long absent, to join without loss of time. It will surely be sufficient to mention, that out of nine generals assigned to the command of the troops in this cantonment, seven are either actually gone, or have made applications to be absent at the same time, so that by gratifying their wishes (besides incurring public reprehension) the whole weight of the business, the cares and the troubles of the army, would devolve upon me, until a sunshine occasion, or a prospect of some brilliant operation, should induce them to return and share the pleasures and honors of service.

I request you will be so kind as to give me a line in answer to this, by the very next post.

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could only be secured through one general head. Hence, Washington and his associates afterwards favored a strong government, while those who did not share in the sufferings and perils, and theorized on political affairs, favored a greater reservation of power to the State.

HON. JOHN POTTS TO GENERAL ST. CLAIR.

NEW YORK, *January 8th*, 1783.

Sir:—It is with no small degree of satisfaction that I am just now informed of your return from the unhealthy climate to the southward.

Will you pardon me, dear sir, when I say that I greatly rejoice at your presence in our country at this particular period, as it appears to me very important to the future prosperity and happiness of America.

Whether this country shall, after all its difficulties and distresses, return to the full enjoyment of the blessings of peace, liberty, and safety, or continue to suffer the miseries and hardships of war, will depend on the determination of Congress this winter. What inducement any man who has the interest of this country at heart can have to desire the continuance of this scene of distraction, I can not conceive.

The difficulties of this country in regard to its trade, and in point of resource, are notorious; and although a very uninformed and very retired individual, yet sufficient facts appear to justify my conclusion that America might, at this period, put an end to the calamities of war with the gratification of every reasonable wish. It is not, nor I am persuaded ever will be, the desire of the gentleman to whom I have the honor to address this, to make this country the instrument of the exaltation of France, to the destruction of England, even supposing that to be the possible issue, and if that is not the intention, I confesss I am totally at loss to conceive the motive which can operate to the continuance of the war.

The compass of a letter will not permit me to enlarge, even if I was certain it would be agreeable, but will conclude with requesting, as a very particular favor, that General St. Clair would honor me so much as by a line or two to explain where the obstacle lies to prevent the happy return of the blessings of peace.

I am persuaded your liberality of sentiment will pardon this liberty, for I beg you to be assured that, whatever my circumstances or situation are or may be, I shall always retain a sincere and warm affection for my native country and its happiness.

If you will have the goodness to indulge me in this request, and deliver, or have it delivered, to Mrs. Potts, it will safely be conveyed to me, and lay me under very particular obligation.[1]

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[1] Mr. Potts reflected the sentiments of those Americans who had ever

GENERAL ST. CLAIR TO HON. THOMAS FITZSIMMONS.

PHILADELPHIA, *January*, 21, 1783.

Sir:—The House are well acquainted that another reform of the army has taken place, in consequence whereof, a number of officers of the line of this State retired from the service. The situation of these men is truly deplorable. They find themselves, after a length of time that has been entirely devoted to the public, and with very considerable sums due them from it, absolutely destitute of the means of subsistence—they can not return to their former employments, their habits are too much changed, and if they had the inclination the want of money is an insuperable bar. From the detention of their pay they have all contracted debts, and their creditors are pressing. As these gentlemen look up to me, for advice at least (other assistance I can not afford them, as I find myself in the same situation), I hope I may stand excused for taking the liberty to address you on this subject, and requesting that you will bring the matter before the House. An advance of money is of the utmost consequence even to their existence, and, should it be denied, they must be driven to desperation. They will gladly and thankfully receive it as the bounty of the Assembly, but they have claim to it on the strictest principles of justice. The State has taken upon itself the payment of part of the money due to them and their half-pay. The promise alone is of no moment, but they must and do expect that some steps be taken to fulfill that promise. It is needless to multiply words upon a subject that speaks for itself, and I have so much trust in the justice and humanity of the House, that the matter need only be brought before them to give it its full weight. Poverty, nakedness, and a jail are not the balm they will pour into their soldier's wounds, yet, if some relief is longer delayed, the retired officers must experience them all, for, to my certain knowledge, many of them can not purchase themselves a pair of shoes or a loaf of bread, after having for seven long years braved every danger, in every climate, to give happiness and ease to their fellow-citizens.

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grieved over the unhappy difference between the colonies and the mother country.

General St. Clair to the Officers of the Pennsylvania Line.

Pottsgrove, *March* 29, 1783.

Gentlemen:—Colonel Robison and Captain Keene have done me the honor to call upon me with the resolve of Congress of the 22d inst., respecting the commutation of the half-pay for a sum in gross, and to desire my opinion as to what ought to be the conduct of the line with regard to accepting or rejecting it. I am very free to tell you that I think it ought, by all means, to be accepted, and my reasons are, that it is more favorable in itself than the half-pay; that the army being joined with the other creditors gives both a better chance of being paid, and that the public security is the proper security, and safer than that of the individual States.

Independent of these, there are other reasons, of a political nature, which should induce every person who wishes well to his country to close with the proposal in the above resolve. A sum in gross equivalent to the half-pay, on the principle of annuities, is more favorable to the officers than the half-pay itself, because that sum becomes at once their absolute property, and whether it is paid in money or only certificates granted for it, provided there is a sufficient fund for the regular payment of the interest, and that interest is actually regularly paid, it is the same thing. The certificates will immediately become negotiable among ourselves for their full value; among foreigners they will bear a premium, our interest being so much higher than in Europe, that there is not a doubt with me that it will only want to be known to see them pressing their money into our funds. This will be a public benefit, but the great advantage to the officers is, that those who have families, instead of a precarious provision depending upon their lives, will be able to transmit them the whole, either as an annuity or a sum to be divided among them, as they may think proper. To those who have no families, the command of such a sum of money presents the opportunity of entering with advantage into some other way of life. I think the army being put on the same footing with the other creditors an advantage to both, as it promises more effectually to secure payment to both. The funds for the payment of the interest of the public debts must be provided by the States individually; but they must be irrevocable, and the management of them confined to Congress. The public creditors, exclusive of the army, are, in most of the States, the body of the people. Their desires to be paid, though not quite so well-founded, are not less craving than those

of the army. By joining with them, therefore, we take advantage of that disposition and bring it to operate in our favor, for no individual legislature will, or dare, refuse to comply with the requisitions of Congress when those requisitions take in the interests of themselves and their constituents; but very differently might they act if the army were offered, as insisted upon, a separate provision.

In the one case, we are sure of a great interest with us. In the other, it would as certainly be against us. The sum need give no alarm. I am pretty well informed that the interest of our whole debt, that to the army included, would very little, if any thing, exceed six hundred thousand pounds per annum.

There is a variety of sentiment with regard to the security, some preferring that of the individual States, and others that of the Continent. Nor is it at all surprising that the officers of Pennsylvania should lean towards a State security, for the State acted nobly towards them. Notwithstanding, I am most decidedly of opinion that we ought to look up to the Continent only, and heartily wish the army may be unanimously of that opinion. Much, I think, depends on it. In the first place, while we have no legal claim upon the States, it is the Continent our services have been given to, and it is the faith of the Continent that is pledged for a retribution. True, the Assembly of Pennsylvania did take up the half-pay, and have promised it shall be paid, but not a step has been taken further in the business, nor is it clear that they could ever provide funds for the purpose. The complexion of the House may change very much. Danger is now at a distance, and the infamy that attends ungenerous actions is, in public bodies, divided among so many that none seem to feel any part of it, so that little reliance is to be placed upon their honor.

They may haggle at the commutation, and examples of rejecting the half-pay are sure to be set them. They can not take in the public creditors along with us without burdening the State far beyond her proportion, and, of consequence, we shall have all their weight against us. But if none of this should happen, it will still depend upon the will and pleasure of some future Assembly. The half-pay, or the interest of the commutation, may be paid regularly for some time. We are disbanded and dispersed, and no longer in any way formidable. As pensioners, we become obnoxious, and an act of Assembly puts an end to our existence. On the contrary, the funds being irrevocably provided by the individual States, and put into the hands of Congress, we have every security that can reasonably be required, to which is superadded that care of the na-

tional faith and national character which must ever operate strongly upon that body, while it is very little felt by individual Legislatures.

The reasons of a political nature that strike me most forcibly are, that, by joining with the public creditors we should strengthen the hands of Congress. We should give their recommendations for the establishment of public credit almost absolute certainty of being complied with, and a new chain of union would be formed among the States of more consequence, and that would hold them more firmly together than our boasted confederation.

On the whole, gentlemen, I am very clear that you should not hesitate about the acceptance of the commutation on the footing of the resolve of Congress. If you think with me, or if you think otherwise, your determination should, as soon as it is obtained, be sent to General Washington. At the same time, you should send to Carolina an account of what you have determined upon, that General Greene may transmit the sentiments of that part of the line under his command in due time. Congress has directed the sentiments to be taken by lines; in our case, it is impossible, from local situation, part being under the immediate command of General Washington and part under that of General Greene.[1]

GENERAL IRVINE TO GENERAL ST. CLAIR.

CARLISLE, *April* 17, 1783.

Dear General:—On the question of the day, viz: half-pay, commutation, and, I fear, or nothing, might be added, how is the sense of our line to be collected? I think the sooner some steps are taken the better, particularly as I am much afraid even the small powers Congress at present possesses will daily dwindle. There appears an evident disposition in several States already to curtail them, and this will become general. If this is a fact, what value will a resolution of Congress be of, unless the States, severally, confirm them by laws, which I conceive they will scarce think of with respect to the army after their dissolution; for it seems that all public bodies will not think of doing or enacting any thing unless they are petitioned for the express purpose. How will the army, then, once disbanded, be ever able even to ask justice; collectively and individually to hope

[1] For further correspondence on this subject, see letters of St. Clair and Irvine, following. The discussion refers to the veteran soldiers, and not to the raw recruits that mutinied in the following June.

to obtain it would be vain indeed. The eastern, or main army, gives the tone. Do you think they are really satisfied with the late resolution, and will they retire resting the matter as it now stands? Whatever they do, the rest must follow their example; but are not their States disposed to do them justice? I think they are convinced of this or they would not give up the point so easy. Would not a correspondence with them be necessary? They ought at least, I think, to be felt, and I think you could do this without coming to any explanation; much depends on the conducting matters at this juncture. I do not yet know whether I must return to Fort Pitt or not; but it is most probable I must, as I am informed, by express yesterday, that the savages are killing and scalping all over the country. These wretches, I think, must be extirpated.

GENERAL ST. CLAIR TO GENERAL IRVINE.

PHILADELPHIA, *May* 6, 1783.

Dear Sir:—Your favor of the 16th of last month was delivered to me about three days ago, and I am happy to have an opportunity so soon to answer it, as I am one letter in your debt, and have, at other times, been very tardy in replying; but I entreat you to believe it has not arisen from any neglect, but solely from a bad habit I have contracted of never having a letter ready for a conveyance, and very often, when the conveyance offers, it is impossible to write. I have, however, for some time past been so afflicted with the gout that I really had neither ability nor inclination to write a line to any living creature. I am now getting over it, and though I know you would have sympathized with me in any case, it was with no small degree of concern I learned that you have been confined almost all winter with its cousin german.

As to the question of the half-pay commutation, I strongly recommended to our line that they should accept it agreeably to the resolve of Congress, but not relinquishing the promise of the State in case the States at large did not provide the necessary funds; and that they should unite with all the public creditors of every denomination. This, I thought, would interest a great number of people in each State whose weight would probably be exerted, in the different Legislatures, against the army if they insisted on separate and distinct provision; that they should send on their determination to that part of the line to the southward for their concurrence, and, in the meantime, signify what they resolved upon to General Wash-

ington within the last two months; but I have been so indisposed that I have not had opportunity to inquire what they have done, and they have not thought proper to inform me. You justly observe the eastern troops will give the tone, and it was certainly in their power to have, without taking any improper or indecent measures, induced a compliance with our reasonable demands; but they have, I believe, been wretchedly managed, and the opportunity is, I fear, escaped forever; I believe they will disband. They will be themselves the greatest sufferers, for I am persuaded, after they have mixed with the mass of the people, no manner of regard will be paid to their claims, their services or their merits. Indeed, it presents a very gloomy prospect to us all, but I have still some confidence in the honor and generosity of this State; but bad examples are very catching, and, God knows, we have many, even in our House of Assembly, who are not possessed of the most liberal sentiments. The mode you mention in your letter was, in a great measure, pursued; a committee came here from the army, and, after hanging on Congress for a considerable time, and having obtained as satisfactory an account of what was to be expected as could be got, one of them was sent to the army to acquaint them with it; but no good effect has been produced, and, indeed, for myself, I never expected much, for I know the officers from that country look so much to the civil line of life, and are so fond of either gaining popularity among the citizens, or preserving what they have already, that no measure that would put that to a risk had much chance of going cordially down with them. A very little time now will bring us to the *ne plus ultra;* yet still I flatter myself that, if we can but be unanimous among ourselves, we shall get justice done us by our own State. Our situation is, however, critical, and requires both vigorous and prudent measures; if we fail, we shall be the more wretched part of the community, with the constant mortification before us of seeing every body else in ease and plenty at our expense. I must bid you farewell, for the subject has made me, as it always does whenever I think of it, very gloomy. Adieu.

P. S.—I had a letter from Fishbourn a few days ago, who says our troops—what remained of them—were to march for the northward the first of May.[1]

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[1] The Pennsylvania troops in South Carolina, under General Wayne.

GENERAL ST. CLAIR TO GENERAL IRVINE.

PHILADELPHIA, *June* 2, 1783.

Dear Sir:—Dr. Rogers has been applying for leave that his son, who is surgeon at Fort Pitt, might come to this place. His intention is to send him from hence to Europe, in order to finish his education in the profession previous to his settling for life. I referred him to you, as you were the proper judge whether his presence could be dispensed with, and the only person that could dispense with it; at the same time, I informed him I had no doubt you would comply with his request, for such a purpose especially, if it could possibly be done.

The definitive treaty is not yet arrived; nevertheless, the army is about to be dissolved—not indeed actually disbanded, but what is the same thing. All those engaged for the war are to be furloughed until that time, and then discharged. What is to become of your post I know not, nor, I believe, did Congress ever consider that your command was composed entirely of men under the above description. I presume, however, they will either be continued until possession is taken of the posts upon the lakes or that they will be relieved by some of those who stand engaged for three years, of whom, I suppose, there will be near five thousand.[1]

I hope you have recovered your health, and heartily wish you the continuance of it.

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[1] The history of the services, sufferings and rewards of the veteran Pennsylvania line will be completed by a statement that the disposition, suggested in the following letter, was finally made by the State in 1784:

PRESIDENT JOHN DICKINSON TO GENERAL ST. CLAIR.

PHILADELPHIA, *February* 29, 1784.

Dear Sir:—The affair we lately conversed upon is likely to suffer for want of proper application. Gentlemen say they are not informed what the sentiments of the officers of our line are.

There is to be a conference with a committee to-morrow. This may be of some use; but I most earnestly wish that a short memorial on the subject of paying the commutation and arrears, both which will amount, perhaps to a million of dollars, according to the computations that have been communicated to me, in lands.

We have it now in our power to do justice to the officers and soldiers, and to provide comfortably for them; and, happily for us, the same measure will render essential service to the State, and demonstrate the truths of the old saying that "Honesty is the best policy." If any mistake is made at this time, it will be impossible to compensate for it by any future acts. I, therefore, beg leave to call for your assistance, in order that this very important business may be brought to a desirable conclusion.

GENERAL ST. CLAIR TO GENERAL WAYNE.

PHILADELPHIA, *June* 15*th*, 1783.

Sir:—I have written to you by this conveyance, informing you that the troops under your command are to be landed at Wilmington and marched to Lancaster. I think it necessary to inform you of the reasons that induced such directions to be given. It was found to be next to impossible to keep together the men engaged for the war, who composed much the greatest part of the main army after the proclamation of an indefinite cessation of hostilities, at the same time there was a great and striking indecorum in our disarming entirely, until the articles of the provisional treaty were carried into execution. This induced Congress to adopt the expedient of allowing as many of them as chose to go home upon furlough, and to be discharged upon the ratification of the definite treaty. The whole, I believe, accepted the furlough, those excepted of the Pennsylvania line in this State, so that the men engaged for a time other than the duration of the war are all that now compose the army.

The entire derangement of our finances put it out of the power of the public to make the provision they wished, and that ought to have been made before a dissolution of the army took place, which you will see this expedient of the furloughs really amounts to. But the regiments at this place have refused to accept of furloughs, and have shown a disposition that has justly given some alarm to the citizens. Their numbers are too inconsiderable, it is certain, to be formidable, yet, nevertheless, should they break out into any excesses, they might do infinite mischief, and should the troops from Carolina, who can not reasonably be expected to be in very good temper, be joined to them, the same spirit would instantly run through the whole, and the evil become more extensive. I am persuaded you will think it necessary they should be kept separate, and take such measures for those under your immediate command being marched to the place assigned them, as will be the most proper, both to keep them in temper, and tend to the safety and quiet of the citizens.[1]

[1] The situation was thought to be so critical that General St. Clair, by order of General Lincoln, Secretary of War, dispatched Captain Talbot to the bay with orders to the pilots not to proceed up the Delaware beyond Wilmington, where the troops were to debark, and then march to Lancaster. General Lincoln had expressed the opinion that great consideration should be shown to the soldiers on account of the "peculiar distress in which they are involved."

MAJOR JACKSON[1] TO GENERAL ST. CLAIR.

WAR OFFICE, THURSDAY, *June 19th*, 1783.
2:30 o'clock P. M.

My Dear General:—The inclosed note[2] was this moment delivered to me by the messenger of Congress.

The pressing manner in which the President writes will not permit me to give you a detail of the circumstances which require your presence.

The troops at Lancaster have mutinied, and are now on their march to this city.

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[1] A. Jackson, Assistant Secretary of War.

[2] The note was as follows:

"THURSDAY, 2 O'CLOCK P. M.—The President of Congress[1] presents his compliments to the Assistant Secretary of War, and informs him that it is ordered by Congress that he do immediately send an express to Major-General St. Clair, directing him to repair to this city without delay. The Assistant Secretary will not communicate this measure to any person whatever.

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1 Elias Boudinot was President of Congress.

On the fourteenth of June, the Secretary of War had instructed General St. Clair as follows: "Should any of the men now at Lancaster decline receiving their furloughs, you will please to form them in complete corps and cause them to be marched to the barracks in Carlisle. The requisite orders were sent to Colonel Hampton, who was in command there. The soldiers who were recent recruits demanded an immediate settlement, and, upon this being refused (there was nobody with authority to make such settlement), marched in force for Philadelphia, with the view of compelling compliance from Congress. Arrived at Philadelphia, they were joined by some of the soldiers stationed there, and three hundred strong marched to the State-House, where both Congress and the Council of Pennsylvania were sitting, which they surrounded. They then demanded, in writing, of Council, that power be granted them to choose officers to lead them, and authority to take such measures as they thought proper to redress their grievances, and gave Council twenty minutes to consider of it, or abide the consequences.

General St. Clair was sent by Congress with unlimited powers to try, in conjunction with Council, to quiet them, and, if possible, to get them to return to their barracks. He at last prevailed on them to choose a committee to confer with Council, which was agreed to; but they could not agree among themselves upon the men; and the contention was so warm that one of the sergeants marched off a part of the men, and the rest followed without doing any damage, contrary to my expectation; for I assure you it was a serious affair, for above one-half of them was drunk. They kept us about three hours, and we had no military force to suppress them.

Congress was so offended at the insult offered to the majesty and sovereignty of the United States, that they adjourned next day to Princeton, and have not returned since. Whether they will return is not yet known, but they have ordered down two or three regiments of Connecticut troops, which are now on their way here. On the Wednesday following, the soldiers laid down their arms and surrendered to their officers, and made submission to us. They have taken furloughs, and are almost all gone.—*John Byers, Member of Council to General Irvine, July* 1, 1783.

GENERAL ST. CLAIR to GENERAL WASHINGTON.

PRINCETON, *July* 2, 1783.

Sir:—The unfortunate and disgraceful event that has lately happened in Philadelphia must have occasioned your Excellency much uneasiness, and you ought to have received an account of it from me, but I was prevented from giving it by the very ill state of my health, and the total uselessness of my right hand, from a violent relapse into the gout, which, indeed, I have not been one day free from since the second of March. It will be useless now to enter into that detail, as you must have received it through Congress and the War Office, but I am happy to be able to inform you that the affair is over, and the troops returned to their obedience. From what yet appears, a Captain Carberry, a deranged officer, and Lieutenant Sullivan, of Moylan's dragoons, were the principal instigators of the mutiny; they have absconded, and I believe did get on board a vessel at Chester that was ready to sail for London. There is reason to think that some other officers, and most of the sergeants, certainly, were concerned in it. Three officers I left in arrest, and ordered the sergeants who appeared to be ring-leaders to be confined as soon as an examination, which the Chief-Justice was directed to make in order to discover whether they had not been prompted by some of the citizens, should be over. In these I was happy to find I had anticipated the wishes of Congress, and every thing in my power, either directly or in aid of General Howe, to detect and bring to condign punishment the authors and abettors, I am led to do so by every motive of duty and inclination. Your Excellency will have seen in Oswald's paper, of Saturday last, a very strange account of the matter, together with a most illiberal attack upon Congress,[1] and in which I am also placed in no very favorable

[1] Party feeling was brought into this matter, and a wide difference between Congress and the Council of Pennsylvania was developed. The former body appointed a committee, consisting of Alexander Hamilton, Colonel Pickering, and Mr. Ellsworth, to confer with the State authorities as to the best mode for rebuking the insult offered to the legislative bodies. The committee advised calling out the State militia and disarming the mutineers by force. This the council refused, and resorted to a temporizing policy. Thereupon, Congress withdrew to Princeton, whence they sent for General St. Clair to confer, and orders were given to General Howe to put two regiments in readiness for marching to Philadelphia. The matter was adjusted, as indicated in St. Clair's letter to Washington. The officers condemned were afterwards pardoned by the State Legislature. For a statement of

point of view. I flatter myself that your Excellency knows me well enough to believe that no improper concessions would easily be drawn from me on any occasion. On this, no promise of any kind was made the soldiery, but that their accounts should be settled, and they put on the same footing as the rest of the army. They requested that they might be permitted to appoint a committee of three or more officers, either now on actual service or that had been, to confer with the executive of the State; to this, with the approbation of Congress and Council, I consented, and got them sent to their quarters, and, indeed, without vanity, I believe it was fortunate that I was able to come to town, as my presence had some effect in restraining them from greater enormities. . . .

The troops under the command of General Howe, I met yesterday near Trenton, and this day they were to proceed on their march for Philadelphia. I gave him every necessary information, and, as I shall return in a day or two, will give him every assistance; in the meantime, if the Judge-Advocate can be spared from the army, I could wish your Excellency to order him down, both because there may be many officers to try upon a very delicate point, and that the State may be somehow involved in the issue of the inquiry, it therefore seems to me it would be best it should be conducted by the proper officer, and with more attention to form than might happen if it was done by an officer appointed for the occasion.

The charges I have exhibited against the officers are: suspicion of being concerned with Captain Carberry and Lieutenant Sullivan, who have absconded, in exciting the late mutiny among the troops, or aiding and abetting the same; and against Captain Chrystie, who happened to be the eldest officer in the committee, and acted as their chairman, behaving unlike an officer in refusing to communicate, as chairman of the committee, to me what proposals the troops had made of returning to their duty, or whether they had made any. This charge lies equally against the whole, but, in the first instance, can be brought forward against him only. It would be too tedious to give your Excellency the particulars on which this last charge is founded, but the committee has promised that they will make no representations on the part of the soldiery until they had made proper submission to Congress and to the State for their behavior on the 21st; and it was the refusal of that communication which induced the committee of Congress to advise the adjournment

both parties to the controversy, the reader is referred to the *Works of Alexander Hamilton*, Vol. 1, pp. 874–893; and the *Life of President Reed*, Vol. II.

of that body to this place; indeed, all the information I got was extorted, which led both them and me to imagine that they, the committee, at least and perhaps many more, were concerned.

Paul Jones to General St. Clair.

On board the Washington Packet, Delaware Bay,
November 10, 1783.

Dear General:—After I had the honor to see you last at Philadelphia, I had occasion to go to Princeton. General Washington did me the honor to read the papers I showed to him, and his Excellency told me, on returning them, that he must confess "he could not see upon what principle of justice Congress had acted respecting my rank."

I have, however, said nothing to that great body on the subject. The object for which I am now here on my way to France is to solicit justice to the officers and men I had the honor to command in Europe. When I have obtained proper satisfaction for them, I intend to return to America. The Chevalier de la Luzerne and Baron Steuben have proposed to obtain a vote of the Society of Cincinnatus for my admission at the first general meeting.

If I am elected a permanent member of the society, my friend and attorney, John Ross, Esq., will pay seventy-five dollars, the month's pay of a colonel, which I have by virtue of my election to command the America. I shall place dependence for my admission on your interposition.

AFTER THE WAR—PARTICIPATION IN PUBLIC AFFAIRS DURING THE LAST COLONIAL DAYS.

The Society of the Cincinnati.

Camp on the Hudson River, 1 *June*, 1783.

Sir:—The plan for the formation and institution of the Society of the Cincinnati[1] I hope you have received, as, by a resolution of

[1] After the close of active hostilities, and while negotiations for peace were pending, Sir Guy Carleton held the city of New York for the British, while the headquarters of the American army were at Newburg, on the Hudson. No longer engrossed with thoughts of duties in the field, the officers turned their attention to some method for perpetuating the memories of the eight years' struggle for Independence. They decided on a Society, and on the

the convention, Major-General Heath was desired to forward and to request your approbation of it. I have now the honor to inclose the proceedings of the convention since that time, by which you

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10th May, 1783, they converted the name of the Roman dictator into a Latin plural—Cincinnati—and adopted it. The Institution of the Order was drawn up by a committee consisting of Generals Knox, Hand and Huntington, and Captain Shaw, of General Knox's staff, who acted as secretary. On the 13th May, the representatives of the army met at the quarters of Baron de Steuben (who presided on the occasion), and formally accepted and approved the Institution.

"The fundamental articles upon which it was based are these: An incessant attention to preserve inviolate those exalted rights and liberties of human nature for which they had fought and bled, and without which the high rank of a rational being is a curse instead of blessing.

"An unalterable determination to promote and cherish between the respective States, that union and National honor so essentially necessary to their happiness and the future dignity of the American Empire.

"To render permanent the cordial affection subsisting among the officers."

Besides this, the Society was to be eleemosynary—each officer contributing one month's pay towards the creation of a fund for the support of indigent widows and orphans.

"Another and most important object was to confer appropriate honors upon their noble allies, the officers of the French army and navy, who had so materially assisted them in the late struggle."—*Alexander Johnston's Contribution to the Hist. Soc. of Pennsylvania.*

To Major L'Enfant, of the French engineers, was intrusted the task of providing a decoration. "It consists of a bald eagle of enameled gold, bearing upon its breast a medallion charged as follows: On the obverse, the principal figure is Cincinnatus; three senators present him with a sword and other military ensigns; he is reclining upon his plow, and at his side are minor implements of husbandry. On the reverse, the sun rises over a city with open gates, vessels are seen entering the port, and in the midst Fame crowns Cincinnati with a wreath, inscribed '*Virtutis premium.*' Below, hands joined support a heart, with the motto, '*Esto perpetua.*' The whole is pendant to a blue ribbon, edged with white, descriptive of the union between France and America. Around the principal charge is the legend, '*Omnia relinquit servare rempublicam.*"

Major-General Arthur St. Clair was elected President of the Society for the State of Pennsylvania. In December, he received the following notice of the first general meeting of the Society:

MOUNT VERNON, *Dec.* 28, 1783.

Sir:—After [a long delay caused by] various circumstances, and mature consideration, it is deemed proper to appoint [the city of] Philadelphia to be the place for the general meeting of the Society of the Cincinnati on the first Monday in May next, agreeably to the original Institution.

The object of this letter is to communicate the determination of the day and place of meeting thereof, that proper notice may be given to the dele-

will see that the members of the Society, who were present at the last meeting, have made a choice of officers to fill the different departments, until the general meeting in May next.

This step, dictated by necessity, I hope will be agreeable to you, and that you will give your assistance in perfecting this infant institution, which is founded on principles the most meritorious and honorable.[1] With the greatest respect, I have the honor to be, sir, your most obedient humble servant,

STEUBEN, *Major-General.*

To Hon. Arthur St. Clair, Major-General.

GENERAL WASHINGTON TO GENERAL ST. CLAIR.

MOUNT VERNON, 31 *August*, 1785.

Dear Sir:—Your favor of the 21st ultimo, inclosing a letter written in behalf of the Society of the Cincinnati in the State of

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gates [chosen from the various State organizations] of the Cincinnati Society, whose attendance will be required at the time and place mentioned.

Having made this communication, I have only to suggest that it may perhaps be preferable to give the necessary notice to your delegates by letter rather than by [printed or other form] of notification; [as it is the] wish that there may be adopted means to prevent a failure of communication. I have the honor to be, sir, your most obedient servant,

G. WASHINGTON.

P. S.—Please to acknowledge the receipt of this letter.

To Major-General St. Clair, President of the State Society in Pennsylvania.

The first general meeting was held at the State House, Philadelphia, 4th May, 1784. Saturday, May 15, the following officers of the National Society were elected: President, General Washington; Vice-President, Major-General Gates; Secretary, Major-General Knox.

General Washington was continued as President as long as he lived. The statement met with in the American histories that Washington looked with disfavor on the Society, or that the original Institution was ever changed so as to abolish the clause providing for hereditary succession, are erroneous.

Alexander Johnston, in looking over the records and papers of the Society, found autographs of the following distinguished personages:

Washington,	St. Clair,	Rochambeau,
Lafayette,	Lincoln,	Luzerne,
Hamilton,	Putnam,	d'Estaing,
Knox,	Paul Jones,	de la Grasse,
Gates,	Pinckney,	Destouches,
Greene,	Moultrie,	Gouvion,
Steuben,	Wayne,	du Plessis,
Lee,	Mifflin,	de Noailles,
De Segur,	the Prince of Condé,	Louis XVI.

Pennsylvania, on the 9th of July in the preceding year, came to this place in my absence on a tour up the river Potomac.

I am perfectly convinced that, if the institution of this Society had not been parted with, ere this we should have had the country in an uproar, and a line of separation drawn between this Society and their fellow-citizens. The alterations which took place at the last general meeting have quieted the clamors which in many of the States were rising to a great height; but I have not heard yet of the incorporation of any Society by the State to which it belongs, which is an evidence, in my mind, that the jealousies of the people are rather asleep than removed on this occasion.

I am always made happy when I hear that any of my fellow-laborers have received appointments, that may in some measure compensate them for their past services and losses in the late revolution. I feel it in two respects; first, as it benefits the individual; and next, as it is a testimony of public gratitude. Be assured, then, my dear sir, that your appointment to the office which you now hold gave me much pleasure, as I am told the emoluments of it are handsome. My best wishes will ever attend you.

Suggestions for a Plan of Government.[1]

The Committee of the Council of Censors, to whom it was referred to report those articles of the Constitution which are de-

[1] The Constitution of Pennsylvania formed in 1776, provided that, "In order that the freedom of this commonwealth may be preserved inviolate forever, there shall be chosen, by ballot, by the freemen in each city and county respectively, on the second Tuesday in October, in the year 1783, and on the second Tuesday in October in every seventh year thereafter, two persons in each city and county of this State, to be called the Council of Censors, who shall meet together on the second Monday of November next ensuing their election; the majority of whom shall be a quorum, in every case, except as to calling a convention, in which two-thirds of the whole number shall agree, and whose duty it shall be to inquire whether the Constitution has been preserved inviolate in every part, and whether the legislative and executive branches of Government have performed their duty as guardians of the people, or assumed to themselves or exercised other or greater powers than they are entitled to by the Constitution; they are also to inquire whether the public taxes have been justly laid and collected, etc., etc. . . . These powers they shall continue to have for one year from the day of their election, and no longer. The said Council of Censors shall also have power to call a convention, to meet within two years after their meeting, if there appear to them an absolute necessity of amending any arti-

fective and suggest alterations and amendments, reported January 19, 1784:

That, by the Constitution of the State of Pennsylvania, the supreme legislative power is vested in one House of Representatives, chosen by all those who pay public taxes. Your committee humbly conceive the said Constitution to be, in this respect, materially defective:

1. Because, if it should happen that a prevailing faction in that one house was desirous of enacting unjust and tyrannical laws, there is no check upon their proceedings.

2. Because an uncontrolled power of legislation will always enable the body possessing it to usurp both the judicial and the executive authority, in which case no remedy would remain to the people but by a revolution.

That, by the said Constitution the supreme executive power is delegated to a council.[2] Your committee conceive the said Constitution to be in this respect materially defective:

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cle of the Constitution which may be defective, explaining such as may be thought not clearly expressed, and of adding such as are necessary for the preservation of the rights and happiness of the people; but the articles to be amended, and the amendments proposed, and such articles as are proposed to be added or abolished, shall be promulgated at least six months before the day appointed for the election of such convention, for the previous consideration of the people, that they may have an opportunity of instructing their delegates on the subject."

To this Council of Censors Arthur St. Clair was elected in October, 1783, from the county of Philadelphia. He was made a member of the committee appointed "to report those articles of the Constitution which are materially defective, and absolutely require alteration and amendment." The members chosen were: Samuel Miles, Thomas Fitzsimmons, Arthur St. Clair, Thomas Hartley and John Arndt. The report was drafted principally by General St. Clair, and the essential parts, which have been found in his handwriting, have been included in this work for the purpose of exhibiting his views of the principles of constitutional government. Although the report was sustained by a majority, it lacked the requisite two-thirds, and a new convention was not called at that time.

[2] An executive council is a monster. It may do great harm, and never can do any good—it will ever want that energy and promptness that are essential to an executive body, for it is not executive but deliberative. It destroys all responsibility, and is a very useless expense. If the President has abilities, the council are but the solemn witnesses of his acts; if he is ambitious at the same time, they will be found to be his useful instruments; if he is cruel or revengeful, at once his ready tools and a defense behind which he at any time can shelter himself; if rapacious, they will share with him in the plunder of their country, I wish, for the honor of human na-

1. Because the constant sitting of a council is expensive and burdensome.

2. Because a numerous body of men, though possessed of wisdom necessary for deliberation, will never possess the decision necessary for action on sudden emergencies.

3. Because, where a Council act either weakly or wickedly, there is no individual so accountable to the public as every man ought to be in such cases.

4. Because a single man would never be able of himself to do such acts as he may persuade a majority of his Council to concur in and support by their numbers.

5. Because, the election of the President being by joint ballot of the Council and Assembly, if a prevailing faction should ever happen in the assembly so as to lead a considerable majority, the President thus chosen will have nothing to fear from the Legislature, and, by influencing the Council, will possess exorbitant authority, without being properly accountable for the exercise of it.

That by the said Constitution the judges of the Supreme Court are to be commissioned for seven years only, and are removable (for misbehavior) at any time, by the General Assembly. Your committee conceive the said Constitution to be, in this respect materially defective:

1. Not only because the lives and property of the citizens must, in a great degree depend upon the judges, but the liberties of the State are evidently connected with their independence.

2. Because, if the Assembly should pass an unconstitutional law, and the judges have virtue enough to refuse to obey it, the same Assembly could instantly remove them.

3. Because, at the close of seven years the seats of the judges must depend on the will of the Council; wherefore, the judges will naturally be under an undue bias, in favor of those upon whose will their commissions are to depend.

That great care is taken by the said constitution to establish a rotation in sundry offices, which your committee humbly conceive to be improvident:

ture, no such combination could ever be found; but we know they have existed together in other countries—they may exist together in this. All the dangers of an inconvenient aristocracy are justly to be dreaded from such a body as our present Council. The rotation of its members is no security. Our Assembly will soon degenerate into an oligarchy, and the wretched people be destroyed by it.—*Note by Arthur St. Clair.*

1. Because the hope of reappointment to office is amongst the strongest incentives to the due execution of the trust it confers.

2. Because the State is thereby necessarily deprived of the service of useful men for a time, and compelled to make experiment of others who may not prove equally wise and virtuous.

3. Because the check intended by such principle of rotation can be of no good effect to repress inordinate ambition, unless it were extended so as to preclude a man from holding any office whatever.

4. Because the privilege of the people in elections is so far infringed as they are thereby deprived of the right of choosing those persons whom they would prefer.

[Having thus pointed out the defects of the Constitution, the committee proceeded to elaborate the principles indicated by setting up new articles more in the spirit of republican government. In this I shall not follow the completed report, as submitted to the Council of Censors, but such parts as I find among the St. Clair Papers which were the originals of the report.]

To the end that the laws may be more maturely considered, and the blessings of free and equal government extended and secured to the good people of this State, the supreme legislative power shall be vested in two separate and distinct bodies of men: The one to be called the Legislative Council or Senate; the other to be called the House of Assembly; who shall meet once, at least, in every year, for the dispatch of public business, and shall be styled The General Assembly of Pennsylvania.

The Senate shall consist of members from each county in this State, chosen annually from amongst the body of the freeholders at the time and place directed by law for the election of members of Assembly, and shall respectively be possessed of an unincumbered estate of the value of ——— pounds. All bills framed in the House of Assembly shall be sent to them for their consideration, and, if concurred in by a majority, they shall be sent back to the Assembly, and shall become, when signed by the Speaker, the laws of the land, but they shall have a negative upon every bill of what kind soever, for the use of which they may assign their reasons to the Assembly, or otherwise, at their pleasure, and no bill shall pass into a law without their consent. The Legislative Council shall have power to appoint a President, who shall have a casting voice in all debates in that body, but no other vote; and, in case of the absence, death, or resignation of the Governor, he shall administer the Government, and have and exercise, for the time being, all the powers and privileges of the Governor.

The House of Assembly shall consist of persons most noted for wisdom and virtue, to be chosen by the freemen of every city and county therein respectively.

(The people of every county ought to be constitutionally at liberty to choose representatives from any part of the State. It is confining the idea of representation too much, and the people have the undoubted right to judge who will best serve them and the public at large, and to elect them whether they are residents of the respective county or not.)

The members of the House of Assembly shall be chosen annually, by ballot, on the second Tuesday of October, forever, and shall meet on the fourth Monday of the same month.

All money bills shall originate in the House of Assembly only, and may be altered, amended, or rejected by the Legislative Council. All other bills and ordinances may take rise in the House of Assembly or Legislative Council, and may be altered, amended, or rejected by either. They shall sit on their own adjournments, but neither body shall have power to adjourn themselves for longer time than two days, without mutual consent. They shall judge of the elections and qualifications of their own members; they may expel a member, but not twice for the same cause; they may administer oaths on examination of witnesses, and have all other powers necessary for a free and independent branch of the Legislature.

No reasons against a law ought to appear upon the minutes. If the bill passes by a majority of one only, it is as binding and an equal obedience is due to it as if it had passed with unanimous consent. A dissent with reasons on the minutes can answer no end but to foment party disputes, and weaken the force of the law, and impede its execution. But the happiness of a State is so intimately combined with a vigorous execution of and prompt obedience to the laws, that, where these are wanting, anarchy must ensue. If the laws are found imperfect or oppressive, they should be amended or repealed. The privilege of entering the yeas and nays is all that any member should desire, and is as much as is consistent with order and good government.

There shall be a Governor, to whom shall be intrusted the execution of the laws and the appointment of all officers, civil and military, the officers of both Houses of the Legislature excepted, who shall be appointed by each House respectively. The Governor shall be chosen annually by the freemen of the State, qualified as is required to entitle persons to vote for members of the House of Assembly, at the same time and place or places. He shall be, in

virtue of his office, Commander-in-Chief of the forces of the State, but shall not have power to march the militia beyond the boundaries of the State without the consent of the Legislature. He shall have power to convene the General Assembly on extraordinary occasions, and to pardon, to mitigate punishment, or reprieve persons convicted of crimes, other than those that may be convicted on impeachment or of treason. It shall be his duty to lay before the General Assembly, at every session, a statement of the condition of public affairs, and call attention to such business as may require legislative consideration. All bills shall be presented to him for his approval; but if he objects to the passing of such bill, he shall return it, together with his objections, to the House in which it originated.

The Judges of the Supreme Court, and of the Courts of Common Pleas, shall be appointed by the Governor, and hold their offices during good behavior.[1] They shall be incapable of holding any other office.

A court shall be appointed for the trial of impeachment, and shall consist of members of the Assembly and Legislative Council, to be chosen by ballot.

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[1] They should hold their offices during good behavior. Nothing is of more importance to the people than the able and impartial administration of justice; but that can not happen unless the judges are taken from the bar. To acquire any eminence in the profession of the law, requires a long and laborious preparation—after much toil and study the road to ease and importance opens by degrees, and an assiduous application to business seldom fails to obtain them. Will any man who is in that train quit it for the precarious enjoyment of an office which must determine in seven years—where, though he may be re-elected, he has no certainty of it? Indeed, the only certainty he can derive arises, not from a steady unbiased execution of the office, but from an interested and variable attention to the fluctuations of parties and party politics.—*Note by Arthur St. Clair.*

The following observation on juries, in connection with courts, has also been found:

The trial by jury is an inestimable privilege, yet there is something very absurd in the construction of juries as they now stand. A man must either be starved or damned if he happens not to be able to think as some others do. Let the juries consist of twenty-five, and the verdict be given by a majority, then no man can be convicted or acquitted, but by the unanimous voice of at least thirteen of his fellow-citizens.—*Arthur St. Clair.*

The report of the committee led to a prolonged debate, in which St. Clair participated. Parts of several speeches are preserved, but they are arguments based on the above constitutional principles, and need not be repeated here.

ARTHUR ST. CLAIR TO JOHN DICKINSON.[1]

PHILADELPHIA, *July 16th*, 1785.

Sir:—Having heard that the agents for forfeited estates for the County of Westmoreland are about to sell the buildings in Fort Pitt as the property of Alexander Ross, an attainted traitor, permit me to inform you that no part of the buildings which were left standing in that fort at its evacuation by the British ever were Mr. Ross's property. A part of them belongs to me by grant from General Gage, and part to other people, and some buildings have been erected therein since it has been occupied by the United States. The ruins, which consisted of the materials of a very good house, that was pulled down; the revetment of rampart and parapet—a squarred log redoubt, and a number of pickets or palisades were purchased by Mr. Ross and the late General Thompson, for, I think, the sum of fifteen or eighteen pounds; but, during the residence of the one and the life of the other, no claim was set up to the buildings that were on foot. The disposing of the houses by the agents may embarrass the owners as well as the purchasers, and, for my part, I am not inclined to sell mine at all. Should Council desire it, I will wait upon them to give fuller information, and, in the meantime, have to request that the sale may be ordered to be postponed.[2]

PRESIDENT ST. CLAIR TO JAMES MONROE.

NEW YORK, *August 20th*, 1786.

Dear Sir:—I have been favored with your letter of yesterday,[3] and thank you for the communications it contains, upon which I will truly give you my sentiments. A treaty with Spain I consider

[1] President of the State of Pennsylvania.

[2] Which request was complied with. The facts are more fully stated in a letter to John Penn. See appendix.

[3] The letter of Mr. Monroe is missing, but his opinions as to the proposed treaty with Spain were diametrically opposed to those expressed by St. Clair in the above letter, and in that respect he represented not only Virginia, but four other Southern States. The other Virginia members, excepting Henry Lee, held the same views. Briefly stated, the situation was this: Spain, in 1785, appointed Don Diego Gardoqui, *Encargardo de Negocios*, as representative of that Court in this country. The rank was not high, but it was at a time when the new Republic was grateful for any kind of recognition. John Jay, Secretary of Congress for Foreign Affairs, was commissioned to negoti-

as very important to America, at the same time it is certainly our

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ate with Gardoqui a commercial treaty. The original instructions were repealed by Congress, and new ones substituted, which required him to stipulate the right of the United States to their territorial bounds, and the free navigation of the Mississippi from its source to the Gulf. This latter stipulation proved an insurmountable barrier to the progress of the negotiation. It was a point that Spain would not yield, and could not be enforced except by war. After months spent in fruitless correspondence, Mr. Jay requested that the instructions be modified, and recommended a compromise, by the proposal of a treaty in which for an equivalent of commercial advantages to the United States, they, without renouncing the right to the navigation to the Mississippi, should agree to forbear the exercise of that right for a term of years, to which the duration of the treaty should be limited.

Upon this proposition a debate sprung up in Congress which brought to the front the sharp differences that had been developed during the Revolutionary war between the Northern and Southern States. Mr. Rufus King, of Massachusetts, was especially active in supporting the proposed compromise, and I find that St. Clair, on behalf of Pennsylvania, joined in the debate with great zeal. Memoranda of a speech now before me, show that in his remarks on the floor of Congress, he went even further than he has in the letter above to Mr. Monroe. He remarked that the fact that the United States would be prevented, by force, from navigating the Mississippi, and that it was not then necessary to them, were reasons why they should consent to forbear the navigation. It was certainly better policy to waive the exercise of a right which they could not maintain and obtain something for the waiver, than by pertinaciously insisting upon it, lose the advantage and endanger the right of it. Whereas, if Spain should accept the waiver, the right of the United States would be established for the future, when they should be better able to maintain it.

What was proposed to Spain was a commercial treaty, not an alliance. The importance to the United States, in the present urgency, for extending business relations and restoring a sound financial basis, would be better understood when it was known that she would take the American products, and pay in the precious metals. He attributed the anxiety of Spain to form this relation to America, to her desire to strike a blow at Britain by helping to create a new maritime power. If the opportunity offered should be rejected, then the United States would again be placed at the mercy of Great Britain.

Two months after the date of St. Clair's letter to Mr. Monroe, Henry Lee wrote to General Washington on the same subject. He stood alone in the Virginia delegation in support of Mr. Jay, and he believed that his old commander held to the same opinions. In that letter he said: "The Eastern States consider a commercial connection with Spain as the only remedy for the distresses which oppress their citizens, most of which, they say, flow from the decay of their commerce. Their delegates have, consequently, zealously pressed the formation of this connection, as the only effectual mode to revive the trade of their country. In this opinion they have been joined by two of the Middle States. On the other hand, Virginia has, with equal zeal, opposed the connection, because the project involves expressly the disuse of the

duty to endeavor to obtain it upon the best terms possible, indeed, if it was possible to give up nothing to procure it; but I believe that can not be done, for, it seems, as I have been informed, that Spain, notwithstanding she is desirous of being in amity with us, has directed her Minister to stipulate as the price of her friendship an acknowledgment on our part of her right to navigate, exclusively, the Mississippi River. The Minister of the United States is directed to insist in their behalf on the right of navigating that river freely with Spain. It is obvious that without one or the other party receding in part, the business is at an end. The question then is: Is the friendship of Spain worth any concessions in respect to that river? I think it is. Mr. Jay suggests that forbearing to use for a limited time the right we pretend to have to that navigation, which would be a concession on our part, might enable him to proceed on the business in which he can not advance one step under present circumstances. In this view, I am clearly of opinion that the restrictive clause of his instructions ought to be repealed, but as Mr. Grayson's proposition is more favorable to the Union than the absolute forbearing to navigate for a given time, how short soever, I think it ought to have a trial, and, therefore, I wish to make it an instruction to Mr. Jay, but by no means an ultimatum.

As to taking the negotiations out of the hands of Mr. Jay and committing it to our Minister in Europe, I can not think it advisable.

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navigation of the Mississippi for a given time, and eventually, they think, will sacrifice our right to it. The delegation is under instructions from the State on this subiect. They have acted in obedience to their instructions, and, myself excepted, in conformity to their private sentiments, I confess that I am by no means convinced of the justice or policy of our instructions, and very much apprehend, unless they are repealed by the present Assembly, the fatal effects of discord in council will be experienced by the United States in a very high degree."

In his reply, General Washington said: "My sentiments with respect to the navigation of the Mississippi are known to you. They are controverted by only one consideration of weight, and that is, the operation which the occlusion of it may have on the minds of the Western settlers, who will not consider the subject in a relative point of view or on a comprehensive scale, and may be influenced by the demagogues of the country to acts of extravagance and desperation, under the popular declamation that their interests are sacrificed."

Washington's prediction was verified some years later, when he was President, and St. Clair was Governor of the North-western Territory, in the commotion in the West on account of the exclusive jurisdiction of Spain over the Mississippi. At this session, as only seven States voted for the compromise proposed by Mr. Jay, when nine were requisite, the treaty failed.

So far from being acceptable to the court of Madrid, it strikes me that it would be offensive, and if it would be at all necessary that Mr. Gardoqui should be attended to, it would be impossible; for the investing of Mr. Jefferson, or any other person, with the character of an Envoy Extraordinary, and sending him to Madrid, would virtually supersede Gardoqui. It appears to me we could not possibly take a more effectual step to defeat the measure, which, in the light in which it presents itself to my mind, I think would be a real misfortune to our country. Indeed, I do not think there is another commercial nation in the world but would feel gratified in having Spain come forward in the manner she has done to us; nor one that would not be pleased at seeing the opportunity slip through our fingers. Consider, my dear sir, that Spain has, in some measure, committed herself, without waiting until we should desire her friendship. She has offered it without requesting us to send to Madrid to negotiate the terms; and all nations consider it important to have negotiations carried on under their own eyes, as it gives them a larger influence in them, and the opportunity of improving every circumstance that offers. She has sent her Minister to negotiate a treaty here. It is evident the friendship of the United States is valued highly, or a step so uncommon from so haughty a Court would not have been taken. And what reason can we suggest for desiring to put the negotiations in a train that other nations would studiously avoid? I can see no good ones, but I can see two that will very readily present themselves to the Spanish Minister: One, that Mr. Gardoqui is not acceptable, and we will not do business with him; another, that delay is all we have in view until we can feel the pulses of other Courts, and put ourselves in a situation to assert by force that which we claim and they dispute.

The first certainly makes an enemy of Gardoqui, and all his interest with the Spanish Ministry, be it much or little, will be exerted unfavorably for America. The second, as certainly, determined the Ministry and the nation against us.

That Mr. Jay may have been endeavoring to get his instructions repealed I neither doubt nor wonder at, because I think they were in the highest degree improper. It seems to me that if it had been the design to give Mr. Gardoqui the ascendant in the negotiation, to put it in his power to know the utmost latitude of Mr. Jay's power while he could conceal his own, nothing could have been contrived better to answer the purpose. But if Mr. Jay is deemed an unfit person, or if he has not hitherto managed the business in a manner satisfactory to Congress, take it out of his hands, and com-

mit it to some other person; but let the negotiations go on here. Your communications with your Minister may be as frequent and easy as you please, and if it should, at any time, be found necessary to throw obstacles in the way of its progress, it can be done with more ease than at Madrid.

I am an entire stranger to the circumstance you allude to relating to Mr. Jay.

I shall always be happy to receive any communication you may please to make. I have replied with the same freedom and with the utmost candor, which, as I intended, I trust you will accept as a testimony of the esteem and regard with which I am yours, etc.

President St. Clair to Governor Huntington.[1]

New York (*without date*), 1787.[2]

Sir:—The want of a due representation in Congress, so frequently as it has happened, and for so great a length of time together, has very greatly embarrassed the affairs of the Union, and given much dissatisfaction to the States which generally keep their representations up, as well as disgust to the members who attend from those States. It has very often been complained of, and the States not represented pressed to send their delegates forward; too often, I am sorry to be obliged to say, sir, with very little effect, although it must be obvious that, independent of the great national concerns which thereby often suffer an inconvenience, at least, if not a disgraceful delay, their own particular interests run some risk from public measures being adopted without the aid of their counsels.

What must the nations of the world think of us when they shall be informed that we have appointed an assembly, and invested it with the sole and exclusive power of peace and war and the management of all national concerns, and, during the course of almost a whole year, it has not been capable, except for a few days, for want of a sufficient number of members, to attend to those matters? Since the first Monday in November last to this time there has been a representation of nine States only thirty days, and ten

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[1] Samuel Huntington, Governor of Connecticut.

[2] Either in the early part of June, or in August, 1787, as reference is made to the Constitutional Convention, sitting in Philadelphia. St. Clair had been chosen President of Congress at the beginning of the session, in February.

States only three days, and as the representation of most of the States has consisted of only two persons, no great business could be done without the unanimous consent of every individual member.

We are now, sir, reduced to six, although matters of the highest importance are pressing for a decision, and can not be long delayed, without compromising the dignity of the Government and exposing the peace and safety of several of the States. Besides, sir, the National Convention, which the people look up to for much good, will soon rise, and it appears to be of great consequence that, when their report comes under the consideration of Congress, it should be a full Congress, and the important business which will be laid before them meet with no unnecessary delay.

The secretary wrote, not long ago, to the unrepresented States, but no effect has yet appeared to follow from it. I must, therefore, again repeat the request, and in the most pressing terms, that your Excellency would use every means in your power to hasten forward the delegates of your State.[1]

GENERAL WILLIAM IRVINE TO GENERAL RICHARD BUTLER.

NEW YORK, *July* 19, 1787.

Dear Sir:—The President[2] and myself arrived here last Tuesday morning, in time to take our seats the same day, and make up, at the same time, nine States. The inclosed Ordinance[3] had passed two days before. Who the officers of that government will be I have not heard nor inquired.

I fear nine States will not be held up long, as some talk of going away soon; whether they will be replaced soon is uncertain.[4]

The bargain or sale, as you will see by the inclosed sketch, is

[1] This letter affords a pertinent illustration of the weakness and inefficiency of the old Confederation, when the States possessed the chief power, and were either indifferent to or neglected the appeals made by the Continental authority for means to carry on the affairs of government. Similar letters were addressed to the Governors of Georgia, Maryland, Rhode Island, and New Hampshire, which were unrepresented.

[2] President St. Clair.

[3] The Ordinance for government of North-west Territory.

[4] It was difficult to keep a representation from the States under the Confederation. See the urgent appeal of St. Clair to Governor Huntington, *ante*.

nearly completed for that fine tract of country.[1] For my own part, I have no objection to that mode of sale, because I think it most advantageous for the United States, as it will sink the national debt without any additional expense for surveying, etc., provided they pay for all that is secured to them—and that they are confined at once to certain bounds—Congress at liberty to do what they please with all the rest at any time. I confess to you I am opposed to a pre-emption to any company or set of men, I think, on sound principles; and I hope to prevent this passing with that tail, however beneficial the body might be without. I have no idea, in making a sale, to bribe a person to get him to take my commodity with another article of equal or more value.

Your dispatches have been read and committed, and I suppose will soon be taken up; but in the meantime the *Dominion*, according to custom, are pressing partial measures for the purpose of defending "Cane-tucke," as they say. I wish for general arrangements at once. At present I can not properly say more. You will soon hear what is doing.

GENERAL GATES TO PRESIDENT ST. CLAIR.

TRAVELER'S REST, BERKELEY COUNTY, VIRGINIA,
August 31, 1787.

Sir:—I had the honor to receive your Excellency's letter of the 9th inst., with the elegant medal in gold, which the most honorable the Congress, in their names, and in behalf of the inhabitants of the thirteen United States, were pleased to direct the Board of War to have struck and presented to me. Nothing could add to this distinguished mark of the favor and approbation of Congress but my receiving it in so polite a manner from the hands of your Excellency; from you, sir, whom, in the course of thirty years, I have so often had the honor to accompany on a vast variety of military service. Permit me, likewise, to declare the satisfaction I feel in seeing your Excellency's merits crowned by the high station you now fill with such acknowledged ability.

That the prosperity, honor, and happiness of the United States may last to the end of time, and that your Excellency may continue to enjoy the best blessings fortune can bestow, is my constant, ardent wish.

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[1] This refers to the negotiations between Dr. Cutler and Congress for a sale of public lands in the Territory.

THE UNITED STATES IN CONGRESS ASSEMBLED TO ARTHUR ST. CLAIR, ESQ.

We, reposing special trust and confidence in your integrity, prudence, and ability, have constituted and appointed, and by these presents do constitute and appoint you, the said Arthur St. Clair, Governor in and over the territory of the United States of America North-west of the river Ohio; and Commander-in-Chief of the militia therein; to order, rule, and govern the same, conformably to the Ordinance of the 13th July, 1787, entitled "An Ordinance for the Government of the Territory of the United States North-west of the river Ohio," which is hereto affixed; and we do hereby give and grant to you, the said Arthur St. Clair, all the powers, authorities, and prerogatives assigned to the governor of the said territory in and by the said Ordinance. And we do strictly enjoin all persons to pay due obedience to this our commission. This commission to take effect from the 1st day of February, 1788, and to continue in force for the term of three years thereafter, unless sooner revoked by Congress.

PRESIDENT BENJAMIN FRANKLIN TO ARTHUR ST. CLAIR AND OTHER DELEGATES IN CONGRESS.[1]

IN COUNCIL, PHILADELPHIA, *September* 22, 1787.

Gentlemen:—Inclosed[2] is a letter to General Clinton, which we

[1] This correspondence refers to conflicts growing out of the claims of citizens of Connecticut to lands in the Wyoming country, in what is Luzerne county. Grants of lands were originally obtained by citizens of Connecticut of the Indians, lying on the rivers Susquehanna and Delaware, within the boundaries of Pennsylvania, and land companies formed bearing the names of those rivers. Settlements and improvements were made, and the State of Connecticut exercised jurisdiction over them for some years, and during the Revolutionary War. A dispute arose between the two States as to jurisdiction, and the matter finally came before Congress. The decision was in favor of Pennsylvania. A large number of the citizens of Wyoming, the chief of which were two men named John Franklin and John Jenkins, refused to recognize what was styled the Trenton decree, and during the years 1786 and 1787, a condition of affairs bordering on anarchy prevailed in that section. The Susquehanna Land Company prevailed on Colonel Ethan Allen, of Vermont, to visit that country, and that eccentric officer, with John Franklin, attempted to organize the citizens in opposition to the government of Pennsylvania, and declare that section an independent State. The

[2] See note 1 next page.

send unsealed for your perusal, with the several papers of intelligence that accompany it. The Council have thought of sending a few resolute men, authorized to apprehend and bring off Franklin

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scheme failed and Allen returned home. Franklin, however, continued his violent opposition, and, at the head of a mob, seized Colonel Timothy Pickering, chairman of the board of commissioners appointed to hear and report on the claims of the Connecticut settlers, carried him away, and subjected him to insult. An armed force was finally sent by Doctor Benjamin Franklin, President of Pennsylvania, to seize Franklin and other disturbers of the peace, as set forth in the correspondence above. The mob caught the spirit of the Shay's rebellion of Massachusetts. John Franklin was apprehended and imprisoned for a long time, which led to correspondence between the executives of the States of Connecticut and Pennsylvania. All the difficulties were happily arranged with the aid of Congress—the latter setting apart a body of land on Lake Erie, west of New York, for the use of such Connecticut settlers as chose to move thither and avail themselves of free lands.

[1] The letter to Governor Clinton, which was inclosed, was as follows:

"IN COUNCIL, *September* 22, 1787.

"*Sir:*—Your Excellency will see by the papers and letters of intelligence, which I have the honor of communicating to you, that there are a number of disorderly people collecting near the line that divides our two States, who are impatient of regular government, and seize upon and presume to dispose of lands contrary to and in defiance of the laws. It has appeared to me by other evidence, that their numbers are daily increasing by vagabonds from all quarters, and that they expect reinforcements from Shay's late partisans, and purpose defending their proceedings by force of arms. Your Excellency will be sensible with us of the mischief such a body of banditti may be capable of occasioning to both our States, if suffered to increase and establish themselves in that country; the vicinity of the boundary line affording them at present an imaginary security, since, if pursued by the authority of one of the States, they can easily step over into the others. Your Excellency's readiness manifested on other occasions to aid the operations of general justice, even in neighboring governments, leaves no room to doubt of your concurring with us in the measures that may be necessary to defeat the projects of those people, some of whose leaders are said to be inhabitants of your State; for the concerting such measures, the council of this government unanimously and earnestly request your Excellency would be pleased to permit our delegates in Congress to have a conference with you.

"I have the honor to be, etc.,

"B. FRANKLIN, *President.*"

"IN COUNCIL, *September* 26, 1787.

"*Sir:*—You are to take what number of militia you think necessary and proceed with the greatest dispatch to Wilksbarre, in the county of Luzerne. When there, if you think it necessary, consult Colonel Pickering on the best method you can take to apprehend John Franklin, John Jenkins, Zerah

and Jenkins; but if they should be on the York side of the line, it might be impracticable without the concurrence of that government. You will see that we have requested the Governor to have a conference with you on the subject, in which, if it take place, we desire you would not only discuss what may be proper for the securing the ringleaders of the sedition, but concert some general measures for the two States to take, that it may be effectually and totally suppressed, and that you would report to us the result of your conference as soon as may be.

P. S.—You will see the propriety and necessity of keeping the proceedings secret, as well as the names of the informers, and you will return the inclosed papers.

ARTHUR ST. CLAIR TO BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.

NEW YORK, *September* 28, 1787.

Sir:—In pursuance of your Excellency's letter in Council of the 22d instant, the delegates of the State had, yesterday, a conference with Governor Clinton upon the subject of the intelligence contained in the papers inclosed to him.

Governor Clinton seems perfectly well disposed to concur in any general measure that may tend to preserve the peace of the two States; but he apprehends no danger from most of the persons mentioned in those papers; on the contrary, he seems to think they are disposed to become peaceable and orderly citizens of the State of New York, particularly Ar. Moodrey (?), in whom he appeared to have a confidence. As General Irvine and Mr. Bingham are both going to Philadelphia, I beg leave to refer your Excellency to them for more particular information.

As to Franklin and Jenkins, the delegates are of opinion that no more proper method can be pursued than that suggested in your Excellency's letter—of sending a few resolute men to take them off; and should they be on the York side of the line, or take refuge within that State, the apprehending them will give no offense to the Government. On the contrary, the Governor is ready to concur

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Beach, and John McKinstry. Should you take all or any of these men prisoners, you are to bring them to Philadelphia. If you take Franklin at Wilkesbarre, do not proceed any further, or run the risk of losing him by endeavoring to apprehend the others. Council have the utmost reliance on your secresy and your prudence in conducting this affair. If opposed by force, you are to use force and execute the warrant at all events.

B. FRANKLIN, *President.*

"To Colonel John Craig.

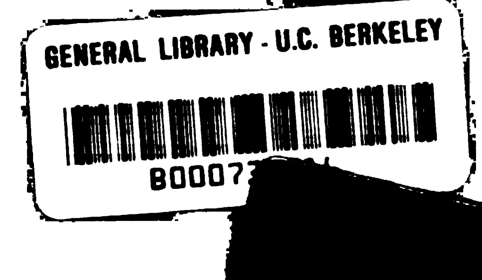
with the measure, and to that end has proposed that the warrant that may be thought proper to issue against those men be sent here, when he will get it backed by the Chief Justice, and accompany it, so backed with his own warrant, under the privy seal, commanding the inhabitants (for they have no magistrate) of that district to be aiding and assisting in apprehending them. Should Council then adopt the measure, if you will please to inclose the warrant to me, no time shall be lost in presenting it to Governor Clinton, and returning in to your Excellency.

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PAUL JONES TO PRESIDENT ST. CLAIR.

NEW YORK, *November* 6, 1787.

Dear General:—Having in view the attainment of a contract in France for supplying the marine with masts, building timber and naval stores from this country, and having reason to hope that my friends, Mr. Robert Morris and Colonel Wadsworth, will connect themselves with me in the contract if I can obtain it, I accept, with great pleasure and thankfulness, your kind offer to write to General Washington and endeavor to obtain from him a letter to the Marquis de Lafayette in favor of my project. Such a letter would insure the exertions of the Marquis, and might be particularly useful to me if any opening should offer within the military line, or otherwise, while I remain in Europe. It may be forwarded (under cover to me) to the Secretary for Foreign Affairs here, who will send it to its destination. Permit me to offer you my thanks for the many marks I have received of your kind regard, and for the flattering honor you do me by accepting my bust, which will be sent to you as soon as I arrive in Paris. I should be happy to hear from you; and I pray you to be assured that no man has more respect for your character, talents and greatness of mind than, dear General, your most obedient and most humble servant.


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ARTHUR ST. CLAIR

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